

March 2010

**SCANDINAVIAN  
NGO FUNDING**

**Promoting Boycotts, “Lawfare,”  
and the Rhetoric of Conflict**

**NGO MONITOR**

Gerald M. Steinberg, Editor  
NGO Monitor Monograph Series

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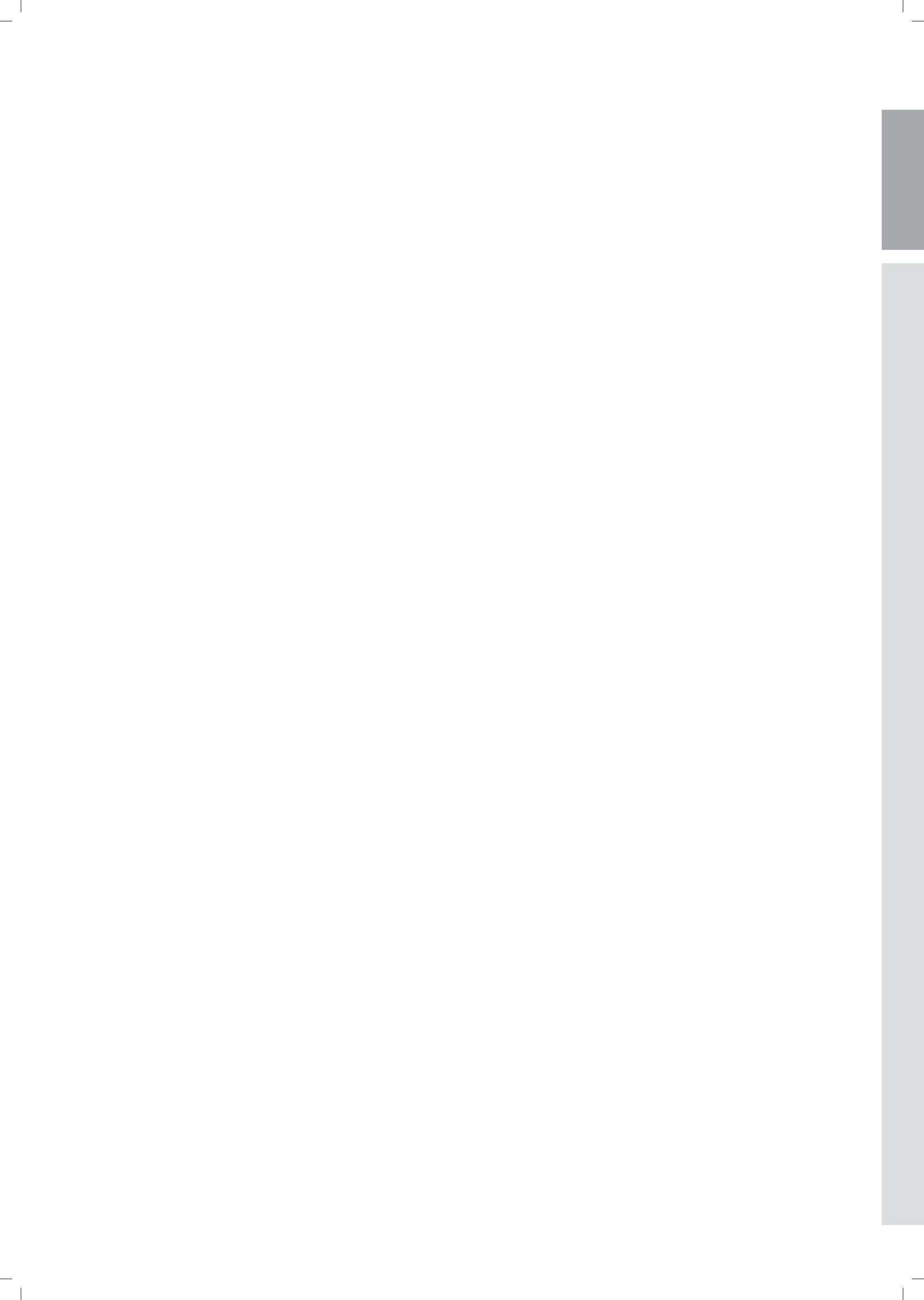
NGO Monitor's mission is to provide information and analysis, promote accountability, and support discussion on the reports and activities of NGOs claiming to advance human rights and humanitarian agendas in the framework of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

NGO Monitor was founded jointly with the Wechsler Family Foundation

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*NGO Monitor wishes to thank researcher Diane Meskin for writing and updating large portions of this report, and legal advisor Anne Herzberg for authoring the section on Diakonia.*



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## Introduction

weden, Norway, Denmark, and Finland – the major northern European countries comprising Scandinavia – contribute millions of dollars annually to non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that include some of the most radical groups operating in Israel and the Palestinian Authority. The scope of funding from these countries is extensive compared to NGO support from other European governments.

This NGO Monitor monograph details the levels of Scandinavian funding received by specific NGOs, as well as the specific anti-Israel advocacy and demonization campaigns in which these NGOs engage – often in direct contradiction to the humanitarian, peace, and human-rights agendas they claim to espouse.

As shown, these NGOs receive significant Scandinavian support from multiple – and often overlapping – sources.

A significant channel for Scandinavian funding is the NGO Development Center (NDC), a Ramallah-based Palestinian organization that has distributed \$6 million to 25 NGOs on behalf of the governments of Sweden and Denmark, as well as Switzerland and the Netherlands. In some cases, the same organizations also receive direct funding from these countries and from the European Commission.

As this report shows, many NDC recipients employ “apartheid” and “ethnic cleansing” rhetoric regarding Israel; promote “war crimes” cases and “lawfare” against Israeli government officials; and actively support the anti-Israel boycotts, divestment, and sanctions (BDS) campaign. NDC is responsible for facilitating the “Palestinian NGO Code of Conduct,” a document that demands Palestinian groups reject “any normalization activities with the occupier, neither at the political-security nor the cultural or developmental levels.”

The Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA), Sweden’s foreign aid body, provided SEK 455 million (approximately \$59 million) in 2008 to NGOs in the West Bank and Gaza. This aid is channeled through 14 Swedish “framework organizations” including Diakonia, a large Christian humanitarian NGO that uses its government funding to promote the Palestinian narrative and delegitimize Israel’s right to self-defense.

Norway provides tens of millions of kroner annually to politicized NGOs that operate in the Palestinian Authority and Gaza. According to a 2009 review of Norwegian aid to Palestinians, commissioned by the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD), the Palestinian Authority is “the second largest recipient of aid from the Norwegian Government, after Sudan.”

Some of the NGOs supported by Norwegian funds are involved in anti-Israel boycott campaigns and the Stop the Wall Campaign in Norway. NORAD revealed that several of the grantees stated their preference for Norwegian aid, “as most other donors have stricter and more time consuming procedures for changes of projects, and are also less prone to finance projects that can be politically sensitive.” This provides additional evidence that Norway is funding politicized groups rather than the “humanitarian aid and emergency support” organizations for which the aid money was designated.

Denmark also is a major NGO donor. Its Foreign Ministry and Embassy in Israel have provided direct funds to NGOs with overtly political agendas. DanChurchAid (DCA), a large humanitarian NGO, channels funds from the Danish government to highly politicized NGOs in Israel and the Palestinian Authority. In 2008, the Danish government provided DKK 213.9 million (approximately \$41 million) to DCA.

Finland’s Foreign Ministry provides relatively smaller amounts for such NGOs, and NGO Monitor research indicates that this amount has been decreasing. However, Finland continues to support groups including HaMoked and the Public Committee Against Torture in Israel (PCATI). Finnish funding also goes to the Jerusalem Center for Social and Economic Rights (JCSER) and the Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs (PASSIA), whose “apartheid” rhetoric and anti-Israel agendas are inconsistent with the Finnish government’s stated goals for the Middle East.

As this monograph details, the flow of money from Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Finland supports NGOs that pursue Palestinian political goals under the guise of “human rights” and “international law.” Demonizing Israel and fueling the conflict with the false rhetoric of “apartheid,” “ethnic cleansing,” and “massacres,” these NGOs fail to meet the Scandinavian governments’ stated goals for the region.

# NGO Development Center: Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, and the Netherlands

## Promoting Israel's Isolation: Scandinavian Funding for NDC and NGOs

- The NGO Development Center (NDC) has distributed \$6 million to 25 NGOs on behalf of the governments of Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, and the Netherlands. In some cases, NDC support is in addition to other funding from these governments to the same organizations.
- The grantees include some of the most radical groups operating in Israel and the Palestinian Authority.
- Many of the recipients employ “apartheid” rhetoric: Al Mezan, Al Haq, Arab Thought Forum, Badil, Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions, Jerusalem Center for Women, Jerusalem Legal Aid and Human Rights Center, Women’s Affairs Technical Committee, and Women for Life.
- NDC provides funds to the Palestinian Center for Human Rights, Al Haq, Al Mezan, Al-Dameer, Musawa, and Women’s Affairs Center, which promote “war crimes” cases and lawfare against Israeli officials.
- Eleven recipients of these taxpayer funds provided via the NDC are signatories to the Palestinian boycotts, divestment, and sanctions (BDS) campaign: Addameer, Al Dameer, Arab Thought Forum, Al Mezan, Defense for Children International-Palestine Section, Jerusalem Center for Women, Jerusalem Legal Aid and Human Rights Center, The Palestinian Working Women Society for Development, Ramallah Center for Human Rights Studies, Women’s Center for Legal Aid and Counseling, and Women’s Affairs Technical Committee.
- Although the NDC guidelines state that “[p]riority will also be extended to local organizations working to promote gender equality and rights of women,” only six of the 25 grantees focus on these issues. Most link their work on women’s rights with anti-Israel activism.
- NDC “facilitated” and funded the “Palestinian NGO Code of Conduct” which demands that Palestinian groups reject “any normalization activities with the occupier, neither at the political-security nor the cultural or developmental levels.”
- NGO Monitor contacted the four donor governments asking for information and comments before writing this report. All refused to reply.

The NGO Development Center (NDC) is an independent Palestinian organization based in Ramallah that works with NGOs and local groups to “provid[e] ... the skills, tools and funds they require to address social needs and promote self-reliance.”<sup>1</sup> In addition to the countries listed above, the NDC receives funds for various projects from the French government as well as the EU.<sup>2</sup> In July 2008, NDC began managing pooled funds from the governments of Switzerland, Sweden, the Netherlands, and Denmark, and recommending “more strategic and enlightened funding decisions.”<sup>3</sup> On their behalf, NDC distributed \$6 million to 25 NGOs, including some of the most radical groups operating in Israel and the Palestinian Authority. Many of the recipients employ demonizing rhetoric such as “apartheid,” endorse the boycotts, divestment, and sanctions (BDS) movement, and promote “war crimes” cases against Israeli officials.

Similarly, NDC’s mission statements, projects, and “NGO code of conduct” promote the Palestinian narrative, and advance the Durban strategy of isolating Israel internationally and related campaigns. As opposed to peace and cooperation, this European-funded “code of conduct” rejects “normalization” with Israel and demands the “right of return” (see below for a more detailed analysis).

## Background

According to reports from the Danish government, in 2005, Austria, Denmark, Sweden, and Switzerland formed the original multi-donor secretariat, in order to “harmonize their assistance to NGOs working to promote human rights and good governance in Gaza/West Bank.”<sup>4</sup> This project, entitled Mu’assasat, was coordinated by

Denmark, and managed by Copenhagen Development Consulting (CDC). As would be repeated in the NDC-stage of the secretariat, Mu’assasat supported a number of NGOs whose campaigns deviate substantially from their human rights claims and in reality exacerbate the conflict. Mu’assasat’s director, Khalil Nakhleh, reflected this politicized agenda, accusing Israel of “ethnic cleansing” and a “system of apartheid and an ideology of exclusion,” and rejecting the “2-state solution.”<sup>5</sup> In July 2007, the CDC declared bankruptcy, effectually dissolving the secretariat.

In 2008, the new coalition led by Switzerland, with Sweden, the Netherlands, and Denmark, coalesced under the NDC heading. The \$6 million in grants covers the period of July 2008–December 2009. A review was scheduled for mid-2009, but any findings have not been made public.

