

NGO MONITOR

Annual Report 2009

NGO MONITOR

Making NGOs Accountable



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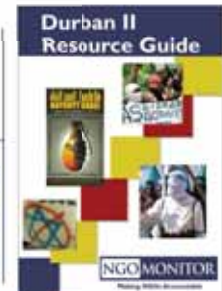


שוברים
שת"קה



HUMAN
RIGHTS
WATCH

הקרו החדשה לישראל
New Israel Fund
الصندوق الجديد لإسرائيل





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NGO Monitor's mission is to provide information and analysis, promote accountability, and support discussion on the reports and activities of NGOs claiming to advance human rights and humanitarian agendas in the framework of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

NGO Monitor was founded jointly with the Wechsler Family Foundation
The Amutah for NGO Responsibility R.A. (ע"ר) #580465508

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MISSION STATEMENT

The community of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) has become extremely powerful and influential, particularly with respect to human rights related issues and the Arab-Israeli conflict. Their reports, protests and lobbying activities have a dominant impact, particularly in the United Nations, as well as on the policies adopted by many governments, in the media and in universities.

Until recently, however, these NGOs, which receive significant financial support from generous donors, philanthropic institutions, and government budgets, have not themselves been subject to independent and critical analysis. NGO Monitor, therefore, was founded to promote accountability, and advance a vigorous discussion on the reports and activities of humanitarian NGOs, both in the framework of the Arab-Israeli conflict and beyond.

NGOs vary widely, not only in nature and quality, but also in their apparent motivations. Their power to do good is matched by their power to distort and destroy the moral principles they claim to promote. Unlike democratically elected governments or publicly traded companies, no systematic framework exists for holding NGOs to rigorous standards of accountability for the statements and reports they produce. Established NGOs that claim to pursue universal humanitarian goals enjoy a halo effect that grants them immunity from detailed scrutiny or criticism. The assumption that their motives are pure, and politically as well as ideologically neutral, inhibits critical review.

The vast resources at the disposal of these self-proclaimed humanitarian NGOs allow for large staffs which produce an immense volume of reports, press releases and media interviews, turning them into primary sources for journalists, researchers, and government policy makers. The amplifying effect of these public pronouncements has often framed the terms of public discourse and strongly influences the crafting of policy. NGOs are in a dominant position to offer the supply to meet the demand for quick and focused information on what Prof. Irwin Cotler has called the new secular religion of human rights.

However, as NGO Monitor demonstrates, in many cases, major NGOs produce reports and launch campaigns that stand in sharp contradiction to their own noble mission statements. Selective morality, as evidenced in the obscuring or removing of context, and accompanied by highly misleading reporting, often through incomplete images, have made widespread gross distortions of the humanitarian and legal dimensions of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

NGO Monitor aims to provide information and analysis to challenge such interpretations and perceptions, fostering a comprehensive debate on these critical issues.

LETTER FROM PROF. GERALD STEINBERG PRESIDENT

Powerful, well-financed, and often highly secretive non-governmental organizations, ostensibly upholding the banner of human rights, are waging a damaging political war against Israel. In response, one research organization – NGO Monitor – works to expose their often-hidden funders, demand accountability, and challenge their ill-gotten power. Despite major obstacles, we have proven that carefully conceived and implemented efforts can yield significant results, as reflected in this report.

Our seventh year of operation witnessed a dramatic impact on public discourse. As detailed in this report, NGO Monitor's main areas of research and analysis – foreign governmental funding of NGOs, the exploitation of human rights language by NGOs, and the power of civil society organizations in Israel – have become frequent topics of mainstream discussion by government officials, journalists, and decision makers. Both in Israel and internationally, NGO Monitor is the primary resource for accurate, meticulously researched information on non-governmental organizations and their impact on the Arab-Israeli conflict.

We set ourselves a high standard for disseminating up-to-date, reliable research and analysis on the activities and funding of NGOs claiming to promote moral agendas. This year, as in years past, we have significantly added to our reputation, as well as our scope of projects and impacts, in the face of ever-growing NGO challenges to Israel's legitimacy.

Three key areas of focus for NGO Monitor in 2009 were the Goldstone Commission inquiry and report, the UN's "Durban II" Review Conference in Geneva, and Human Rights Watch scandals. In these and other cases, rather than reacting to the NGO agenda and spin, NGO Monitor worked proactively to anticipate the NGO offensives and abuses.

Our submission to the UN Human Rights Council Inquiry on the Gaza War (Goldstone) provided fact sheets on purportedly humanitarian and human rights NGOs that had issued more than 500 statements, mostly critical of Israel, during and immediately after the fighting in Gaza. When the Commission's report nevertheless quoted these very statements extensively, NGO Monitor was uniquely prepared to refute the report immediately and expose its flawed methodology. The impact of NGO Monitor's highly credible reports continues to be felt in the public and governmental spheres.

Our considerable efforts ahead of the Durban Review Conference were central in preventing a repeat of the infamous anti-Israel NGO Forum at Durban I, the 2001 conference that spurred the creation of our organization. Our detailed analyses of the NGO network, press materials, government contacts, and participation on the ground yielded a high profile for NGO Monitor in coverage of the event; more importantly, our work assured that the false human rights claims and double standards published by NGOs would not be used to single out Israel for demonization, as in 2001. This was also an important success in the difficult battle to restore the universal principles of human rights.

For seven years, we have been following and reporting the evidence of moral erosion and anti-Israel bias of Human Rights Watch. In 2009, NGO Monitor was instrumental in bringing to light revelations regarding HRW fundraising in Saudi Arabia, HRW senior military analyst Marc Garlasco's obsessive collection of Nazi memorabilia, and the core bias of the leaders of HRW's Middle East and North Africa division. These scandals and the organization's disproportionate focus on Israel caused many – including HRW founder Robert Bernstein – to publicly question HRW's credibility and the claims of its leadership to promote human rights.

Solid research remains the bedrock of our work. Our many achievements this year, from research on Canadian taxpayer-funded allocations to highly politicized NGOs to providing information to European

governments regarding the Durban II UN conference, all are based on verifiable, accurate research. Our reports, opinion pieces, speaking engagements, and letters to the editor on four continents are similarly backed by incontrovertible facts.

Israel's officials receive our research in order to understand how the flow of foreign money benefits activities of NGOs who abuse moral rights claims to turn Israel into a pariah state. Our Hebrew report, "Trojan Horse: The Impact of European Government Funding for Israeli NGOs," formed the basis for a high-impact Knesset conference on the issue. A number of lawmakers from different parties used this research to draft proposed legislation designed to address the issue. An English version of this report is being prepared.