## The NGO recipients

Twenty-five Palestinian and Israeli NGOs were chosen under the Human Rights and Good Governance Program (HR/GG),<sup>6</sup> which claims to support<sup>7</sup> NGOs “which promote, support, protect, and monitor the observance of human rights and good governance in the oPt.”<sup>8</sup> The funds were divided in varying increments, ranging from \$30,000 (Jerusalem Center for Women) to \$500,000 (HaMoked, Al Mezan, and Al-Haq). The selection process was conducted by NDC and approved by a steering committee from the four donor countries.

NDC funds can account for a very significant portion of an NGO’s budget. “Large NGOs” (annual budget over \$250,000) are eligible to receive 50 percent of their budgets, while “small NGOs” (annual budget over \$100,000) can receive 60 percent.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> NDC, “Palestinians Helping Palestinians.” Available at: <http://ndc.ps/main.php?id=1>.

<sup>2</sup> See <http://ndc.ps/main.php?id=9> and [http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/what/human-rights/documents/eidhr\\_compendium\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/what/human-rights/documents/eidhr_compendium_en.pdf), p. 87.

<sup>3</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, “Multi-Donor Secretariat for support to NGOs within human rights and good governance,” April 2009. Available at: <http://www.um.dk/NR/ronlyres/C2454AE2-DE5D-4458-9815-48BB22F48B2C/0/05PalaeatinaMultidonorsekretariat.doc>.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> We Are Wide Awake, Nov. 21, 2006. Available at: [http://www.wearewideawake.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=313&Itemid=1](http://www.wearewideawake.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=313&Itemid=1)

<sup>6</sup> NDC, Human Rights and Good Governance Program (HR/GG), <http://www.ndc.ps/main.php?id=44>.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> OPT — Occupied Palestinian Territory — is a political, not a legal, term used by many NGOs.

<sup>9</sup> NDC, Guidelines for Submission, “Human Rights and Good Governance (HR/GG).” Available at: <http://www.ndc.ps/uploads/File/Guidelines%20for%20submission%20HRGG%20%20.pdf>.

Although Denmark's project description claims that "[p]riority will also be extended to local organizations working to promote gender equality and rights of women,"<sup>10</sup> only six of the 25 grantees focus on these issues. Additionally, most of these groups link their work on women's rights with anti-Israel activism (see below), suggesting that the political positions on the Arab-Israeli conflict, not gender equality, guided NDC's grant-making.

See below for a full list of NGO grantees and an analysis of their activities. (Although it is not listed as a grantee by NDC, Israeli NGO Gisha indicates the NDC as a donor on its website, thanking the four donor countries for the support "channeled through the NGO Development Center (NDC)-HR/GG secretariat."<sup>11</sup> For information on Gisha, see Appendix II.

### NDC: Advancing the Durban Strategy

NDC was apparently chosen to run the program due to its "good and transparent reputation in the donor community" – thereby minimizing the "risk of mismanagement" – and is considered by the secretariat to be "a key provider of technical and managerial capacity building to the [NGO] sector."<sup>12</sup> However, notwithstanding NDC's potential technical benefits, its extreme political orientation is counterproductive to the goals of the program.

For instance, NDC's vision is "[t]o see our people achieve all our national goals, foremost of which is the right of return and establishment of a national, independent, democratic state, with Jerusalem as its capital."<sup>13</sup> Peace, cooperation, and coexistence are not on its agenda.

Similarly, NDC "facilitated" and funded the "Palestinian NGO Code of Conduct," describing the "ethical and work behavioral patterns within the framework of the functioning of NGOs." In the code, NDC demands that Palestinian groups reject "any normalization activities with the occupier, neither at the political-security nor the cultural or developmental levels." Furthermore, "[n]o endeavor would be carried out if it undermines the inalienable Palestinian rights of establishing statehood and the return of the refugees to their original homes, according to Security Council Resolution 194."<sup>14</sup> (The misleading reference to a UN Security Council resolution is a distortion. No Security Council resolution endorses the Palestinian "right of return." There is a General Assembly Resolution 194 that generally addresses the refugee situation following the 1948 War, but it is not legally binding.)

These elements are expressly opposed to the peace process and the regional goals of the donor countries, which state that "dialogue with Israel at different levels is central" (Sweden);<sup>15</sup> "promoting popular support among Palestinians for a peaceful settlement of the conflict with Israel" is an "overarching political goal" (the Netherlands);<sup>16</sup> "[t]he vision behind [Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation] ... aims to improve the prospects for peace" (Switzerland);<sup>17</sup> and "Palestinian institutions are expected to respect high standards of human rights, tolerance, [and] equality" (Denmark).<sup>18</sup> Moreover, all of these governments support a Jewish State and a Palestinian State existing side by side. This goal is incompatible with NDC's calls for a "right of return."

<sup>10</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, "Multi-Donor Secretariat for support to NGOs within human rights and good governance," April 2009. Available at: <http://www.um.dk/NR/rdonlyres/C2454AE2-DE5D-4458-9815-48BB22F48B2C/0/05PalaestinaMultidonorsekretariat.doc>.

<sup>11</sup> Gisha, "Institutional Donors." Available at: <http://gisha.org/index.php?intLanguage=2&intSiteSN=141&OldMenu=137&intItemId=125>.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Available at: <http://www.ndc.ps/main.php?id=2>.

<sup>14</sup> NDC, "Palestinian Code of Conduct," 2008. Available at: <http://www.ndc.ps/main.php?id=22>.

<sup>15</sup> Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Sweden, "Strategy for development cooperation with the West Bank and Gaza," Dec. 21, 2006. Available at: <http://www.sweden.gov.se/content/1/c6/04/67/07/3c171310.pdf>.

<sup>16</sup> Netherlands Representative Office, "Development Cooperation Programme for the occupied Palestinian Territories (oPT)." Available at: [http://www.holland-pal.org/dev\\_coop.html](http://www.holland-pal.org/dev_coop.html).

<sup>17</sup> Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, "Gaza and Westbank." Available at: [http://www.sdc.admin.ch/en/Home/Countries/Near\\_and\\_Middle\\_East/Gaza\\_and\\_Westbank](http://www.sdc.admin.ch/en/Home/Countries/Near_and_Middle_East/Gaza_and_Westbank).

<sup>18</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, "Multi-Donor Secretariat for support to NGOs within human rights and good governance," April 2009. Available at: <http://www.um.dk/NR/rdonlyres/C2454AE2-DE5D-4458>.

NDC's guidelines for small grants specify "HR organizations that monitor, document and report on violations by the Israeli military occupation of Palestinian human rights" as a criterion for funding. "Eligible activities" include lobbying against Israel internationally: "Launch[ing] an ad-hoc, previously unplanned, international advocacy campaign to influence and change Israeli occupation policy in order to prevent, or stop, emerging HR violations."<sup>19</sup>

Additionally, the "eligibility requirements" in the NDC "Guidelines for Submission" call for NGOs that engage in "legal representations and litigation related to individual cases of human rights violations."<sup>20</sup> Indeed, NDC grantees Al-Haq, PCHR, and Al Mezan are spearheading the "lawfare" strategy of exploiting universal jurisdiction statutes to harass Israeli officials with "war crimes" cases.<sup>21</sup>

### The NGOs Receiving NDC Funds

Many of these NGOs also receive government funds directly from the donor governments, via NGOs funneling government funds, and from various EU mechanisms (which are supported by these same governments). For

more details, see NGO Monitor reports: "Danish Funds for Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) Campaigns and Politicized NGOs: Government Funding & Support Analysis,"<sup>22</sup> "A Clouded EU Presidency: Swedish Funding for NGO Rejectionism,"<sup>23</sup> and "Norwegian NGO Funding: Peace and Coexistence, or Boycotts and Apartheid Rhetoric?"<sup>24</sup>

### Addameer (NDC grant \$250,000)

Addameer refers to the Israeli army as the "Israeli Occupying Forces," and accuses Israel of "collective punishment" and a "policy of using Palestinian prisoners as pawns to achieve political and military gains."<sup>25</sup> Addameer endorsed a UN submission alleging that Israeli "war crimes ... include wilful killing and the extensive destruction of houses and other civilian property."<sup>26</sup> In oral testimony to the UN, Addameer claimed that "[t]he main purpose of these policies of the imprisonment was to broke [sic] the soul of the resistance in the Palestinian people against the occupation."<sup>27</sup> Addameer also alleged that "since the Israeli occupation ... began, 700,000 Palestinians have been imprisoned by the Israeli military."<sup>28</sup> No source is provided for this dubious figure.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Available at: [http://www.ndc.ps/uploads/File/Guidelines for the Small Grant Facility.doc](http://www.ndc.ps/uploads/File/Guidelines%20for%20the%20Small%20Grant%20Facility.doc).

<sup>20</sup> NDC, "Human Rights and Good Governance (HR/GG) Guidelines for Submission," July 2008. Available at: <http://www.ndc.ps/uploads/File/Guidelines%20for%20submission%20HRGG%20%20.pdf>.

<sup>21</sup> See Anne Herzberg, "NGO 'Lawfare': The Exploitation of International Law in the Arab-Israeli Conflict," *NGO Monitor Monograph Series* (September 2008). Available at: <http://www.ngo-monitor.org/data/images/File/lawfare-monograph.pdf>.

<sup>22</sup> NGO Monitor, Oct. 27, 2009. Available at: [http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/denmark\\_update\\_october\\_](http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/denmark_update_october_). See p. 66 in this monograph.

<sup>23</sup> NGO Monitor, June 29, 2009. Available at: [http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/a\\_clouded\\_eu\\_presidency\\_swedish\\_funding\\_for\\_radical\\_ngos](http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/a_clouded_eu_presidency_swedish_funding_for_radical_ngos). See p. 19 in this monograph.

<sup>24</sup> NGO Monitor, March 12, 2009. Available at: [http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/norwegian\\_ngo\\_funding\\_boycotts\\_and\\_apartheid\\_rhetoric\\_instead\\_of\\_peace\\_and\\_coexistence](http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/norwegian_ngo_funding_boycotts_and_apartheid_rhetoric_instead_of_peace_and_coexistence). See p. 49 in this monograph.

<sup>25</sup> Addameer, "Addameer Condemns IOF's Abduction of 10 Political Leaders," March 19, 2009. Available at: <http://addameer.info/?p=934>.

<sup>26</sup> United Nations, Written statement submitted by Badil Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights, Adalah-The Legal Center for Arab Minority Rights in Israel, Al-Haq and The Arab Association for Human Rights (HRA), non-governmental organizations in special consultative status, Jan. 7, 2009. Available at: <http://unispal.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/0/D5B4483B6D667C018525753D006EE179>.

<sup>27</sup> NGO Monitor, "The Goldstone 'Fact Finding' Mission and the Role of Political NGOs," Sept. 7, 2009. Available at: [http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/the\\_goldstone\\_gaza\\_fact\\_finding\\_committee\\_and\\_the\\_lund\\_london\\_guidelines\\_](http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/the_goldstone_gaza_fact_finding_committee_and_the_lund_london_guidelines_).

<sup>28</sup> Addameer, "Addameer Prisoner's Support and Human Rights Organization (Addameer) Submission to the United Nations Universal Periodic Review of Israel," July 2008. Available at: [http://lib.ohchr.org/HRBodies/UPR/Documents/Session3/IL/APSHRA\\_ISR\\_UPR\\_S3\\_2008\\_AddameerPrisonersSupportandHumanRightsAssociation\\_uprsubmission.pdf](http://lib.ohchr.org/HRBodies/UPR/Documents/Session3/IL/APSHRA_ISR_UPR_S3_2008_AddameerPrisonersSupportandHumanRightsAssociation_uprsubmission.pdf).

<sup>29</sup> If Addameer's claim of 700,000 imprisoned Palestinians is to be believed, since 1967, 17,500 new prisoners would have to be detained by Israel annually. Even at the height of the Palestinian terror campaign in 2002, the number of Palestinian prisoners averaged around 5,000 at any one time. Moreover, given that many of these prisoners were sentenced to multiple-year terms or were repeat offenders, the same individuals are included in the figures for each year. Addameer's statement must therefore be dismissed as nothing more than pure propaganda.

**Al-Dameer (\$200,000)**

Al-Dameer released a statement calling for the “prosecut[ion] [of] the Israeli war criminals”.<sup>30</sup> After the release of the Goldstone “fact-finding” report on the Gaza conflict, Al-Dameer called “[t]o prosecute the military commanders and Israeli civilians before the national courts of criminal jurisdiction, to effectuate the principle of international criminal jurisdiction of national courts.”<sup>31</sup> This organization has never issued calls to prosecute Palestinians, including Hamas, for their perpetration of war crimes against and direct targeting of Israeli civilians, in particular, children.

**Al-Haq (\$500,000)**

Al-Haq lists boycotts among its goals and objectives,<sup>32</sup> and is a leader of the “lawfare” movement to interfere in the diplomatic relations between Israel and countries such as the UK by bringing lawsuits against UK officials to block trade with Israel. General Director Shawan Jabarin has been denied travel visas by Israel and Jordan for his alleged

ties to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) terror group.<sup>33</sup> Al-Haq assisted the Bil’in Village Council in bringing a case in Quebec against Canadian corporations, claiming that they were “aiding, abetting, assisting and conspiring with Israel, the Occupying Power.”<sup>34</sup> This NGO was also behind the September 2009 attempt to arrest Israeli Defense Minister Ehud Barak in the UK.<sup>35</sup>

**Al Mezan (\$500,000)**

Al Mezan’s activities reflect a radical anti-Israel agenda, including promoting claims of “Israeli war crimes,”<sup>36</sup> “apartheid,”<sup>37</sup> “ethnic cleansing,”<sup>38</sup> “criminal aggression against civilians,” “Israeli massacres,”<sup>39</sup> and “slaughtering civilians.”<sup>40</sup> The organization also offensively employs Nazi and Holocaust rhetoric referring to Israeli “incit[ement]” to “holocaust (genocide).”<sup>41</sup> Al Mezan has also joined the “lawfare” movement, partnering with Al-Haq to attempt to arrest Israeli Defense Minister Ehud Barak in the UK.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Al-Dameer, “Al Dameer Urges UN Human Rights Council Members to Endorse All Recommendations of the Fact-Finding Mission’s Report at its Current Session in Geneva to Restore Justice to the Victims of Israel’s Offensive Attack,” Sept. 28, 2009. Available at: <http://www.aldameer.org/en/index.php?page=main&id=84>.

<sup>31</sup> Al-Dameer, “The Outcome of the IOF Offensive on the Gaza Strip: 2011 Civilian and Cultural Premises were Destroyed completely or partially...Al Dameer Issues a Special Report Entitled...,” May 5, 2009. Available at: <http://www.aldameer.org/en/index.php?page=main&id=58>.

<sup>32</sup> Available at: <http://www.alhaq.org/etemplate.php?id=51>.

<sup>33</sup> “Shawan Rateb Abdullah Jabarin versus The Commander of IDF Forces in the West Bank,” July 3, 2008. Available at: <http://www.alhaq.org/pdfs/HCJ%20Shawan%20Jabarin%20v%20IDF.pdf>.

<sup>34</sup> NGO Monitor, “Al-Haq Supported Lawfare in Canada,” June 11, 2009. Available at: [http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/al\\_haq\\_supported\\_lawfare\\_in\\_canada](http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/al_haq_supported_lawfare_in_canada).

<sup>35</sup> Al-Haq, “Al Mezan and Al-Haq Regret London Magistrates’ Court Decision Not to Issue Arrest Warrant against Israeli Defence Minister for Alleged War Crimes in Gaza,” Oct. 1, 2009. Available at: <http://www.alhaq.org/etemplate.php?id=478>.

<sup>36</sup> Al Mezan, “Following the Goldstone Report: Adalah, Al Mezan and Al Haq Submit New Complaints and Demands to Israel for Criminal Investigations into Suspected War Crimes in Gaza,” Nov. 25, 2009. Available at: [http://www.mezan.org/en/details.php?id=9283&ddname=crimes&id\\_dept=31&p=center](http://www.mezan.org/en/details.php?id=9283&ddname=crimes&id_dept=31&p=center).

<sup>37</sup> Al Mezan, “On 9th Anniversary of 2nd Intifada: Al Mezan Condemns Forced Entry of Israeli Settlers and Police into Al Aqsa Mosque; Calls for International Protection,” Sept. 28, 2009. Available at: [http://www.mezan.org/en/details.php?id=9059&ddname=ESC%20rights&id\\_dept=9&p=center](http://www.mezan.org/en/details.php?id=9059&ddname=ESC%20rights&id_dept=9&p=center).

<sup>38</sup> Al Mezan, “During the commemoration of Al Nakba, the IOF continue the displacement of Palestinians,” May 15, 2006. Available at: <http://www.mezan.org/en/a.php?id=1951>.

<sup>39</sup> Al Mezan, “Israeli Massacres in Gaza Continue: 284 Killed; Including 32 Children, and 755 Injured; Gaza’s Service Systems Paralyzed under Severe Lack of Medicine, Food and Power,” Dec. 29, 2008. Available at: [http://www.mezan.org/en/details.php?id=1522&ddname=gaza%20destruction&id\\_dept=9&id2=9&p=center](http://www.mezan.org/en/details.php?id=1522&ddname=gaza%20destruction&id_dept=9&id2=9&p=center).

<sup>40</sup> Al Mezan, “IOF Targets a 3rd UNRWA Shelter and Continues its massacres in the Gaza Strip - The Int’l Community Must End Slaughtering Civilians Immediately,” Jan. 17, 2009. Available at: [http://www.mezan.org/en/details.php?id=1498&ddname=gaza%20destruction&id\\_dept=9&id2=9&p=center](http://www.mezan.org/en/details.php?id=1498&ddname=gaza%20destruction&id_dept=9&id2=9&p=center).

<sup>41</sup> Al Mezan, “Al Mezan Condemns the Assassination of As-Smiri and the Killing of an Infant; Calls for International Intervention,” March 5, 2008. Available at: <http://www.mezan.org/en/a.php?id=1628>.

<sup>42</sup> NGO Monitor, “European Govts Fund NGO ‘Lawfare’ vs. Minister Barak,” Sept. 30, 2009. Available at: [http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/european\\_govts\\_fund\\_ngo\\_lawfare\\_vs\\_minister\\_barak](http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/european_govts_fund_ngo_lawfare_vs_minister_barak).

**Arab Thought Forum (ATF-Multaqa) (\$80,000)**

ATF consistently uses the language of demonization, employing terms such as “apartheid,”<sup>43</sup> “ethnic cleansing,”<sup>44</sup> “genocide,”<sup>45</sup> and “collective punishment,”<sup>46</sup> while promoting the (BDS) campaign. ATF claims that “the Zionist notion carries racist principles that keep producing Apartheid forms.”<sup>47</sup> This NGO refers to “so called ‘Palestinian Terrorism.’” Until 2009, this NGO partnered with the Institute for Historical Justice and Reconciliation, whose executive committee is chaired by Richard Goldstone.<sup>48</sup>

**Badil (\$100,000)**

Badil’s claimed focus is the “right of return.” Badil calls for a “targeted campaign to expose the lies of AIPAC and the Anti-Defamation League and to expose the Jewish and Zionist community’s double standards regarding Nakba & Occupation.”<sup>49</sup> Badil also refers to “Israel’s colonial apartheid regime,” “state-sponsored racism,”<sup>50</sup> and “systematic ethnic cleansing,”<sup>51</sup> and alleges that “[i]nstitutionalized racism and discrimination” are the

“root causes of the...displacement and dispossession of the Palestinian people.”<sup>52</sup>

**Bimkom (\$150,000)**

Bimkom claims to focus on “the right to equality and social justice in matters of planning, development, and the allocation of land resources.”<sup>53</sup> But Bimkom regularly opposes the Israeli government’s policy regarding topics completely unrelated to planning rights, including the Gaza war. During the Gaza war, Bimkom, along with other Israeli NGOs, accused Israel of “making wanton use of lethal force which has to date caused the death of hundreds of uninvolved civilians” and “forc[ing]” Palestinians to “live in fear and terror.”<sup>54</sup>

**B’Tselem (\$450,000)**

This NGO “acts primarily to change Israeli policy in the Occupied Territories,”<sup>55</sup> a political objective. While widely considered Israel’s premier human-rights organization, B’Tselem has faced serious criticism for its misrepresentations of international law,<sup>56</sup> inaccurate

<sup>43</sup> Arab Thought Forum, “War Crimes or War against Humanity,” March 2006. Available at: <http://www.multaqa.org/etemplate.php?id=905>.

<sup>44</sup> Arab Thought Forum, “The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine.” Available at: <http://www.multaqa.org/etemplate.php?id=1018>.

<sup>45</sup> Arab Thought Forum, “Gaza exposes the world order,” Jan. 10, 2009. Available at: <http://www.multaqa.org/etemplate.php?id=1120>.

<sup>46</sup> Arab Thought Forum, “2008 Annual Report.” Available at: <http://www.multaqa.org/pdfs/Annual%20Report.new.2008.pdf>.

<sup>47</sup> Arab Thought Forum, “War Crimes or War against Humanity,” March 2006. Available at: <http://www.multaqa.org/etemplate.php?id=905>.

<sup>48</sup> NGO Monitor, “Goldstone’s NGO partner: The Arab Thought Forum – E.U. funding to Promote Demonization,” Nov. 3, 2009. Available at: [http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/goldstone\\_s\\_ngo\\_partner\\_the\\_arab\\_thought\\_forum\\_e\\_u\\_funding\\_to\\_promote\\_demonization](http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/goldstone_s_ngo_partner_the_arab_thought_forum_e_u_funding_to_promote_demonization).

<sup>49</sup> See “Badil Releases Blueprint for 2007-08 Durban Strategy Campaign,” NGO Monitor, May 30, 2007. Available at: [http://www.ngo-monitor.org/digest\\_info.php?id=1434#9](http://www.ngo-monitor.org/digest_info.php?id=1434#9).

<sup>50</sup> Badil, “A Call for New Vision and Strategies,” Summer 2007. Available at: <http://www.badil.org/en/al-majdal/item/419-a-call-for-new-vision-and-strategies>.

<sup>51</sup> Badil’s oral statement at Durban Review Conference Preparatory Committee second substantive session, Oct. 16, 2008. Available at: <http://www.un.org/webcast/unhrc/archive.asp?go=081016>.

<sup>52</sup> Badil, “Ongoing Forced Displacement of the Palestinian Population on Both Sides of the ‘Green Line,’” Autumn 2008–Winter 2009. Available at: <http://www.badil.org/en/al-majdal/item/57-ongoing-forced-displacement-of-the-palestinian-population-on-both-sides-of-the-%E2%80%9Cgreen-line%E2%80%9D>.

<sup>53</sup> NGO Monitor, “Bimkom,” Feb. 6, 2007. Available at: <http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/bimkom>.

<sup>54</sup> “A Clear and Present Danger an Israeli Call for Urgent Humanitarian Action in Gaza,” Jan. 14, 2009. Available at: <http://www.gisha.org/UserFiles/File/Press%20Materials/HR%20Letter%20Gaza%20ENG%20Jan%2014-08.pdf>.

<sup>55</sup> B’Tselem, “About B’Tselem.” Available at: [http://www.btselem.org/English/About\\_Btselem/Index.asp](http://www.btselem.org/English/About_Btselem/Index.asp).

<sup>56</sup> NGO Monitor, “The NGO Front in the Gaza War: The Durban Strategy Continues,” NGO Monitor Monograph Series, Feb. 12, 2009. Available at: [http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/the\\_ngo\\_front\\_in\\_the\\_gaza\\_war](http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/the_ngo_front_in_the_gaza_war).

research,<sup>57</sup> skewed statistics (including casualty lists<sup>58</sup>), and selective coverage of violations against Israelis. These problematic methodologies reinforce the Palestinian narrative of victimization and portray Israel as the sole impediment to peace.