We do not have the luxury of resting on our laurels. NGO Monitor continues to build on past successes even as it gears up to investigate and address new tactics in the "Durban strategy" of demonizing Israel and manipulating international humanitarian law to target Israel's leaders and international standing. As in the past, our efforts are sure to draw angry responses, lawsuits, and personal attacks from those who perceive NGO Monitor as a threat to their destruction of human rights, attempted manipulation of Israeli democracy, double standards, and claims of credibility. This is a side effect to success that we accept, and we are confident that the NGO tide has begun to turn as their practices finally become the focus of "naming and shaming."

We are greatly strengthened by the generosity and support of our donors around the world. They enable us to continue researching and exposing the scope of anti-Israel NGO campaigns and distortions, and to work to restore the universal moral foundations of human rights. The gains we have made, and the goals we have yet to reach, are possible only through the assistance of fair-minded people across the world who believe in the importance of NGO Monitor's mission.

1. IMPACTING GOVERNMENTS AND DECISION-MAKERS

1a. Gaza War and Goldstone Report

NGO Monitor tracked NGO activity, refuted false allegations, and contributed research-based facts to the debate during and after the January 2009 Gaza war between Israel and Hamas. The NGO Monitor website was updated daily with analysis and regular reports on the Gaza-related activities of major NGOs such as Oxfam, Amnesty International, and Human Rights Watch (HRW). We were the first to analyze and publicize the problems in HRW's white phosphorous allegations.

We compiled our research and commentary on more than 500 statements made by NGOs during the conflict into a monograph-length study. "The NGO Front in the Gaza War: The Durban Strategy Continues" documented accusations of "war crimes," "disproportionate" and "indiscriminate" attacks, and "targeting civilians." Diplomats and decision-makers received this report, which provided a unique record of NGO inaccuracies and omissions on issues such as human shields during the conflict.

The NGO campaigns during the war resulted in the establishment of the UN Human Rights Council Fact-Finding Mission, and the appointment of Judge Richard Goldstone to lead it. During 2009, NGO Monitor published a series of nine analyses of this "Goldstone process," revealing its mandate to be clearly biased, focusing only on Israel's alleged war crimes and ignoring crimes committed by Hamas or other Palestinian groups. Our groundbreaking research showed that NGO claims formed the basis for the Goldstone report, perpetuating their biases and flawed research. In turn, the same NGOs have led the campaigns pressing for Goldstone's conclusions and recommendations – a form of self-promotion. NGO Monitor's critiques on the NGO-Goldstone link provided the basis for investigations by journalists and other parties, particularly regarding the role and contributions of European- and New Israel Fund-supported NGOs to the demonization process.

"Lawfare" was another "front" in the Gaza war. NGO Monitor examined NGOs that were planning "war crimes" cases against Israeli official for alleged violations during the conflict, and which governments and foundations funded these efforts. NGOs including Al-Mezan (Gaza) and Al Haq (West Bank) attempted to procure arrest warrants for Defense Minister Ehud Barak in the UK. Similarly, the Palestinian Center for Human Rights (PCHR) has been preparing cases in six countries against dozens of Israelis. In February, a coalition of Palestinian NGOs petitioned the International Criminal Court (ICC) to prosecute Israeli commanders for "war crimes," and in November two NIF grantees, Adalah and Public Committee Against Torture in Israel (PCATI) met with ICC officials to discuss prosecution options.

NGO Monitor's analysis and reports, which were among the first substantive critiques of Goldstone, were quoted extensively in the media. Prof. Steinberg was widely recognized as an influential and informed critic of the Goldstone process. Bill Moyers, a prominent American journalist, cited Prof. Steinberg's assessment that Goldstone ran a "kangaroo court," arguing that in Goldstone's press conference and in the report, 'the language of human rights and international law are misused as weapons in the political war to isolate and demonize Israel.'" International news organizations such as CNN and NPR, and Israeli stations Galei Tzahal, Reshet Bet, and IBA, interviewed Prof. Steinberg. The *Wall Street Journal* published Prof. Steinberg's op-ed, "U.N. Smears Israeli Self-Defense As 'War Crimes.'"



THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.
EUROPE
NEWS FOR NEWS MAKERS

NGO Monitor Media Impact

"Instead of promoting legal accountability and reconciliation, Mr. Goldstone's report will increase Israeli cynicism regarding the viability of international institutions and guarantees of Israeli security and fair treatment."

Prof. Gerald Steinberg, "U.N. Smears Israeli Self-Defense as 'War Crimes'"
Wall Street Journal (Europe), September 16, 2009

1b. Durban Review Conference

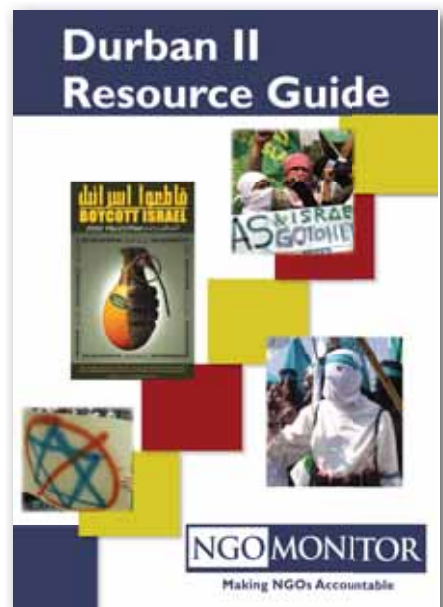
Founded in the wake of the anti-Semitic NGO Forum of the 2001 World Conference Against Racism in Durban, South Africa, NGO Monitor has played a central role in disseminating information on the “Durban strategy” employed by pro-Palestinian groups to demonize and delegitimize Israel.

NGO Monitor was therefore actively involved in efforts to avoid a repeat of Durban I at the follow-up April 2009 Review Conference (“Durban II”) in Geneva. NGO Monitor’s widely distributed 60-page “*Durban II Resource Guide*” provided delegates, journalists, diplomats, and activists with critical data on the 2001 NGO Forum and the build-up to Durban II, analyses of the role of NGOs in the Durban Review process, and data on major participating NGOs. NGO Monitor’s analyses, in conjunction with a concerted effort from activists and UN watchdogs, were among factors that largely kept NGOs and their funders from again demonizing and delegitimizing Israel within an official UN framework. In contrast to Durban I, the 2009 “civil society forum” in Geneva lacked official UN support, and garnered very little public attention.

NGO Monitor’s three-person delegation to Geneva monitored and documented NGO activity, and took part in public events outside the UN headquarters.

There were, however, efforts by NGOs to demonize Israel with Nazi rhetoric, and instances of intimidation toward Jewish and Israeli participants. And while some small NGOs complained to UN officials about their irrelevance and isolation at the conference, Geneva insiders such as Human Rights Watch (HRW) maintained a high profile. But HRW did not use its privileged position to protest the platform given to Iranian President Ahmadinejad, despite his Holocaust denial and Iran’s dismal human rights record. HRW also criticized countries that chose not to participate, thereby demonstrating their bias.

While in Geneva, Prof. Steinberg took part in press conferences and meetings with journalists, and provided commentary for Israeli and international media covering the event. News organizations from countries including Belgium, Canada, China, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, New Zealand, Spain, and Switzerland interviewed, quoted, and cited Prof. Steinberg. Major publications that cited NGO Monitor’s material in their coverage included the *Wall Street Journal*, *Agence France-Presse*, *Toronto Star*, and *Reuters*, as well as European periodicals such as *L’Express*, *Tribune de Geneva*, and *Der Tagespiegel*. The *Wall Street Journal* published Prof. Steinberg’s op-ed, “The UN’s Anti-Antiracism Conference.”



NGO Monitor Media Impact

“The obsessive focus on the Jewish state meant that the real problems of racism and genocide were largely ignored at this U.N. conference. On Monday night, when Jews marked Holocaust Memorial Day, a large gathering stood quietly honoring the victims while the language of human rights was being abused in the U.N. building.”

Prof. Gerald Steinberg, “The UN’s Anti-Antiracism Conference” *Wall Street Journal* (Europe), April 22, 2009

1c. Knesset Conference on Foreign Government Funding for NGO Political Activity in Israel

On December 1, 2009, NGO Monitor participated in a Knesset conference, held under the auspices of Minister Michael Eitan and MK Zeev Elkin, on “Foreign Government Funding for NGO Political Activity in Israel.” The conference drew participants from the Likud, Kadima, and Shas parties, as well as academics from the Hebrew University, University of Ghent (Belgium), and Bar-Ilan University, and received wide local media coverage.

The conference explored the political, diplomatic, and legal issues raised by the prominent role NGOs play in shaping government policy and public opinion on many core issues in Israel, and the financial support they receive from foreign governments and bodies such as the EU. Research details that were discussed at the event were documented in a report published jointly by NGO Monitor and the Institute for Zionist Strategies.

Representatives from Israeli NGOs refused invitations to participate, and encouraged speakers and members of Knesset to boycott the conference. They distributed a public letter to attendees as well as material including a position paper from NIF-Israel.

The conference also unveiled legislative proposals to address the issues raised in NGO Monitor’s research. Whether or not these proposals become law, they have successfully fulfilled NGO Monitor’s goal of promoting public debate and discourse about NGO funding and impact in Israel.



HAARETZ

NGO Monitor Media Impact

“The large sums provided to NGOs by European governments through secret processes constitute a major effort to manipulate the Israeli marketplace of ideas. Israeli law should require full notification when the money is used, so that the backing for NGO activities - newspaper ads, political protests and conferences - is clearly stated. Transparency may not halt the European practice of using Israeli NGOs to sell these agendas and manipulate policy and politics, but this is an important beginning.”

Prof. Gerald Steinberg, “Manipulating the marketplace of ideas”
Haaretz (English), November 27, 2009

1d. Canada



In contrast to many European governments, Canada’s leadership took concrete steps to address funding for advocacy NGOs by the Canadian government. Most significantly, in November 2009 the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) denied applications for funding renewal from KAIROS and Alternatives, two Canadian NGOs that had been receiving funding for decades.

The resulting controversy, which received major media coverage in Canada at the end of 2009, provided wide exposure for NGO Monitor’s research and analysis.

KAIROS, a church coalition that claims to work toward social change, economic justice, and human rights, promotes a political agenda regarding the Arab-Israeli conflict. NGO Monitor research demonstrated that KAIROS lobbies against Israeli and Canadian policy on Gaza; supports the anti-Israel divestment movement and “lawfare” in Canada; disseminates material from NGOs promoting anti-Zionism and “apartheid” rhetoric; and articulates Palestinian positions on the “right of return,” the peace process, and the “one-state solution.”



Alternatives, an “international solidarity organization,” is heavily involved in political and ideology advocacy. NGO Monitor has shown that Alternatives supports the Palestinian narrative, employs Durban-type rhetoric such as “apartheid,” supported “Israel Apartheid Week” in Montreal, and is active in the boycotts, divestment, and sanctions (BDS) movement.

In August 2009, NGO Monitor submitted a written statement to the Canadian Parliamentary Coalition to Combat Antisemitism (CPCCA), surveying Canadian governmental support for NGOs that promote the Durban strategy. Our statement detailed activities by five Canadian-supported NGOs, including BDS, participation in Israel Apartheid Week, and “lawfare” against Israeli officials, and identified dozens of other Canadian groups that promote BDS.



Palestine House, one of the NGOs cited in the CPCCA submission, later came under government scrutiny for alleged citizenship fraud involving 300 people who claimed to live at the address where its offices are located. In June 2009, Palestine House protested the Dead Sea Scrolls exhibit at the Royal Ontario Museum “because most of the exhibit is made up of artifacts looted from Palestine by the government of Israel,” and in September 2009 “congratulated” the filmmakers and artists who organized against the Toronto International Film Festival’s City to City Spotlight on Tel Aviv.



The Canadian Arab Federation (CAF), another NGO contributor to the global Durban strategy of demonization, also lost its government funding following the Immigration Ministry’s questioning of CAF’s “promotion of hatred, anti-Semitism and support for the banned terrorist organizations Hamas and Hezbollah.” CAF criticized the Canadian government for not speaking out against Israel’s “massacre” and “ruthless and unnecessary collective punishment” in Gaza. The group also promotes “lawfare” against Israeli officials.



NGO Monitor’s detailed analysis on Canadian government funding processes for NGOs is scheduled for publication in the third quarter of 2010.