### **Defense for Children International-Palestine Section (DCI-PS) (\$450,000)**

DCI-PS regularly exploits the rhetoric of children's rights, manipulates international law, and campaigns against Israel in the UN and other international frameworks. DCI-PS has falsely accused Israel of "deliberate targeting of civilians" in Lebanon, "terrorizing the civilian population" in Gaza, and "collective punishment."<sup>59</sup> DCI-PS refers to Israeli "racis[m]," and promotes the Palestinian narrative of "nakba" and the "right [of] return" as "a natural and legal right."<sup>60</sup> DCI-PS referred to the Gaza conflict as Israel's "illegal act of aggression."<sup>61</sup>

### **HaMoked (\$500,000)**

HaMoked accuses Israel of "war crimes" with only a token reference to Hamas' "sporadic" rocket fire against Israeli

civilians.<sup>62</sup> In 2006, Israel's State Prosecutor asserted that HaMoked's "self-presentation as 'a human rights organization' has no basis in reality and is designed to mislead."<sup>63</sup> HaMoked called the Gaza war a "punitive operation" and promoted the unverified claim that "[m]any prisoners ... were held in pits in the ground ... apparently dug by the army."<sup>64</sup> During the Gaza war, HaMoked distorted international law to criminalize Israeli actions, falsely claiming that "phosphorous and cluster bombs" are "illegal weapons prohibited by International Humanitarian Law."<sup>65</sup> HaMoked has also compared Israel to "totalitarian countries."<sup>66</sup>

### **Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions (ICAHD) (\$80,000)**

ICAHD is a radical NGO that utilizes "apartheid" and "ethnic cleansing"<sup>67</sup> rhetoric and supports the BDS movement.<sup>68</sup> ICAHD head Jeff Halper regularly refers to the Israeli "matrix of control,"<sup>69</sup> claiming that a bi-national state is the only remaining option resulting from Israel's "futile attempt to impose an apartheid regime." ICAHD's website promotes a "campaign against apartheid,"<sup>70</sup> and

<sup>57</sup> Lt. Col. (ret.) Jonathan D. Halevi, JCPA, "An additional example of the importance of criticism of human rights organizations" (Hebrew), June 14, 2009. Available at: <http://www.jcpa.org.il/JCPAHeb/Templates/showpage.asp?FID=602&DBID=1&LNGID=2&TMID=99&IID=22817>.

<sup>58</sup> Dan Izenberg, "Report slams B'Tselem Cast Lead figures," *Jerusalem Post*, Sept. 16, 2009. Available at: <http://www.jpost.com/servlet/Satellite?cid=1251804580143&pagename=JPost%2FJPArticle%2FShowFull>.

<sup>59</sup> DCI-PS, "29 September Presentation by DCI to CRC," Sept. 29, 2006. Available at: <http://www.dci-pal.org/english/display.cfm?DocId=554&CategoryId=18>.

<sup>60</sup> DCI-PS, "61 years after the Nakba: the Israeli army is still enacting the Catastrophe," May 14, 2009. Available at: <http://www.dci-pal.org/english/display.cfm?DocId=1152&CategoryId=1>.

<sup>61</sup> DCI-PS, "Gaza Under Attack." Available at: <http://dci-pal.org/english/display.cfm?DocId=936&CategoryId=16>.

<sup>62</sup> "Submission of Human Rights Organizations based in Israel." Available at: <http://www.acri.org.il/pdf/goldstone1.pdf>.

<sup>63</sup> NGO Monitor, "Israeli State Prosecutor Recognises Bias of Israeli Human Rights NGOs, HaMoked and B'Tselem," March 23, 2006. Available at: [http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/\\_israeli\\_state\\_prosecutor\\_recognises\\_bias\\_of\\_israeli\\_human\\_rights\\_ngos\\_hamoked\\_and\\_b\\_tselem\\_](http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/_israeli_state_prosecutor_recognises_bias_of_israeli_human_rights_ngos_hamoked_and_b_tselem_).

<sup>64</sup> NGO Monitor, "The Goldstone 'Fact Finding' Mission and the Role of Political NGOs," Sept. 7, 2009. Available at: [http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/the\\_goldstone\\_gaza\\_fact\\_finding\\_committee\\_and\\_the\\_lund\\_london\\_guidelines\\_](http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/the_goldstone_gaza_fact_finding_committee_and_the_lund_london_guidelines_).

<sup>65</sup> HaMoked, "HaMoked: Center for the Defence of the Individual and other human rights organizations turned to the Prime Minister, the Minister of Defence and the Attorney General: Halt the Use of Illegal Weapons Prohibited by International Law," Jan. 15, 2009. Available at: [http://www.hamoked.org.il/news\\_main\\_en.asp?id=636](http://www.hamoked.org.il/news_main_en.asp?id=636).

<sup>66</sup> HaMoked, "Machsom Watch's security violations," June 14, 2009. Available at: [http://www.ngo-monitor.org/digest\\_info.php?id=2497#machsom](http://www.ngo-monitor.org/digest_info.php?id=2497#machsom).

<sup>67</sup> ICAHD, "Don't Say We Did Not Know," March 20, 2007. Available at: <http://icahd.org/eng/articles.asp?menu=6&submenu=2&article=332>.

<sup>68</sup> ICAHD, "Manchester Boycott Model." Available at: <http://www.icahd.org/icahdukdev/eng/documents/Manchester%20Boycott%20Model.htm>.

<sup>69</sup> Jeff Halper, "Dismantling the Matrix of Control," Middle East Report Online, Sept. 11, 2009. Available at: <http://www.merip.org/mero/mero091109.html>.

<sup>70</sup> ICAHD, "Campaign Against Apartheid." Available at: <http://www.icahd.org/eng/campaigns.asp?menu=4&submenu=4>.

accuses Israel of “state terrorism.”<sup>71</sup> Halper has claimed that Israel “wants to enclose [the Palestinians] in a little Bantustan-type state.”<sup>72</sup> ICAHD refers to the demolition of illegally built houses as “discriminatory discourse” and “racist measures.”<sup>73</sup>

#### **Jerusalem Center for Women (JCW) (\$30,000)**

JCW claims “to stand against to the unjust occupation, oppression, war, apartheid, humiliation, and poverty affecting Palestinian women.”<sup>74</sup> A “fact sheet” refers to the “Annexation wall” and “illegal[] evict[ion]” of Palestinian families “so that settlers can take up residency.”<sup>75</sup> JCW designed posters with provocative slogans, such as “Ethnic Cleansing in East Jerusalem,” “Stop the Apartheid Wall,” and “Stop the Judaization of Jerusalem.”

#### **Jerusalem Legal Aid and Human Rights Center (JLAC-Mossada) (\$165,000)**

JLAC claims to “[d]efend[] the Palestinian victims of human rights violations; with accordance to the Palestinian laws and the international law ... via legal aid and legal representation.”<sup>76</sup> JLAC published a report entitled, “Rats in the Maze: Freedom of Movement in the OPT,” which refers to Israeli “crimes,” “apartheid,” and “collective punishment.”<sup>77</sup> JLAC also wrote a 34-page report calling on the US to freeze military aid to Israel claiming that

Israel aims to “destroy all manifestations of Palestinian nationalism and culture.”<sup>78</sup>

#### **Musawa (\$150,000)**

While the majority of Musawa’s activities appear to focus on securing “the independence of the Judiciary and the legal profession,”<sup>79</sup> in December 2008 Musawa signed an NGO statement referring to the “Israeli occupying forces” and its “malicious intent to inflict as many casualties as possible.”<sup>80</sup> Musawa’s executive director wrote a letter to Mahmoud Abbas asking him to support the “prosecution of Israel’s leaders for war crimes in the international courts” to “bring[] Israeli leaders and army officials to justice.”<sup>81</sup>

#### **Public Committee Against Torture in Israel (PCATI) (\$240,000)**

PCATI claims to fight against torture and for prisoner rights. While extensively criticizing alleged Israeli abuses, the group has done virtually no campaigning to uphold the rights of Gilad Shalit – held incommunicado by Hamas since June 25, 2006 in flagrant violation of the Geneva Conventions. PCATI often lobbies in international forums to promote its one-sided, politicized agenda. PCATI leaders testified in Geneva in front of the UN’s fact finding mission on the Gaza war, where they referred to Israel’s “unacceptable collective punishment” and to Palestinian “martyrs.”<sup>82</sup>

<sup>71</sup> ICAHD, “Don’t Say We Did Not Know,” March 20, 2007. Available at: <http://icahd.org/eng/articles.asp?menu=6&submenu=2&article=332>.

<sup>72</sup> Jeff Halper and Jon Elmer, “Israel and the Empire,” FromOccupiedPalestine.org, Sept. 20, 2003. Available at: <http://www.fromoccupiedpalestine.org/node/776>.

<sup>73</sup> ICAHD, “Three house demolitions in East Jerusalem,” Nov. 11, 2009. Available at: <http://www.icahd.org/eng/news.asp?menu=5&submenu=1&item=745>.

<sup>74</sup> Jerusalem Center for Women, “History.” Available at: <http://www.j-c-w.org/history.php>.

<sup>75</sup> Jerusalem Center for Women, “The Judisation [sic] of Jerusalem.” Available at: <http://www.j-c-w.org/factsheets/Judaization%20of%20J%27lem.doc>.

<sup>76</sup> NDC, “HR/GG Beneficiary List.” Available at: <http://www.ndc.ps/uploads/File/Copy%20of%20HRGG%20List%20of%20beneficiary%20NGOs%281%29.pdf>. No.19.

<sup>77</sup> Aug. 24, 2007. Available at: [http://www.mosaada.org/eng/images/PDF\\_File/restrictions\\_on\\_movement.pdf](http://www.mosaada.org/eng/images/PDF_File/restrictions_on_movement.pdf).

<sup>78</sup> “Freezing U.S. Military Aid to Israel: Required by U.S. Law,” April 2005. Available at: [http://www.mosaada.org/eng/images/PDF\\_File/freezing\\_us\\_aid.pdf](http://www.mosaada.org/eng/images/PDF_File/freezing_us_aid.pdf).

<sup>79</sup> Musawa, “About Musawa.” Available at: <http://www.musawa.ps/page.php?id=1&menu=15>.

<sup>80</sup> Electronic Intifada, “Rights orgs: Israel’s willful killings a war crime,” Dec. 27, 2008. Available at: <http://electronicintifada.net/v2/article10057.shtml>.

<sup>81</sup> Available at: <http://musawa.ps/etemplate.php?id=144&searchkey=Israel>.

<sup>82</sup> United Nations, “UN Fact Finding Mission on the Gaza Conflict - Public Hearings First & Second session,” July 7, 2009. Available at: <http://www.un.org/webcast/unhrc/archive.asp?go=090707>.

### Palestinian Centre for Human Rights (PCHR) (\$400,000)

PCHR regularly refers to rocket attacks on Israeli civilians as “resistance.”<sup>83</sup> PCHR frequently employs the “lawfare” strategy of exploiting universal jurisdiction statutes to bring cases against Israeli political and military officials for “war crimes” and “crimes against humanity.” PCHR alleged that almost 70 percent of all casualties in the Gaza war were civilian, including two senior Hamas military leaders – an unsubstantiated claim that was repeated in the media and in the Goldstone Report.<sup>84</sup> PCHR’s figures have been independently disproven by several sources.<sup>85</sup>

### Physicians for Human Rights-Israel (PHR-I) (\$125,000)

In July 2009, PHR-I activists provided first aid training to violent protesters at the security barrier near Bil’in with the political aim of showing “solidarity with the people who fight against the occupation and the building of the wall.”<sup>86</sup> PHR-I engages in political campaigns including attacks against Israel’s Law of Return<sup>87</sup> and the publishing of an article equating Israeli “settlers” to “self-exploding terrorists.”<sup>88</sup> During the Gaza war PHR-I accused Israel of using “extreme and disproportionate force ... against

the population of Gaza” and of “targeting [] medical teams and aid convoys.”<sup>89</sup> Dr. Yoram Blachar, president of the World Medical Association, criticized PHR-I as “a radical political group disguised as a medical organization.”<sup>90</sup>

### Palestinian NGO Network (PNGO) (\$130,000)

During the Gaza war, PNGO alleged that Israel’s goal was to “eras[e] the memory of resistance and struggle ... so Israel would be free to impose its goals, and instill a culture of obedience, and compliance with the occupying power.”<sup>91</sup> PNGO called for a “war tribunal” and “reparations.”<sup>92</sup> PNGO is a leader of the “National Committee for the BDS Campaign,”<sup>93</sup> and participates in “holding conferences,” “international advocacy,” and “media advocacy” in support of BDS.

### The Palestinian Working Women Society for Development (PWWSD) (\$60,000)

PWWSD “is engaged in resisting the Israeli occupation and all other forms of oppression and discrimination.”<sup>94</sup> In an article entitled, “Avouch Your Legal and Human Responsibilities Towards Victimized Gaza,” PWWSD refers to “Israeli aggression” and “war crimes.”<sup>95</sup>

<sup>83</sup> PCHR, “6 Palestinians, Including 4 Children, Injured in Gaza Due to Misuse of Weapons,” Dec. 23, 2008. Available at: <http://www.pchrgaza.org/files/weapon/english/2008/report44.html>.

<sup>84</sup> PCHR, “Weekly Report: On Israeli Human Rights Violations in the Occupied Palestinian Territory,” Jan. 15–21, 2009. Available at: [http://pchrgaza.ps/files/W\\_report/English/2008/22-01-2009.htm](http://pchrgaza.ps/files/W_report/English/2008/22-01-2009.htm).

<sup>85</sup> Lt. Col. (ret.) Jonathan D. Halevi, JCPA, “Casualties within the Palestinian Security Systems: Myth versus Reality” (Hebrew), May 24, 2009. Available at: <http://jcpa.org.il/JCPAHeb/Templates/showpage.asp?FID=594&DBID=1&LNGID=2&TMID=99&IID=22712>.

<sup>86</sup> Ilana Strauss, “Israeli doctors to train Bil’in protesters in first aid at site of disputed security fence,” Jerusalem Post, July 5, 2009. Available at: <http://www.jpost.com/servlet/Satellite?cid=1246443726155&pagename=JPArticle%2FShowFull>.

<sup>87</sup> PHR-I, “A Selective Invitation from the State of Israel: To Work – People of all Nations and Religions. To Live – Jews Only.” Available at: <http://www.phr.org.il/default.asp?PageID=100&ItemID=121>.

<sup>88</sup> Dr. Eldad Kisch, “Does an ethical imperative override the law of the land?,” June 2009. Available at: <http://www.phr.org.il/default.asp?PageID=192&ItemID=264>.

<sup>89</sup> ReliefWeb, “Physicians for Human Rights-Israel Report on the protest, solidarity and aid convoy to the residents of Gaza,” Jan. 16, 2009. Available at: <http://ocha-gwapps1.unog.ch/rw/rwb.nsf/db900SID/CJAL-7NCPWV?OpenDocument>.

<sup>90</sup> Cnaan Liphshiz, “Top doctor slams group’s first aid course for West Bank protestors,” *Haaretz*, July 11, 2009. Available at: <http://www.haaretz.com/hasen/spages/1099324.html>.

<sup>91</sup> Palestinian Campaign for the Academic & Cultural Boycott of Israel, “Palestinian orgs. call for boycott and end of Gaza siege,” Jan. 28, 2009. Available at: <http://www.pacbi.org/etemplate.php?id=913>.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

<sup>93</sup> See <http://www.pngo.net/default.asp?i=190>.

<sup>94</sup> PWWSD, “About Us.” Available at: [http://www.pwwsd.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=18&Itemid=28](http://www.pwwsd.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=18&Itemid=28).

<sup>95</sup> Jan. 6, 2009. Available at: [http://www.pwwsd.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=86&Itemid=40](http://www.pwwsd.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=86&Itemid=40).

**Ramallah Center for Human Rights Studies (\$70,000)**

The Center for Human Rights Studies issued a press release claiming that the center “[s]trongly condemns Israel’s massacre of the civilian population” and the “willful war attacks on academic institutions.”<sup>96</sup> The center also published a report referencing Israeli “collective punishment policy” and “war crimes.”<sup>97</sup>

**Center for Human Rights and Democracy Participation (SHAMS) (\$50,000)**

SHAMS appears to deal solely with internal Palestinian issues and does not make claims about Israeli actions.

**Women’s Affairs Center (WAC) (\$100,000)**

WAC claims to “promote women’s rights and gender equality within the Palestinian society through capacity building, media and communication, video documentation, research and developmental clinic programs.”<sup>98</sup> WAC programs focus on “violence against women,” the “image of Palestinian women in the media,” and “[w]omen’s political participation.” In contrast, WAC was active in condemning Israel during the Gaza conflict. In a statement about the Gaza war, WAC claimed that the “war has affected everything without taking the lives of the civilians and their safety into consideration.”<sup>99</sup> WAC alleged that it “witnessed the civilians when being killed by the Israeli army especially the women and children.” WAC calls the war “brutal” and demands “trying Israel in a military court to punish Israel for being war criminal [sic].”

**Women’s Affairs Technical Committee (WATC) (\$100,000)**

WATC’s stated ideology is that “the social struggle for the full emancipation of all members of the Palestinian society ... must go hand in hand with the national struggle for the liberation of Palestine.”<sup>100</sup> A WATC newsletter asserts that “[t]he Israeli occupation has continued building its wall of apartheid and segregation.”<sup>101</sup> In a letter entitled “Stop Israeli Massacres and the Zionist aggressions on the Gaza Strip immediately,” WATC falsely labeled the Gaza conflict “a war of extermination.”<sup>102</sup>

**WCLAC (Women’s Center for Legal Aid and Counseling) (\$150,000)**

WCLAC’s stated vision is to “[e]xpos[e], locally and internationally, the practices of Israeli occupation violations against women’s rights.”<sup>103</sup> WCLAC’s other objectives include “development of legislation ... which support women and their rights” and to “Eradicate Negative Social Attitudes/Practices Against Women.”<sup>104</sup> WCLAC also claims to have taken “280 cases to court” in 2007. WCLAC’s director wrote that Israel “us[ed] the threadbare pretext of ‘retaliation against rockets propelled out of Gaza’ resulting in the illegal and unforgivable destruction of civilian life and infrastructure ... . The world prefers to see us as ‘terrorists,’ thus justifying the unjustifiable ... .”<sup>105</sup> WCLAC alleges that Israel “targeted” “civilians and civilian buildings.”<sup>106</sup>

<sup>96</sup> RCHRS, “RCHRS strongly condemns Israel’s massacre of the civilian population,” March 2, 2008. Available at: [http://www.rchrs.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=57:rchrs-strongly-condemns-israels-massacre-of-the-civilian-population&catid=34:demo-category](http://www.rchrs.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=57:rchrs-strongly-condemns-israels-massacre-of-the-civilian-population&catid=34:demo-category).

<sup>97</sup> Available at: <http://www.rchrs.org/Reports/1.pdf>.

<sup>98</sup> WAC, “Annual Narrative Report,” 2006. Available at: <http://wac.org.ps/en/images/stories/pub/reports/finnal%20annual%20report%2020060.pdf>.

<sup>99</sup> Available at: <http://www.wac.org.ps/en/bayan.php/>.

<sup>100</sup> WATC, “WATC’s Vision.” Available at: <http://www.watcpal.org/english/display.asp?DocID=13>.

<sup>101</sup> WATC, “Voice of Women 302,” Dec. 4, 2008. Available at: <http://www.watcpal.org/english/display.asp?DocID=273>.

<sup>102</sup> Dec. 31, 2008. Available at: <http://www.watcpal.org/english/display.asp?DocID=250>.

<sup>103</sup> Available at: <http://www.wclac.org/english/about/vision.php>.

<sup>104</sup> WCLAC, “Annual Report 2007.” Available at: <http://www.wclac.org/english/reports/report2007e.pdf>.

<sup>105</sup> Maha Abu-Dayyeh Shamas, “Director’s Message 2009.” Available at: <http://www.wclac.org/english/director/director2009.php>.

<sup>106</sup> WCLAC, “Voices from the Women of Gaza.” Available at: <http://www.wclac.org/english/stories/stories.php>.

### Women for Life (\$100,000)

Women for Life claims to have been “the first popular committee to begin organizing against the Apartheid Wall in Salfit.”<sup>107</sup> Fatima Khaldi, the founder and director of this NGO, has referred to the IDF as the “Israeli occupation forces” and condemns American aid for the “illegal and immoral Apartheid Wall.”<sup>108</sup> Khaldi also claims to “reject Israeli violence and racism.”<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> Fatima Khaldi, “We will continue our work until our message flies in the sky.” Available at: [http://www.iwps.info/en/projects/wall/organizing\\_history\\_salfit.php](http://www.iwps.info/en/projects/wall/organizing_history_salfit.php).

<sup>108</sup> Fatima Khaldi, “Women Against the Wall,” *Electronic Intifada*, July 16, 2004. Available at: <http://electronicintifada.net/v2/article2923.shtml>.

<sup>109</sup> American Friends Service Committee, “Profiles of Peace-Fatima Khaldi.” Available at: <http://www.afsc.org/ht/d/ContentDetails/i/3596>.

# Sweden

## Clouded EU Presidency: Swedish Funding for NGO Rejectionism

- From July 1 to December 31, 2009, Sweden assumed the presidency of the European Union. Sweden's funding of radical pro-Palestinian NGOs hampered its ability to have a positive impact on Arab-Israeli peace efforts.
- Swedish government funding for NGO activities under the guise of human rights and humanitarian aid is biased and highly political. The details are often hidden.
- Many NGOs receive significant Swedish support from multiple sources: directly from the SIDA aid agency, via NDC (Ramallah), and from Swedish "framework" NGOs. Some groups also receive funding from the EU's European Commission.
- There is no evidence of a detailed study to determine whether this money given to NGOs has accomplished any of the stated objectives.
- Sweden funds Diakonia's International Humanitarian Law project, which promotes Palestinian political goals through a distorted and misleading interpretation of international law.
- Sweden also funded Sabeel's Nakba Memory program in 2008 "to commemorate the Nakba [Catastrophe] of 1948, examine the current struggles for freedom, equality, and identity, and confront the continuing problems of the 1948 refugees."
- The Palme Center falsely accuses Israel of "provok[ing] the al-Aqsa rising and the 'Second Intifada,'" and "disproportionate violence against civilians, unlawful executions and torture." The fighting in Gaza is also blamed on "the provocative Israeli occupation."
- Other SIDA grantees, including the Alternative Information Center (AIC), Women's Affairs Technical Committee (WATC), Palestinian Medical Relief Society (PMRS), and Jerusalem Center for Women (JCW), demonize Israel with the rhetoric of "apartheid," "ethnic cleansing," and "massacres."

## Background

The Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA) has been providing substantial aid to Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza since 2000. In 2008, these areas received 455 million Swedish krona (SEK) (~\$59 million, or more than 70 percent of the Middle East and North Africa [MENA] budget).<sup>110</sup> In 2007, they were the seventh highest recipient of SIDA funding in the world<sup>111</sup> (out of SEK 15.4 billion worldwide;<sup>112</sup> complete figures for 2008 are not yet available).

Through this funding, SIDA claims “to promote democracy and respect for human rights, especially in terms of equality,”<sup>113</sup> and to “create opportunities for a peaceful solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and contribute to a democratic Palestinian state governed by law.”<sup>114</sup> Sweden also provides “expert assistance to help strengthen the PLO’s negotiating structures to enable it to be an equal partner in the peace negotiations with Israel,” clearly taking the Palestinian position in the process.

SIDA’s website also asserts that funding for joint Israeli and Palestinian human rights campaigns “has helped to increase public support for a peaceful solution in both Israel and Palestine.”<sup>115</sup> However, no evidence is provided for this questionable claim.

## Funding Mechanisms

Swedish, Israeli, Palestinian, and international NGOs are funded by the Swedish government through three mechanisms:

1. Grants channeled through Swedish NGOs;
2. a multi-national framework, the NGO Development Center (NDC), which includes money from Sweden, Switzerland, Denmark, and the Netherlands;
3. direct funding to “organizations in partner countries.”

Overlap between these schemes is not uncommon, as shown below, suggesting a lack of responsible oversight by the Swedish government. Additionally, while SIDA maintains a database on indirect support through Swedish groups,<sup>116</sup> the NDC project and direct grants to local NGOs are not included. Due to this limited transparency, the information available to members of parliament, policy-makers, and others, as well as the listings below, may not be comprehensive.

## Grants channeled through Swedish NGOs

“Most of the [SIDA] support to the MENA region”<sup>117</sup> is channeled through 14 Swedish “framework organizations,”<sup>118</sup> including Diakonia, the Swedish Mission Council (SMR), the Olof Palme International Center (OPC) and Save the Children Sweden (Radda Barnen). These groups are responsible for transferring SIDA funds to local NGOs and overseeing project implementation.

Additionally, the framework organizations provide the information contained in the SIDA database, but the material is often inconsistent or missing. For instance, the “local implementing organisation(s)” is sometimes listed anonymously as “local NGO.”

<sup>110</sup> SIDA, “Development cooperation with the West Bank/Gaza in 2008,” Feb. 25, 2009. Available at: [http://www2.sida.se/sida/jsp/sida.jsp?d=1230&a=18120&language=en\\_US](http://www2.sida.se/sida/jsp/sida.jsp?d=1230&a=18120&language=en_US).