1e. Dialogues with Diplomats and Government Officials

During 2009, NGO Monitor engaged nearly every week in dialogues with and presentations to delegations from foreign governments and the press, and Israeli ambassadors and consuls-general. The roster included:

- Several delegations from the European and Australian parliaments, including Australian Deputy Prime Minister Julia Gillard
- A Danish parliamentary delegation
- The US ambassador to Israel and representatives of the US Consulate to Israel
- British members of Parliament and the British ambassador to Israel
- The German ambassador to Israel
- The Canadian ambassador to Israel
- The Czech ambassador to Israel
- The EU ambassador to Israel
- The Turkish ambassador to Israel
- The Italian foreign minister and members of Parliament
- Senior officials from Thailand
- Heads of influential Jewish organizations including the World Jewish Congress, B'nai B'rith International, Australia/Israel and Jewish Affairs Council; the Conference of Presidents of American Jewish Organizations; and the Anti-Defamation League
- Israeli Minister of Public Affairs and the Diaspora Yuli Edelstein
- Israeli Minister of Improvement of Government Services Michael Eitan
- Israeli Minister of Welfare and Social Services Isaac Herzog
- Israeli Deputy Foreign Minister Danny Ayalon
- Members of Knesset and the Israeli prime minister's office
- Foreign Ministry Director General Yossi Gal
- Incoming Jewish Agency Chairman Natan Sharansky
- Journalists from Australia's major dailies and the UK's *Daily Telegraph*

2. ENGAGING WITH NGO OFFICIALS AND DONORS

2a. Human Rights Watch (HRW)

In 2009, Human Rights Watch (HRW) experienced numerous scandals and embarrassments, including a Saudi Arabian fundraiser and the denouncement of the organization by founder Robert Bernstein in the *New York Times*. At each stage, NGO Monitor's research played a critical role in contextualizing the issues in terms of HRW's moral, operational, and methodological failings.



HRW's two pivotal scandals during 2009 were a fundraiser in Saudi Arabia, which cited HRW's anti-Israel focus to solicit donations; and the revelation that Marc Garlasco, HRW's "senior military analyst," is an obsessive collector of Nazi memorabilia. NGO Monitor was instrumental in publicizing details of both these events, as well as the ideological biases of Middle East and North Africa (MENA) division officials Sarah Leah Whitson and Joe Stork.

The Saudi Arabia fundraising trip was first mentioned in the *Arab News*, which reported that senior HRW officials, including MENA Director Whitson, encouraged "prominent members of Saudi society" at a "welcoming dinner" to help HRW make up for "a shortage of funds because of the global financial crisis and the work on Israel and Gaza, which depleted HRW's budget for the region." She reportedly emphasized that HRW works to counter "pro-Israel pressure groups in the US, the European Union and the United Nations," an oblique reference to NGO Monitor.

The report – whose veracity was never challenged by HRW – might have remained unnoticed if not for NGO Monitor's May 2009 Digest, which brought the details to a Western audience, including Prof. David Bernstein's blog. His July 13 op-ed *Wall Street Journal* led to Jeffrey Goldberg's major exposé two days later in *The Atlantic*, "Fundraising Corruption at Human Rights Watch."

After HRW officials sought to deny the report, Goldberg pressed HRW Executive Director Kenneth Roth to confirm whether Whitson raised funds in Saudi Arabia by "advertising" HRW's "opposition to the pro-Israel lobby." Roth admitted: "That's certainly part of the story. We report on Israel. Its supporters fight back with lies and deception. ... Telling the Israel story – part of that pitch – is in part telling about the lies and obfuscation that are inevitably thrown our way." Goldberg concluded: "It appears as if Human Rights Watch, in the pursuit of dollars, has compromised its integrity."

The Garlasco scandal surfaced on September 8, 2009, when "Mere Rhetoric" blogger Omri Ceren – his interest piqued by NGO Monitor publications – revealed that HRW "senior military expert" Marc Garlasco is an avid collector of Nazi memorabilia. HRW came to Garlasco's defense, but ultimately suspended him and promised an investigation.

HRW officials avoided addressing the broader issues, raised by NGO Monitor, of Garlasco's questionable qualifications and why HRW's MENA division relied on his "expertise." In the many reports released by HRW accusing Israel of "war crimes" and other violations during this period, Garlasco's technical and military claims are characterized by speculation, inconsistencies, and errors.

NGO Monitor has called for an independent examination of each of the reports that relied on Garlasco's input, and for an investigation of the institutional biases that allowed him to wield such influence despite his apparent lack of credentials. These issues have been raised with incoming board chairman James Hoge, Jr.

The Saudi and Garlasco affairs are symptomatic of far deeper problems at HRW. Our September monograph, "Experts or Ideologues: Systematic Analysis of Human Rights Watch," presented a meticulous 80-page analysis of HRW's activities concerning the Arab-Israeli conflict from 2001 through the middle of 2009. Under the leadership of Executive Director Kenneth Roth, HRW has devoted highly disproportionate resources to condemnations of Israel.

The monograph detailed HRW's consistent pattern of ideological bias, lack of professional qualifications, and unsupported claims based on faulty evidence and analysis. A central element is the large number of pro-Palestinian activists in MENA, including Whitson, Stork, Darryl Li, and others. Whitson's remarks in Saudi Arabia, as well as her July 2009 characterization of Israel's policies as "a system of apartheid under any legal definition," reflect a well-entrenched attitude of hostility to Israel. Before joining HRW, Deputy Director Stork was a highly visible pro-Palestinian political activist involved in the Middle East Research and Information Project (MERIP).

In response to criticism from NGO Monitor and others, HRW claimed that "Israel accounts for about 15 percent of our published output on the region." However, since HRW's Middle East division covers 17 countries, a proportionate level of resources on Israel would be only 6 percent. Furthermore, our annual review demonstrated that nearly 30% of HRW's 2009 statements on the Middle East focused on Israel; HRW issued more publications critical of Israel than of Syria, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Libya combined. In 2009, HRW published 284 documents on the Middle East and North Africa, 88 of which dealt with the Arab-Israeli conflict. In comparison, only 39 documents focused on Iran. This analysis was sent to HRW board members and donors, as well as journalists and others.

Based on our 2009 research, opinion pieces by NGO Monitor and others critical of HRW appeared in major publications such as the *New York Times*, *Le Monde* (France), *Atlantic Monthly* and *Commentary* (US), *The Jerusalem Post*, and *The Guardian* and *Weekly Standard* (UK), *Ottawa Citizen* and *Toronto Star* (Canada), in addition to websites such as Huffington Post, Tablet, and Elder of Zion.