<sup>111</sup> SIDA, “Which countries receive most support from Sida?,” Feb. 20, 2009. Available at: [http://www2.sida.se/sida/jsp/sida.jsp?d=107&a=1836&language=en\\_US](http://www2.sida.se/sida/jsp/sida.jsp?d=107&a=1836&language=en_US).

<sup>112</sup> SIDA, “How much does Sweden give in ODA?,” June 19, 2008. Available at: [http://www2.sida.se/sida/jsp/sida.jsp?d=109&a=1844&language=en\\_US](http://www2.sida.se/sida/jsp/sida.jsp?d=109&a=1844&language=en_US).

<sup>113</sup> SIDA, “What does Sida do in the Middle East and North Africa?,” April 18, 2007. Available at: [http://www2.sida.se/sida/jsp/sida.jsp?d=1229&a=885&language=en\\_US](http://www2.sida.se/sida/jsp/sida.jsp?d=1229&a=885&language=en_US).

<sup>114</sup> SIDA, “The West Bank/Gaza,” April 6, 2009. Available at: [http://www2.sida.se/sida/jsp/sida.jsp?d=1230&language=en\\_US](http://www2.sida.se/sida/jsp/sida.jsp?d=1230&language=en_US).

<sup>115</sup> Ibid.

<sup>116</sup> Available at: <http://www2.sida.se/ngodatabase/>.

<sup>117</sup> SIDA, “What does Sida do in the Middle East and North Africa?,” April 18, 2007. Available at: [http://www2.sida.se/sida/jsp/sida.jsp?d=1229&a=885&language=en\\_US](http://www2.sida.se/sida/jsp/sida.jsp?d=1229&a=885&language=en_US).

<sup>118</sup> List available at: <http://www2.sida.se/sida/jsp/sida.jsp?d=390&a=1227>.

Data in this section is from the SIDA database, unless otherwise noted.

## 1. Diakonia funding for NGOs

In 2008 and 2009, SIDA allocated more than SEK 100 million annually to Diakonia,<sup>119</sup> a self-described “Christian development organization” and Sweden’s largest humanitarian NGO. Diakonia oversees four projects in “Israel/Palestine.”<sup>120</sup> Two of its programs, the Children’s Literature Program (SEK 18 million from 2005–2007) and the Rehabilitation Program (SEK 25 million from 2008–2009), appear to be genuine humanitarian projects. The bulk of Diakonia’s funding from SIDA, however, is spent on Civil Society Organizations (SEK 13.5 million from 2008–2010) and the International Humanitarian Law (IHL) (SEK 46.4 million from 2006–2009) programs.<sup>121</sup> The IHL program was created to influence public opinion, and presents a distorted and misleading interpretation of international law that promotes Palestinian political goals, such as “lawfare” against Israeli officials and foreign corporations doing business with Israel. This project primarily disseminates the Palestinian narrative.

Diakonia perpetuates the conflict through a paternalistic attitude toward Palestinian responsibility, blaming Israel for the failings of the Palestinian Authority: “[due to] the occupation and lack of peace in Palestine, it is not difficult to grasp the negligence of the Palestinian Government

to implement the law of Disability eight years after it has been endorsed.”<sup>122</sup>

Many of Diakonia’s partner organizations – Al Mezan, Al-Haq, the Alternative Information Center, Sabeel, and others – are among the most extreme anti-Israel NGOs, erasing the context of terror, and employing inflammatory and, at times, even antisemitic rhetoric. (For a detailed analysis, see *Diakonia: An Analysis of Activities in the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, p. 30).

### Alternative Information Center (AIC), 2004–2008 (SEK 295,650 in 2008)

AIC refers to the “Israeli occupation-regime” and the Arab-Israeli “colonial conflict.”<sup>123</sup> AIC is against normalization with Israel, claiming that the collaboration of a Palestinian NGO with the Israeli Peres Center for Peace “is politically unacceptable, and morally disgusting. Shimon Peres is definitely an enemy of the Palestinian people, of human rights and of peace.”<sup>124</sup> AIC officials participate in United Nations frameworks; have accused Israel of “genocide,”<sup>125</sup> a “policy of ethnic cleansing,”<sup>126</sup> and “apartheid,”<sup>127</sup> and have also compared Israeli military and political officials to Nazis.<sup>128</sup>

### Al-Haq (SEK 3.2 million between 2006–2010, as part of Diakonia’s IHL program; also funded by NDC)

Al-Haq is a leader of the “lawfare” movement, initiating

<sup>119</sup> See SIDA NGO Database for list of groups. Available at: <http://www2.sida.se/sida/jsp/sida.jsp?d=390&a=1073>.

<sup>120</sup> Diakonia, “Occupied Palestinian Territory (oPt).” Available at: <http://www.diakonia.se/sa/node.asp?node=2229>.

<sup>121</sup> Figures provided by Diakonia.

<sup>122</sup> Diakonia, “Palestine - Rehabilitation Program,” *Diakonia in the Middle East Newsletter*, Oct. 2007. Available at: [http://www.diakonia.se/documents/public/WHERE\\_WE\\_WORK/Middle\\_East/Diakonia\\_Middle\\_East\\_Newsletter\\_2.pdf](http://www.diakonia.se/documents/public/WHERE_WE_WORK/Middle_East/Diakonia_Middle_East_Newsletter_2.pdf).

<sup>123</sup> AIC, “AIC Mission Statement.” Available at: <http://www.alternativenews.org/about.html>.

<sup>124</sup> Nassar Ibrahim, “The Case against Palestinian Normalization with Israel,” Sept. 4, 2007. Available at: <http://www.alternativenews.org/nassar-ibrahim/986-the-case-against-palestinian-normalization-with-israel.html>.

<sup>125</sup> Michael Warschawski, “Sanctions Now – Upgrading, Hell No!,” Dec. 2, 2008. Available at: <http://www.alternativenews.org/michael-warschawski/1628-sanctions-now--upgrading-hell-no.html>.

<sup>126</sup> Ahmad Jaradat, “Israel’s Ethnic Cleansing Policy and Land Day: Palestinian Uprising and Resistance,” March 30, 2009. Available at: <http://www.alternativenews.org/english/1836-israels-ethnic-cleansing-policy-and-land-day-palestinian-uprising-and-resistance.html>.

<sup>127</sup> Sergio Yahni, “Shame on Europe: The Upgrade in EU-Israel Relations Voids the Substance of the International Legal System,” Dec. 10, 2008. Available at: <http://www.alternativenews.org/english/1752-shame-on-europe-the-upgrade-in-eu-israel-relations-voids-the-substance-of-the-international-legal-system.html>.

<sup>128</sup> See AIC Profile, *NGO Monitor*, June 4, 2009. Available at: [http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/alternative\\_information\\_center\\_aic\\_profile](http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/alternative_information_center_aic_profile).

lawsuits in Canada and the UK, and preparing “ready-to-be-used case files” for use against Israeli officials in foreign courts. Al-Haq lists boycotts among its goals and objectives, and lobbied the EU to annul the upgrade of EU-Israel bilateral relations. General Director Shawan Jabarin has been denied exit visas by Israel and Jordan on account of his alleged ties to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) terror group. Co-founder Charles Shamas is a member of the Middle East-North Africa advisory board of Human Rights Watch, has “advised the PLO/PNA on IHL-related diplomacy,”<sup>129</sup> describes Israeli policy as “inseparable from violations of international humanitarian law,” just as in “rogue states” like “apartheid in South Africa” or genocidal regimes, and distorts international humanitarian law to erase Palestinian terror, which he labels “resistance” and publicly compares Israeli policy to “apartheid” and “genocide.”<sup>130</sup>

#### **Sabeel, 2006–2008**

One 2008 Sabeel project, “The Nakba Memory, Reality and Beyond,” used SIDA funding (SEK 540,000) “to commemorate the Nakba of 1948, examine the current struggles for freedom, equality, and identity, and confront the continuing problems of the 1948 refugees”; “create a better understanding of the history of 1948, the Palestinian Nakba (Catastrophe);” and “create a stronger civil society informed and concerned about the Nakba and who will work proactively inside Israel ... on ... the situation of second class citizenship for Palestinians.”<sup>131</sup> This rhetoric supports Palestinian rejection of compromise, and works against the peace process that the Swedish government

claims to support. Sabeel is a leader of the church divestment campaign,<sup>132</sup> and director Naim Ateek employs antisemitic themes and imagery<sup>133</sup> in sermons promoting his “Palestinian Liberation Theology.”<sup>134</sup>

#### **Physicians for Human Rights-Israel (PHR-I), 2004–2008**

SIDA contributed SEK 462,281 in 2008 and SEK 457,200 in 2009 to a two-year PHR-I project entitled “The Occupied Palestinian Territory, Prisoners & Detainees” claiming to “Protect the right to health of Palestinians in the Occupied Territories: Protect[] medical neutrality and the safety of medical premises and staff in the occupied territories, [and] Protect[] freedom of movement (access to health) of Palestinian patients, medical personnel and medical goods and conducting local and international advocacy.”<sup>135</sup> PHR-I campaigns include the unsupported claim that Israel is required to provide “free access to health services” in the Palestinian Authority, and that Israel is responsible for the PA’s decision to suspend payments for Palestinian patients in Israeli hospitals.<sup>136</sup> This political NGO is also lobbying against the upgrade of EU-Israel relations.

#### **Women’s Affairs Technical Committee (WATC), 2004–2008 (SEK 113,959 in 2008)**

WATC’s plainly stated ideology is that “the social struggle for the full emancipation of all members of the Palestinian society ... must go hand in hand with the national struggle for the liberation of Palestine.”<sup>137</sup> A WATC newsletter asserts that “[t]he Israeli occupation has continued building its wall of apartheid and segregation.” In a letter entitled

<sup>129</sup> HRW, “Board of Directors.” Available at: [http://www.hrw.org/en/node/76172#\\_Middle\\_East\\_North](http://www.hrw.org/en/node/76172#_Middle_East_North).

<sup>130</sup> Charles Shamas, “Israel and the Palestinians: What Laws Were Broken? Expert Analysis,” May 8, 2002. Available at: <http://www.crimesofwar.org/expert/me-shamas.html>.

<sup>131</sup> SIDA NGO Database, “The Nakba Memory, Reality and Beyond 2008 -2009.” Available at: <http://www2.sida.se/sida/jsp/sida.jsp?d=390&a=42140&pm>.

<sup>132</sup> NGO Monitor, “Sabeel’s Ecumenical Facade,” July 10, 2005. Available at: [http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/\\_sabeel\\_s\\_ecumenical\\_facade\\_](http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/_sabeel_s_ecumenical_facade_).

<sup>133</sup> NGO Monitor, “Sabeel Conferences: Fuelling the Arab-Israeli Conflict,” Oct. 8, 2007. Available at: [http://www.ngo-monitor.org/data/images/File/sabeel\\_conference\\_101107.pdf](http://www.ngo-monitor.org/data/images/File/sabeel_conference_101107.pdf).

<sup>134</sup> Sabeel, “About Us.” Available at: <http://www.sabeel.org/etemplate.php?id=2>.

<sup>135</sup> SIDA NGO Database, “PHR 2007 - 2009 The Occupied Palestinian Territory, Prisoners & Detainees.” Available at: <http://www2.sida.se/sida/jsp/sida.jsp?d=390&a=40059&pm>.

<sup>136</sup> ReliefWeb, “Physicians for Human Rights-Israel and human rights organizations in a joint position paper on the decision to stop covering Palestinian’s medical care in Israel,” March 9, 2009. Available at: <http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/rwb.nsf/db900SID/CJAL-7PYM36?OpenDocument>.

<sup>137</sup> WATC, “WATC’s Vision.” Available at: <http://www.watcpal.org/english/display.asp?DocID=13>.

“Stop Israeli Massacres and the Zionist aggressions on the Gaza Strip immediately,” WATC irresponsibly labeled the Gaza conflict “a war of extermination.”<sup>138</sup>

### **Harvard’s Program on Humanitarian Policy and Conflict Research (HPCR), “IHL in Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territory” (SEK 2.8 million in 2006–2010)**

SIDA, via Diakonia, funds HPCR International’s Humanitarian Policy & Law Forum, operated in conjunction with Harvard University’s School of Public Health. The IHL component was developed “in consultation” with the UN, and aims “to improve access to balanced information on international law and to promote the integration of legal and humanitarian analysis in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the Roadmap framework.”<sup>139</sup> In reality, this program promotes the Palestinian agenda behind an academic façade, based on a distortion and manipulation of international law. Its “web portal” contains “policy briefs” that claim to “analyze” IHL on certain aspects of the Arab-Israeli conflict, yet invariably conclude that Israel is violating international law.<sup>140</sup> The forum is also a major promoter of the false argument that Gaza remains “occupied” after the disengagement.

Other NGOs funded by SIDA-Diakonia include: B’Tselem and Al Mezan (see below), the “Anti-Apartheid Wall Campaign” (implemented by Health Work Committees) and “Research Study Mental Health Effects of the Apartheid Wall on Pales[tinians]” (implemented by Arab Center for Counseling and Education).

## **2. Swedish Mission Council (SMR) funding for NGOs**

### **Palestinian Medical Relief Society (PMRS) (SEK 97,461 in 2008)**

PMRS uses loaded language to delegitimize Israel and perpetuate distrust. The president of the PMRS, Dr. Mustafa Barghouti, referred to the Gaza conflict as a “horrendous massacre,”<sup>141</sup> and used terms like “ghetto” and “apartheid” rhetoric on a radio program.<sup>142</sup> PMRS refers to the security barrier as the “apartheid Wall,”<sup>143</sup> and claimed that Israel employs a “racist ideology” and inflicts “collective punishment” on the Palestinians.<sup>144</sup> All of these activities in support of the Palestinian position are inconsistent with the foundations of compromise and peace.

## **3. Olof Palme International Center (OPC) funding for NGOs**

**The Palme Center**, established in 1992 by the Swedish Social Democratic Party and trade unions,<sup>145</sup> promotes an overwhelmingly Palestinian narrative of the conflict. The Palme Center absurdly accuses Israel of “provok[ing] the al-Aqsa rising and the “Second Intifada,” “contribut[ing] to a chaotic security situation” in Gaza following the disengagement, and “disproportionate violence against civilians, unlawful executions and torture.” Only “Israeli attacks” are mentioned; Palestinian violence, including thousands of rocket attacks and internal violence, is ignored and accepted. The fighting in Gaza is also blamed on “the provocative Israeli occupation” alone.

<sup>138</sup> Dec. 31, 2008. Available at: <http://www.watcpal.org/english/display.asp?DocID=250>.

<sup>139</sup> Program on Humanitarian Policy and Conflict Research, Harvard University, “International Humanitarian Law in Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territory,” Jan. 2004–present. Available at: <http://www.hpcrresearch.org/projects/opt.php>.

<sup>140</sup> Available at: <http://opt.ihlresearch.org/>.

<sup>141</sup> PMRS, “PMRS West Bank team arrives in Gaza,” Jan. 27, 2009. Available at: <http://www.pmrs.ps/last/etemplate.php?id=281&searchkey=massacre>.

<sup>142</sup> Shabab FM, “The Nakba 60th anniversary (Episode 9),” May 14, 2008. Available at: <http://shababfm.org/2008/the-real-shabab-episode-9/en/#more-257>.

<sup>143</sup> PMRS, “Youth Program.” Available at: <http://www.pmrs.ps/last/etemplate.php?id=29>.

<sup>144</sup> PMRS, “The Right to Health.” Available at: <http://www.pmrs.ps/last/printnews.php?id=161>.

<sup>145</sup> Palme Center, “About the Palme Center,” April 15, 2009. Available at: <http://www.palmecenter.se/en/About-us/>.

#### Jerusalem Center for Women (JCW), 2006–2009 (more than SEK 690,000 in 2008–2009)

JCW claims “to stand against to the unjust occupation, oppression, war, apartheid, humiliation, and poverty affecting Palestinian women.”<sup>146</sup> A “fact sheet” refers to Israeli “illegal[] evict[ion]” of Palestinian families “so that settlers can take up residency,” and refers to the “Annexation wall.”<sup>147</sup> JCW designed posters with provocative slogans, such as “Ethnic Cleansing in East Jerusalem,” “Stop the Apartheid Wall,” and “Stop the Judaization of Jerusalem.”<sup>148</sup>

#### **4. Save the Children Sweden-Radda Barnen (SCS) funding for NGOs**

##### Defense for Children International-Palestine Section (DCI-PS), 2004–2009

DCI-PS regularly exploits the rhetoric of children’s rights, manipulates international law, and campaigns against Israel in the UN and other international frameworks. For example, in a statement to the Committee on the Rights of the Child (September 29, 2007) DCI/PS condemned Israel for “deliberate targeting of civilians” in Lebanon, “terrorizing the civilian population” in Gaza, and “collective punishment.”<sup>149</sup> DCI-PS endorsed the call for BDS against Israel,<sup>150</sup> and refers to Israeli “racis[m],” promoting the Palestinian narrative of “nakba” and the “right of return” as “a natural and legal right.”<sup>151</sup> Swedish government funding for these activities fuels the conflict and constitutes a major obstacle to peace.

#### Addameer (Prisoner Support and Human Rights Association), 2009

Addameer refers to the Israeli army as the “Israeli Occupying Forces,” and accuses Israel of “collective punishment” and a “policy of using Palestinian prisoners as pawns to achieve political and military gains.”<sup>152</sup> Addameer endorsed the call for BDS against Israel,<sup>153</sup> which calls for “[e]nding [Israel]’s occupation and colonization of all Arab lands and dismantling the Wall,” and compares Israel to apartheid South Africa, in a manner consistent with the Durban strategy of anti-Israel demonization and the use of soft-power warfare.

#### **5. NDC funding for NGOs**

In July 2008, the NGO Development Center (NDC-Ramallah) received \$6 million from the governments of Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, and the Netherlands. NDC, in turn, distributed these funds to 25 Israeli and Palestinian NGOs,<sup>154</sup> using tax money to support the inherently biased criteria of “organizations that monitor, document and report on violations by the Israeli military occupation of Palestinian human rights” and the potential for “lawfare” – “legal representations and litigation related to individual cases of human rights violations.”<sup>155</sup> No information on the level of oversight (if any) by Sweden and the other donor countries could be found.

NDC “facilitated” and funded the “Palestinian NGO Code of Conduct,” a document that rejects “any normalization

<sup>146</sup> Jerusalem Center for Women, “History.” Available at: <http://www.j-c-w.org/history.php>.

<sup>147</sup> Jerusalem Center for Women, “The Judisation of Jerusalem.” Available at: <http://www.j-c-w.org/factsheets/Judaization%20of%20J%27lem.doc>.

<sup>148</sup> See <http://www.j-c-w.org/annualReports/2004AnnualReport.pdf>.

<sup>149</sup> DCI-PS, “29 September Presentation by DCI to CRC,” Sept. 29, 2006. Available at: <http://www.dci-pal.org/english/display.cfm?DocId=554&CategoryId=18>.

<sup>150</sup> DCI-PS, “Calls for Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions against Israel,” July 9, 2005. Available at: <http://www.dci-pal.org/english/display.cfm?DocId=430&CategoryId=1>.

<sup>151</sup> DCI-PS, “61 years after the Nakba: the Israeli army is still enacting the Catastrophe,” May 14, 2009. Available at: <http://www.dci-pal.org/english/display.cfm?DocId=1152&CategoryId=1>.

<sup>152</sup> Addameer, “Adameer Condemns IOF’s Abduction of 10 Political Leaders,” March 19, 2009. Available at: <http://addameer.info/?p=934>.

<sup>153</sup> DCI-PS, “Calls for Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions against Israel,” July 9, 2005. Available at: <http://www.dci-pal.org/english/display.cfm?DocId=430&CategoryId=1>.

<sup>154</sup> For list and grant amounts see: NDC, “Human Rights/Good Governance Beneficiary List.” Available at: <http://www.ndc.ps/uploads/File/Copy%20of%20HRGG%20List%20of%20beneficiary%20NGOs%281%29.pdf>.

<sup>155</sup> NDC, “Guidelines for the Small Grant Facility.” Available at: <http://www.ndc.ps/uploads/File/Guidelines%20for%20the%20Small%20Grant%20Facility.pdf>.

activities with the occupier, neither at the political-security nor the cultural or developmental levels. No endeavor would be carried out if it undermines the inalienable Palestinian rights of establishing statehood and the return of the refugees to their original homes.”

NDC funding recipients include:

**Palestinian Center for Human Rights (PCHR) (\$400,000)**

PCHR regularly refers to rocket attacks on Israeli civilians as “resistance.”<sup>156</sup> Following the deaths of five children in a “work accident” (during the preparation of an explosive device) the NGO condemned “the danger of storage of explosives in residential areas by Palestinian resistance groups,” and suggested that “IOF are involving [sic] through planting a booby-trapped explosive device inside the house.”<sup>157</sup> PCHR is also a leader in the “lawfare” strategy of exploiting the universal jurisdiction statutes in democratic countries in order to bring cases against Israeli political and military officials for “war crimes” and “crimes against humanity.” During the Gaza war, this NGO published accusations of Israeli “collective punishment” and “indiscriminate killing and continued systematic destruction of all the Palestinian institutions and civilian

facilities in the Gaza Strip,”<sup>158</sup> and blamed the “international donor” community for “bankrolling the occupation” and of “complicity in Israeli violations of international law.”<sup>159</sup> In 2007, PCHR listed SIDA as a funder,<sup>160</sup> but not in 2008 when it received NDC support.<sup>161</sup> There is no indication of any assessment by the Swedish government regarding the benefits resulting from the funds provided to PCHR.

**Al-Haq (\$500,000)**; see above, p. 21.

**Al Mezan (\$500,000)**

Al Mezan claims “to promote, protect and prevent violations of human rights in general and economic, social and cultural (ESC) rights in particular...”.<sup>162</sup> However, its activities and reports indicate that this NGO’s main activities are focused on political campaigns directed against Israel, rather than on promoting universal human rights. Al Mezan consistently refers to the Israeli army as the Israel Occupation Forces (IOF), erasing the context of Palestinian terror, and delegitimizing Israeli self-defense. Al Mezan promotes allegations of “Israeli massacres,”<sup>163</sup> “slaughtering civilians,” “scandalous war crimes,”<sup>164</sup> and “despicable disregard to civilian life,”<sup>165</sup> and fails to condemn Hamas’ use of human shields and illegal rocket attacks against Israeli civilians.

<sup>156</sup> PCHR, “6 Palestinians, Including 4 Children, Injured in Gaza Due to Misuse of Weapons,” Dec. 23, 2008. Available at: <http://www.pchrgaza.org/files/weapon/english/2008/report44.html>.

<sup>157</sup> PCHR, “PCHR & Al-Mezan Call for Investigating the Explosion in El-Bureij Refugee Camp,” Feb. 18, 2008. Available at: <http://www.pchrgaza.org/files/PressR/English/2008/12-2008.html>.

<sup>158</sup> PCHR, “Israeli Military Raids on Gaza Civilian Population Continues, and Humanitarian Crisis Exacerbates in the Midst of Shameful Silence of the International Community,” Dec. 31, 2008. Available at: <http://www.pchrgaza.org/files/PressR/English/2008/124-2008.html>.

<sup>159</sup> PCHR, “Palestinian and Israeli Human Rights Organisations Release Joint Fact Sheet Calling for an End to International Donor Complicity in Israeli Violations of International Law,” May 4, 2009. Available at: <http://www.pchrgaza.org/files/PressR/English/2008/06-05-2009.html>.

<sup>160</sup> PCHR, “Annual Report 2007.” Available at: [http://pchrgaza.org/files/Reports/English/pdf\\_annual/Ann-Rep-07-Eng.pdf](http://pchrgaza.org/files/Reports/English/pdf_annual/Ann-Rep-07-Eng.pdf).

<sup>161</sup> PCHR, “Annual Report 2008.” Available at: [http://www.pchrgaza.org/files/Reports/English/pdf\\_annual/annual2008-E.pdf](http://www.pchrgaza.org/files/Reports/English/pdf_annual/annual2008-E.pdf).

<sup>162</sup> Al Mezan, “Mission Statement.” Available at: <http://www.mezan.org/en/messeege.php?view=messageen>.