The criticism peaked in HRW founder Bernstein's October 19 *New York Times* op-ed echoing our research, and decrying the organization's role in "turn[ing] Israel into a pariah state" and losing "critical perspective" on Iran's support for Hamas and Hezbollah. The *New York Times* published a letter from NGO Monitor board members Elie Wiesel and Alan Dershowitz reiterating Bernstein's charges, which reverberated throughout the NGO network and weakened the "halo effect" that protects HRW and similar NGOs from scrutiny.



NGO Monitor Media Impact

"HRW has lost its moral compass, and the organization is using its substantial budget (\$42 million in 2008) to repeatedly attack Israel by exploiting the language of human rights and international law. Tendentious reports and press conferences, using distorted legal rhetoric in place of credible evidence, target Israeli responses to terror attacks from Arafat, Hamas, and Hezbollah. As a result, HRW's halo has been tarnished, perhaps beyond repair."

Prof. Gerald Steinberg, "From Gulag Liberators to Saudi Retainers"
National Review Online, July 21, 2009

2b. New Israel Fund (NIF)

The New Israel Fund (NIF) acts as an NGO itself, supporting well over 100 NGOs in Israel covering a wide range of issue areas, including some of the most politicized dimensions. Allocating over \$30 million annually, NIF support is often supplemented by allocations from European governments and church groups to the same recipient organizations. This gives NIF-funded grantees a highly influential role.



The most controversial NIF grants go to organizations that reject the legitimacy of Israel as Jewish and democratic state – such as Adalah and Mada al-Carmel – and are active in boycott and similar campaigns around the world – such as the Coalition of Women for Peace. NIF has sought to justify these funding decisions, claiming that it is promoting pluralism and dialogue, and supporting free expression of differing views. In contrast, NGO Monitor’s research demonstrates the lack of effective guidelines in funding processes and the damage from these NIF-supported NGO activities, such as charges against the Israeli military that were repeated, without corroboration, in the Goldstone report.

During 2009, NIF assumed a public role as the primary voice for Israel’s NGO network, defending groups that contributed to the Goldstone process and representing their interests in Knesset lobbying. Officials from NIF-Israel and their grantees were invited to participate in the December 2009 Knesset Conference on Foreign Government Funding for NGO Political Activity in Israel (see item 1c, page 7). But NIF refused to attend, alleging in a position paper that the purpose of the event was “repression and silencing of voices.” One of NIF’s public relations operatives in Israel penned an op-ed in *Haaretz*, attacking Prof. Steinberg and NGO Monitor as “a partisan operation that suppresses its perceived ideological adversaries through the sophisticated use of McCarthyite techniques – blacklisting, guilt by association and selective filtering of facts.” This extreme language reflects the concern felt by NIF regarding the impact of a public debate over its actions.

In response to personal attacks and the rejection of public debate, Prof. Steinberg composed an open letter to NIF, urging the NIF to “join with us in constructive debate on the role of political NGOs” and keep criticism “accurate and substantive – not personal.”

There was also a change in leadership at NIF in 2009: CEO Larry Garber was replaced by Daniel Sokatch, and Rachel Liel became CEO of NIF-Israel. After his appointment in September 2009, Sokatch wrote that he was “alarmed ... by leaders in Israel and the American Jewish community who seem determined to repel all criticism or even thoughtful debate about the deepening tension between security and human rights imperatives in Israel.” His words implied that confronting demonization activities by NIF grantees would not be a priority for NIF in 2010.

NGO Monitor’s research on the impact of NIF funding also detailed the involvement of NIF-supported groups in the Goldstone process (see item 1a, page 5), presaging widespread scrutiny of the NIF in 2010.

THE JERUSALEM POST

NGO Monitor Media Impact

“The NIF’s Form 990 for 2006, filed with the US Internal Revenue Service, lists the transfer of \$716,316 from the European Commission office in Washington to the New Israel Fund. This is only one example of a deeply intertwined relationship between the NIF and European governments that, to put it mildly, do not have Israel’s best interests in mind. Were NIF donors told outright that they were supporting organizations which demonize Israel using terms such as ‘apartheid’ and ‘racism,’ that campaign for and not against anti-Israel boycotts, they would surely demand an end to such funding, making it immeasurably more difficult for European officials to support the same NGOs.”

Prof. Gerald Steinberg, “Right of Reply: War, human rights and democracy”
Jerusalem Post, January 22, 2009

2c. Amnesty International (AI)

NGO Monitor research on Amnesty International (AI) in 2009 drew attention to the eroding credibility and impartiality of this longstanding NGO superpower, as well as its increasing drift away from its founding vision. The data indicate that ideology, rather than universal human rights, propels AI's resource allocation.

NGO Monitor's analysis demonstrated that AI activities related to the Arab-Israeli conflict, and particularly the Gaza war, reflected a strong bias against Israel.

After virtually ignoring rocket attacks on Israeli civilians, AI released more than 20 statements criticizing Israel during the war waged in response to those attacks and advocated for a suspension of arms sales to Israel.

AI was at the forefront of NGO campaigns accusing Israel of "unlawful," "disproportionate," and "indiscriminate" actions against Palestinian civilians, precipitating the creation of the UN's "fact-finding mission" led by Judge Richard Goldstone. Its distorted and misapplied accusations of "collective punishment" and "disproportionate use of force" resurfaced verbatim in the Goldstone Report, which referenced Amnesty 36 times. AI issued statements in support of the mission and lobbied the United States, Israel, Hamas, and the UN to endorse the Goldstone report – erasing the one-sided mandate, inherent double standards, and overt bias of some committee members.

AI's July 2009 report, "Operation Cast Lead: 22 Days of Death and Destruction," blamed Israel almost exclusively for the conflict, denying that Hamas used human shields, minimizing their violations of warfare norms, and promoting a strategy of BDS and "lawfare" against Israel. NGO Monitor was quoted in media analyses revealing the report's biases and methodological flaws.

AI's demonization of Israel was not limited to Gaza. Its October report, "Troubled Waters – Palestinians Denied Fair Access to Water," alleged that Israeli "restrictions are imposed on all Palestinians because they are Palestinians" and that Israel "restrict[s] access to water as a means of expulsion." NGO Monitor exposed the links between the timing of this report and a lecture tour in the United States on "Israel's Control of Water as a Tool of Apartheid and Means of Ethnic Cleansing," as well as an Amnesty-UK event with the author of *Israeli Apartheid: A Beginner's Guide*.

Using research highlighting the misleading statistics and false statements behind the report's conclusions, Prof. Steinberg challenged AI's Donatella Rovera on Al Jazeera television regarding AI's track record of hostility toward Israel and its flawed research methodology.



An October 29 *Jerusalem Post* editorial on the controversy reflected NGO Monitor's impact: "While ostensibly pursuing a well-intentioned attempt to improve Palestinian welfare, Amnesty seems more intent on coming up with pretexts to justify its assertion that Israel 'denies hundreds of thousands of Palestinians the right to live a normal life, to have adequate food, housing or health, and to economic development.' A readiness to first hear, and then take into account, the Israeli side of the vexed water dispute would have enabled a more credible report – and one more likely to have practical impact."

NGO Monitor's public conversation with Amnesty included a May 2009 debate with Amnesty New England Director Joshua Rubenstein. Prof. Steinberg charged that Amnesty's Gaza commentary had gone from "illegitimate criticism to absurdity" and disputed Amnesty's reliance on Hamas casualty figures. He also questioned Amnesty's virtual silence over the fate of captured IDF soldier Gilad Shalit.



2d. European Commission lawsuit

At the end of 2009, NGO Monitor was poised to file suit in the European Court of Justice against the European Commission (EC) for breaching its own Freedom of Information law. The lawsuit is the next stage in a process that began in 2008, when NGO Monitor submitted a request for internal EC documents related to NGO funding processes, decision making, and evaluation procedures.



Through various programs such as the European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR) and Partnerships for Peace (PfP), the EC has provided large allocations to highly political NGOs and “civil society organizations,” including ICAHD, ARIJ, Al-Mezan, Adalah, Yesh Din, Machsom Watch, PHR-I, and Mada al-Carmel. NGO Monitor’s research shows that many of these NGOs use demonizing rhetoric, support BDS and “lawfare,” and reject a “two-state” solution.

But the EC discloses no information on how it decides which NGO applicants are approved and others are rejected. No information is given on the identities and affiliations of NGO partner organizations that are not listed in the public documents but receive indirect EC funding.

NGO Monitor’s application for information was rejected on the basis of unspecified “security” factors. Following an appeal, the EC sent NGO Monitor a CD with about 100 documents in May 2009, from which most of the information had been deleted (see below). This deleted information included the names of the NGO partner organizations and evaluation criteria, making independent analysis impossible.

In response to NGO Monitor’s request for an explanation, the EC cited “public security,” “privacy,” and “commercial interests.” Given the absence of transparency, it is impossible to evaluate the validity, if any, of these justifications. At this point, NGO Monitor turned to British lawyer Trevor Asserson, who provided assistance in preparing a lawsuit aimed at raising awareness of EU funding for problematic NGOs and creating greater transparency within the system.

EuropeAid/126231A/JACTIPS
EU Partnership for Peace Programme

Annex I to Full Proposal Evaluation Report

No.	Organizational Applicant	Partner	Overall Objective	Amount Requested €	Responsible Organization
Previously Selected Applicants					
	ARIJ (PS)		The overall objective of this project is to continue with the existing process of all Israel related activities in the occupied Palestinian Territory.	200,000	Palestine
11	Friends of the Earth Middle East (IL)		To use community GIS to build capacity within communities with transboundary water resources to advance practical actions as a means to promote common understanding, conflict resolution and the shared interest of achieving peace	200,000	Jordan
12	Wavy Corps Scotland (EA)		To promote sustained engagement in the peace process by increasing meaningful and fruitful partnerships between Israeli and Palestinian institutions.	400,000	Palestine
	San Geron University (IL)		The proposed action's overall objective is to establish an integrated H202 system that will offer a coordinated response to mutual medical emergency threats.	400,000	Israel
	A Heart for Peace (IL)		A Heart for Peace mission is to bring together Israeli and Palestinian people through actions in the fields of health and education.	200,000	Israel
	Historick Bull Biltany (IL)		Towards strengthening Israeli and Palestinian civil society to change institutions, by influencing opinion makers and mobilizing public opinion behind a new inclusive agenda for transforming the conflict from below.	200,000	Palestine
	Bittag (IL)		Initiates the policy of government cooperation within ongoing activities in the Arab, and to institutionalize a permanent, constructive framework for dialogue and cooperation between Arab citizens and government ministries. Heighten awareness of needs of Arab communities to government officials.		
	Commonality Advocacy (IL)		Creating a Human Rights Discourse while Empowering Disadvantaged Residents in Jordan, Israel and the PA.	274,000	Israel

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2e. Diakonia

NGO Monitor's August 2009 report on Sweden's largest humanitarian NGO, Diakonia, reached the attention of the Swedish government and media, as well as a team of auditors investigating the Swedish foreign aid agency.



The NGO Monitor report revealed that Diakonia, established in 1966 by five Swedish churches, receives most of its budget – the equivalent of more than \$47 million – from the Swedish government. The vast majority of the organization's resources in the region support political campaigns, most significantly the International Humanitarian Law (IHL) project, which provides the foundation for “lawfare” activities against Israel. Its International Advisory Council is comprised overwhelmingly of Palestinian advocates, including Charles Shamas, a founder of Al Haq and a Human Rights Watch Middle East North Africa board member.

NGO Monitor pointed out that Diakonia was among the NGOs that submitted biased and methodologically flawed “reports” to the Goldstone Commission, vilifying Israel and delegitimizing its right to defend itself against rocket attacks. Many of Diakonia's NGO partners (Alternative Information Center, Sabeel, Al-Haq, and Al Mezan) are among the most extreme anti-Israel NGOs in the region, employing inflammatory and, at times, even antisemitic rhetoric.

In its report, NGO Monitor recommended that Diakonia implement professional and non-ideological criteria for deciding which NGOs to fund. In addition, the report urged that the IHL program be ended or redesigned to ensure that it reflects both Palestinian and Israeli perspectives, with a professional and transparent evaluation process to determine whether stated objectives are being met.

Diakonia refused to comment on the report, but several days after its release, the Swedish newspaper *The Local* carried a story reporting that “development groups have rejected charges laid out by a Jerusalem-based NGO watchdog accusing Sweden's aid community of sponsoring groups that contribute to the ‘demonization’ of Israel.” The article included a statement from NGO Monitor that “a lot of the groups sponsored by Diakonia ... are radical in their nature and rhetoric and do little or nothing to promote peace in the region. If anything, they serve to increase hostility.” In addition, NGO Monitor sent the report to members of Parliament and other Swedish officials.

2f. Breaking the Silence (BtS)

Breaking the Silence (BtS), an organization comprised of former Israeli soldiers that published “testimonies” alleging human rights violations during the Gaza war, exemplifies many of the major issues of concern regarding NGO activity in the Arab-Israeli conflict. For instance, BtS receives foreign government funding to advance serious, often unverifiable criticism of Israeli military policies and actions. This funding support generates understandable diplomatic tensions between Israel and European governments: NGO Monitor is unaware of any other instance where a democratic country finances organizations in another to support ex-soldiers’ “war crimes” charges and international advocacy against that country's military.



Another problem is BtS' status as a non-profit limited company, with no legal obligation to disclose its funders. The full extent of foreign involvement in BtS cannot be ascertained.

BtS also epitomizes the use of human rights language by advocacy groups to advance radical political agendas. As *Haaretz* Military Correspondent Amos Harel wrote: “Breaking the Silence ... has a clear political agenda, and can no longer be classed as a ‘human rights organization.’ Any organization whose website includes the claim by members to expose the ‘corruption which permeates the military system’ is not a neutral observer.”

BtS operates under a halo of assumed credibility by virtue of the veterans who run it and the anonymous soldiers on whose “testimonies” it relies. Uncorroborated and anecdotal “testimonies” publicized by BtS formed the basis for condemnations of Israel in the international media and the Goldstone Report, and as “proof” of widespread wrongdoing during the Gaza war.

BtS’ report was released on July 15, 2009 and alleged “war crimes” and “misdemeanors” during the fighting in Gaza, based on soldier “testimony.” As an NGO Monitor op-ed in *The Guardian* (UK) argued, the report lacked reasonable research standards, and used narrow and hand-picked viewpoints to pass judgment on the IDF. Most importantly, the “testimonies” were presented anonymously, making independent verification of the claims impossible. The most serious allegations, upon examination, were all premised on hearsay.

The report brought new urgency to the issue of BtS’ lack of transparency. Following “suspicions” raised by NGO Monitor and Israeli military sources, the organization presented the *Jerusalem Post* with its 2008 donor list. This list affirmed that the NIS 1.5 million BtS budget included money from government entities (the EU, UK, the Netherlands, and Spain) as well as private organizations (NIF, Oxfam, Christian Aid, Open Society Institute, and the Dutch church group ICCO).

According to *Haaretz*, the report itself was facilitated by a grant from the Dutch Embassy in Israel. The unusual amount of the grant, €19,995, suggested an attempt to avoid oversight, since local Dutch embassies can disburse up to €20,000 without informing the Dutch Foreign Ministry. In fact, Dutch Foreign Minister Maxime Verhagen told *Haaretz* that he was unaware of the embassy grant until reading about it in *The Jerusalem Post*. According to the *Haaretz* report, Verhagen “reproached senior figures in the Dutch Foreign Ministry upon learning this and gave instructions to launch an internal investigation on the matter.”

On October 26, 2009, NGO Monitor released a fact sheet on BtS, which addressed the NGO’s “apartheid” and “ethnic cleansing” rhetoric, and criticism from the Israeli police for “antagoniz[ing] ... settlers in the hope that the settlers will attack them.”

2g. Mossawa

Throughout 2009, NIF- and European-funded NGO Mossawa pursued a lawsuit against NGO Monitor for alleged defamation. Mossawa – whose stated purpose is to improve the status of Israel’s Arab citizens – filed a lawsuit in a Nazareth court claiming it was “libeled” by NGO Monitor’s research detailing Mossawa’s activities and funding sources. On March 1, 2010, the Nazareth District Court dismissed the case.



This case appeared to be part of the “lawfare strategy,” which includes the filing of libel allegations in order to silence systematic research on the role and funding for non-governmental organizations leading the political warfare against Israel. The March 1 ruling by Judge Irit Hod threw out Mossawa’s case, rebuked the organization for failing to comply with court orders, and fined it NIS 2,500.

3. NGO MONITOR IMPACT ON PUBLIC DISCOURSE

3a. Media Profile

NGO Monitor more than doubled its media exposure from 2008–2009 in each of these areas:

1. Newspapers and websites
2. NGO Monitor op-eds
3. Twitter followers
4. Blog citations

Prof. Steinberg made live media appearances on Al Jazeera, CNN, the Swedish Broadcasting Service, and National Public Radio (USA), and he took part in the prominent Israeli political talk show, “London and Kirschenbaum.” Prof. Steinberg and other NGO Monitor staff members made 17 television appearances (an increase of 283% from 2008) and 30 radio appearances (a 333% increase from 2008). During the Gaza war alone, NGO Monitor and its staffers were featured in four TV reports (including Sky News and Bloomberg News), four radio reports (including NPR), 21 newspapers (including *The Washington Post* and *The San Francisco Chronicle*), and 34 websites (including Fox News).





A growing number of news and organizational websites feature NGO Monitor’s research. Our presence in the blogosphere more than doubled between the first and second halves of 2009, with mentions in more than 360 blog posts. In addition, our Twitter profile is increasingly visible, with almost 500 followers by the end of 2009.

NGO Monitor’s strengthened emphasis on Hebrew-language reports, press releases, and marketing materials resulted in increased exposure also in Hebrew-language media outlets. Israeli publications such as *Makor Rishon*, *Maariv*, *NRG*, *Yisrael Hayom*, and *Haaretz* ran NGO Monitor op-eds, quoted NGO Monitor reports, interviewed NGO Monitor staff members, or referenced NGO Monitor in coverage of related stories in 2009.


3b. Media Impact


Numerous press reports amplified NGO Monitor's impact on the public discourse by expanding on our reports or adopting our terminology, as in the following excerpts from 2009:

 "Guest Columnist: Amnesty's travesty" (Martin Sherman, *Jerusalem Post*, November 19, 2009) - "Miraculously, the Amnesty report was published to coincide perfectly with a vicious crusade launched across US campuses by Omar Barghouti, a Tel Aviv University graduate student, campaigning for – among other things – the boycott of Tel Aviv University, together with the entire Israeli academic establishment (avowed leftists and all)... Amnesty denied any hint of collusion with the Barghouti initiative, emotively entitled 'Palestine: Thirsting for Justice.' ... Indeed it is intriguing to note striking similarities between the language used and the issues raised in the document produced by Amnesty and in the advance fliers publicizing the allegedly unconnected Barghouti appearances." (See NGO Monitor's "Amnesty's water report: 'Israel-apartheid' allegations")

 "Group unfairly focuses on Israel" (Bernard D. Katz, Professor University of Toronto, *Toronto Star*, November 8, 2009) - "But the fact that HRW's work on Israel constitutes only 15 per cent of its 17 country Middle East division – if indeed that is a fact – shows that Bernstein's criticism is well-founded: the proportionate level of resources would be 5.9 per cent, not 15 per cent. In fact, the claim of 15 per cent is at best misleading. For example, this year up until the end of October, HRW published 284 documents on the Middle East and North Africa. Of these, 88 (31 per cent) dealt with Israel, the Palestinian Authority and Gaza. By comparison, only 39 documents focus on Iran. And of these 88 documents, five are full-length reports, versus only three on Saudi Arabia, two on the United Arab Emirates, and one each for seven other countries." (See NGO Monitor's analysis of HRW's response to Robert Bernstein.)

 "Can of Worms" (Ben-Dror Yemini, *Ma'ariv*, September 8, 2009) - "If it was only one case, it would be possible to claim it was a coincidence. Even two cases are not proof. But the more that Human Rights Watch (HRW) – the most important international human rights organization – is exposed, the more it becomes clear that something there really stinks. No, this is not a gentle phrase; it is certainly not diplomatic. But it is doubtful if there is a word that better describes the can of worms being exposed there. Sarah Leah Whitson, Director of the Middle East and North Africa Division, the division responsible for the astonishing reports against Israel, served on the advisory committee of the Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee before joining HRW and supports boycotting Israel." (See NGO Monitor's report on biases in HRW's MENA division.)

 "The Guardian goes to Pallywood" (Melanie Phillips, *Spectator*, March 24, 2009) - "It does so without acknowledging the fact that it was Hamas which used Gazan civilians as human shields – indeed, it dismisses this in a sentence by stating that Amnesty and Human Rights Watch found 'no evidence' that it had done so. Hardly surprising since Amnesty and Human Rights Watch have repeatedly shown themselves to be wholly partisan in the Palestinian cause and viscerally prejudiced against Israel. But aren't *Guardian* reporters supposed to be journalists rather than passive conduits of NGO propaganda?" (See NGO Monitor's report on double standards surrounding the use of human shields.)

 "Who's Committing Crimes against Humanity?" (*American Thinker*, February 10, 2009) - "During Operation Cast Lead, NGO's [sic] like Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch and Oxfam accused Israel of indiscriminate and disproportionate attacks. It negated Israel's right to counter-terrorism operations by discounting Israeli suffering and its right to self-defense. ... One NGO forum, the Durban Conference – allegedly established for the protection of human rights but which has focused exclusively on 'atrocities' committed by Israel since its inception – planned to devise a strategy to use boycotts and legislative action to punish Israel and charge the Jewish state with 'crimes against humanity.'" (See NGO Monitor's "NGO Forum at Durban Conference 2001" and "The NGO Front in the Gaza War.")

4. NGO MONITOR BOARD MEMBERS AND OFFICERS

4a. International Advisory Board

NGO Monitor this year welcomed new International Advisory Board members Elliott Abrams and Judea Pearl. They join existing members Alan Dershowitz, Michael Gove, Douglas Murray, Elie Wiesel, and R. James Woolsey.

Mr. Abrams was Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs and Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights during the Reagan Administration; and a Special Assistant to the President for Democracy, Human Rights, and International Organizations, and then Deputy National Security Advisor in the George W. Bush Administration.

Professor Pearl, an award-winning scientist, is a member of the National Academy of Engineering and a founding fellow of the American Association for Artificial Intelligence. He is the father of slain *Wall Street Journal* reporter Daniel Pearl and President of the Daniel Pearl Foundation.

4b. NGO Monitor Israel Board

Our Israel Board is chaired by Joel Golovensky, and includes Prof. Avraham Bell, Lenny Ben-David, and Paul Ogden. Members of the non-profit (amuta) are Edward Cohen, Penina Goldstein, Dr. Jonathan Rynhold, Dr Amira Schiff, Dr. Ron Schleifer, and Prof. Leslie Wagner.

4c. Officers

NGO Monitor officers are Prof. Gerald Steinberg (President), Dov Yarden (CEO), Naftali Balanson (Managing Editor), and Anne Herzberg (Legal Advisor).

5. FINANCIAL INFORMATION

**The Amutah for NGO Responsibility (R.A.)
Statements on Activities
(New Israeli Shekels)**

	<u>For The Year Ended December 31, 2009</u>
Donations	1,319,676
Cost of Activities	<u>1,321,943</u>
Net Income (Deficit) from Activities	(2,267)
General and Administrative Expenses	<u>318,132</u>
Net Income (Deficit) for the Year Before Finance	(320,399)
Financing Income (Expense)	<u>(22,743)</u>
Net Income (Deficit) For the Year	<u><u>(343,142)</u></u>

6. LOOKING AHEAD

In 2010, NGO Monitor plans to release:

- **International Humanitarian Law Fact Sheets:** Brief summaries on topical issues, to refute inaccurate NGO legal interpretations. Topics include collective punishment, right to self-defense, and freedom of movement. *Starting: January 2010; major publication: 2011*
- **Report on Canadian NGOs:** Systematic description and analysis of the activities of Canadian NGOs and of Canadian government funding for NGOs active in the Arab-Israeli conflict. *Target date: Fall 2010*
- **Monograph on the statements by HRW during the Second Lebanon War in 2006,** in conjunction with Bar-Ilan University and funded by a grant from the Israel Science Foundation. *Target date: Spring 2010*
- **Monograph on Scandinavian NGO funding,** detailing the channels through which Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Finland support NGOs active in the Arab-Israeli conflict, as well as the scope of that funding. *Target date: March 2010*
- **Monograph critiquing the methodologies human rights NGOs use in reporting alleged Israeli violations of the Laws of Armed Conflict.** This report is to be produced in conjunction with the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs. *Target date: April 2010*

Also in 2010, NGO Monitor will:

- sponsor an educational conference in Washington, DC, and participate in key meetings and conferences in Australia, the UK, and North America.
- implement NGO Monitor's professionally administered Lawfare Project to enable us to meet demands for research publications, government and press briefings, and parliamentary hearings on the phenomenon of legal warfare against Israel in international and national courts.
- participate in the Bachrach Oration in Australia (February) and hold public events in New York, Los Angeles, Toronto, Boston, and San Francisco.

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