<sup>163</sup> Al Mezan, “IOF Targets a 3rd UNRWA Shelter and Continues its massacres in the Gaza Strip - The Int’l Community Must End Slaughtering Civilians Immediately,” Jan. 17, 2009. Available at: [http://www.mezan.org/en/details.php?id=1498&ddname=gaza%20destruction&id\\_dept=9&id2=9&p=center](http://www.mezan.org/en/details.php?id=1498&ddname=gaza%20destruction&id_dept=9&id2=9&p=center).

<sup>164</sup> Al Mezan, “Israeli Massacres in Gaza Continue: 284 Killed; Including 32 Children, and 755 Injured; Gaza’s Service Systems Paralyzed under Severe Lack of Medicine, Food and Power,” Dec. 29, 2008. Available at: [http://www.mezan.org/en/details.php?id=1522&ddname=gaza%20destruction&id\\_dept=9&id2=9&p=center](http://www.mezan.org/en/details.php?id=1522&ddname=gaza%20destruction&id_dept=9&id2=9&p=center).

<sup>165</sup> Al Mezan, “Israel Conducts New War Crimes in Gaza: Air Raid Targets Dense Block in Jabalia Killing Nizar Rayyan and 7 People - Number of Casualties in Gaza Rises to 337 People, Including 43 Children and 15 Women,” Jan. 1, 2009. Available at: [http://www.mezan.org/en/details.php?id=1519&ddname=gaza%20destruction&id\\_dept=9&id2=9&p=center](http://www.mezan.org/en/details.php?id=1519&ddname=gaza%20destruction&id_dept=9&id2=9&p=center).

**Badil (\$100,000)**

Badil is a leading actor in the boycotts, divestment, and sanctions (BDS) campaign against Israel,<sup>166</sup> and has called for a “targeted campaign to expose the lies of AIPAC and the Anti-Defamation League and to expose the Jewish and Zionist community’s double standards regarding Nakba & Occupation.”<sup>167</sup> Badil has also referred to “Israel’s colonial apartheid regime,” “state-sponsored racism,”<sup>168</sup> and “systematic ethnic cleansing,”<sup>169</sup> and claims that “[i]nstitutionalized racism and discrimination” are the “root causes of the...displacement and dispossession of the Palestinian people.”<sup>170</sup>

**Jerusalem Legal Aid and Human Rights Center (JLAC-Mossada) (\$165,000)**

JLAC claims to “[d]efend[] the Palestinian victims of human rights violations; with accordance to the Palestinian laws and the international law ... via legal aid and legal representation.”<sup>171</sup> JLAC published a report entitled, “Rats in the Maze: Freedom of Movement in the OPT,”<sup>172</sup> which refers to Israeli “crimes,” “apartheid,” and “collective punishment.” JLAC also wrote a 34-page report calling on the United States to freeze military aid to Israel.<sup>173</sup>

NDC also funds other highly political NGOs: B’Tselem (\$450,000), ICAHD (\$80,000), HaMoked (\$500,000), and the Palestinian NGO Network (\$130,000).

**6. Direct SIDA funding for NGOs**

SIDA also directly funds Swedish and local NGOs (12 percent of the MENA allocations in 2007,<sup>174</sup> as distinct from the various funding mechanisms examined above. As noted above, this aspect of SIDA funding lacks transparency and accountability.

**Diakonia**; see above, p. 21.

**International Federation of Human Rights (FIDH)**

Paris-based FIDH received \$813,747 from SIDA for a project in the “human rights” sector completed in August 2009.<sup>175</sup> Details about the project’s connection to the Middle East are unavailable, but it should be noted that FIDH official Raji Sourani is also director of PCHR (also funded by Sweden; see above). During the Gaza war, FIDH claimed that “[t]he operations of the Israeli Army constitute at the least war crimes, if not crimes against

<sup>166</sup> Badil, “In 2007 the Occupation turns 40 In 2008 al-Nakba turns 60.” Accessed on March 10, 2009.

<sup>167</sup> See “Badil Releases Blueprint for 2007-08 Durban Strategy Campaign,” NGO Monitor, May 30, 2007. Available at: [http://www.ngo-monitor.org/digest\\_info.php?id=1434#9](http://www.ngo-monitor.org/digest_info.php?id=1434#9).

<sup>168</sup> Badil, “A Call for New Vision and Strategies,” Summer 2007. Available at: <http://www.badil.org/en/al-majdal/item/419-a-call-for-new-vision-and-strategies>.

<sup>169</sup> Badil’s Oral statement at Durban Review Conference Preparatory Committee Second substantive session, Oct. 16, 2008. Available at: <http://www.un.org/webcast/unhrc/archive.asp?go=081016>.

<sup>170</sup> Badil, “Ongoing Forced Displacement of the Palestinian Population on Both Sides of the ‘Green Line’,” Autumn 2008 Winter 2009. Available at: <http://www.badil.org/en/al-majdal/item/57-ongoing-forced-displacement-of-the-palestinian-population-on-both-sides-of-the-%E2%80%9Cgreen-line%E2%80%9D>.

<sup>171</sup> NDC, “HR/GG Beneficiary List.” Available at: <http://www.ndc.ps/uploads/File/Copy%20of%20HRGG%20List%20of%20beneficiary%20NGOs%281%29.pdf>. No.19.

<sup>172</sup> Aug. 24, 2007. Available at: [http://www.mosaada.org/eng/images/PDF\\_File/restrictions\\_on\\_movement.pdf](http://www.mosaada.org/eng/images/PDF_File/restrictions_on_movement.pdf).

<sup>173</sup> “Freezing U.S. Military Aid to Israel: Required by U.S. Law,” April 2005. Available at: [http://www.mosaada.org/eng/images/PDF\\_File/freezing\\_us\\_aid.pdf](http://www.mosaada.org/eng/images/PDF_File/freezing_us_aid.pdf).

<sup>174</sup> SIDA, “Annual Report 2007,” p. 42. Available at: [http://www2.sida.se/shared/jsp/download.jsp?f=Webb\\_Sida\\_2007\\_annual\\_report.pdf&a=36113](http://www2.sida.se/shared/jsp/download.jsp?f=Webb_Sida_2007_annual_report.pdf&a=36113).

<sup>175</sup> Accessible Information on Development Activities, “FIDH 2006-2008.” Available at: <http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/ActivityView.do~iso3=QZA~donor=10100~archive=0~page=2~order=name~orderDirection=asc~sourcePage=donorCountry~sector=All~exportType=0~scolId=12041269>.

humanity.”<sup>176</sup> FIDH has also joined calls for the freezing of the EU-Israel Association agreement due to Israeli “violations of human rights and IHL” and accused Israel of “collective punishment against civilians in Gaza.”<sup>177</sup> FIDH published “A Step by Step Approach to the Use of Universal Jurisdiction in Western European States,”<sup>178</sup> a guide for promoting “lawfare” – the use of democratic courts to bring “war crimes” cases against Israeli officials. Indeed, as noted, FIDH member PCHR is a leader in the “lawfare” movement.

### Public Committee Against Torture in Israel (PCATI)

PCATI lists SIDA as a donor on its website.<sup>179</sup> It also received a \$240,000 grant from the NDC. PCATI claims to lobby for prisoner rights and against torture. While it extensively criticizes alleged Israeli abuses, the group has done virtually no campaigning to uphold the rights of Gilad Shalit – held incommunicado by Hamas since June 25, 2006. PCATI often lobbies in international forums to promote its one-sided, politicized agenda. For instance, in a report submitted to the UN Committee Against Torture, PCATI accuses Israel of attacks on “civilians and civilian objects” during the Gaza fighting, though the NGO openly admits that these topics “do not per se fall under the [Torture] Convention.”<sup>180</sup>

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<sup>176</sup> FIDH, “Re: Israel/OPT – Operation ‘Cast Lead’ - Call for an International Interposition Force,” Jan. 6, 2009. Available at: [http://www.fidh.org/IMG/pdf/opt\\_unsc\\_fidh2009e.pdf](http://www.fidh.org/IMG/pdf/opt_unsc_fidh2009e.pdf).

<sup>177</sup> FIDH, “EU must suspend all upgrading plans with Israel!,” June 14, 2009. Available at: <http://www.fidh.org/EU-must-suspend-all-upgrading-plans-with-Israel>.

<sup>178</sup> June 2, 2009. Available at: <http://www.fidh.org/FIDH-PAPER-ON-UNIVERSAL-JURISDICTION-A-Step-by>.

<sup>179</sup> PCATI, “Donors.” Available at: <http://www.stoptorture.org.il/en/donors>.

<sup>180</sup> PCATI, “Israel – Briefing to the UN Committee Against Torture,” April 2009. Available at: [http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cat/docs/ngos/PCATI\\_OMCT\\_Israel42.pdf](http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cat/docs/ngos/PCATI_OMCT_Israel42.pdf).

### Overlap between different frameworks for Swedish NGO funding

In 2008 and 2009, many NGOs received funds from different frameworks within the Swedish government. For politicized NGOs that contravene the claimed Swedish goals of “creat[ing] opportunities for a peaceful solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict,” this raises questions of government oversight in funding processes. For genuine humanitarian projects, this phenomenon increases the

bureaucratic overhead and waste so that aid does not reach the organizations and suffering people who need it. Efficiency, accountability, and transparency should be required of all publicly funded NGOs.

It is noteworthy that the Palestinian NGOs listed here are also members of the Palestinian NGO Network (PNGO – see above), which means that they benefit from Swedish funding in yet an additional way.

NGO	Direct Gov't/SIDA	NGO Development Center (NDC)	SIDA via Swedish NGO (from database)
<b>Jerusalem Center for Women (JCW)</b>		\$30,000	SEK 31,296 (2009) via OPC SEK 374,373 (2008) via OPC (2 separate grants)
<b>Defense for Children International-Palestinian Section (DCI-PS)</b>		\$450,000	SEK 2,161,000 (2009) via SCS <sup>181</sup> SEK 1,144,000 (2009) via SCS <sup>182</sup> SEK 740,000 (2008) via SCS (2 separate grants)
<b>Addameer</b>		\$250,000	SEK 2,161,000 (2009) via SCS <sup>185</sup>
<b>Al-Haq</b>		\$500,000	\$158,000 (p. 10) (2008) via Diakonia
<b>Al-Mezan</b>		\$500,000	SEK 1.1 million (2007–9) via Diakonia
<b>B'Tselem</b>		\$450,000	SEK 4.4 million (2006–8) via Diakonia
<b>Physicians for Human Rights-Israel (PHR-I)</b>		\$125,000	SEK 457,200 (2009) via Diakonia SEK 462,281 (2008) via Diakonia
<b>Women's Affairs Technical Committee (WATC)</b>		\$100,000	SEK 113,959 (2008) via Diakonia
<b>Public Committee Against Torture in Israel (PCATI)</b>	PCATI Website <sup>183</sup>	\$240,000 (and PCATI website)	
<b>Palestinian Medical Relief Society (PMRS)</b>	SIDA website <sup>184</sup>		SEK 97,461 (2008) via SMR

<sup>181</sup> Grant shared with several other NGOs; breakdown not provided.

<sup>182</sup> Grant shared with International Bureau for Children's Rights; breakdown not provided.

<sup>183</sup> SIDA is listed as a donor (<http://www.stoptorture.org.il/en/donors>); no details on years or amounts are available.

<sup>184</sup> “Sida supports the health programme run by the Palestinian Medical Relief Service (PMRS).” Available at: [http://www2.sida.se/sida/jsp/sida.jsp?d=1230&language=en\\_US](http://www2.sida.se/sida/jsp/sida.jsp?d=1230&language=en_US). No details on years or amounts are available on this webpage. It is unclear whether this refers to the funding via SMR or a separate grant.

## Conclusion

On July 1, 2009 Sweden assumed the presidency of the European Union. As this detailed report indicates, Sweden's role in funding numerous highly politicized NGOs fuels the conflict, rather than advancing the stated goals of promoting peace, democracy, and development. The lack of independent oversight in the use of taxpayer funds, as shown in this analysis, is especially troubling at a time when accountability is receiving increasing emphasis. In addition, these NGO funding policies are not consistent with the efforts by the EU and member states to play a more central and constructive role in promoting peace negotiations based on compromise, and addressing the concerns of all the parties to the conflict.

As NGO Monitor's analysis reveals, the Swedish government funds NGOs that pursue Palestinian political goals under the guise of "human rights" and "international law," and demonize Israel with the inflammatory rhetoric of "apartheid," "ethnic cleansing," and "massacres." In addition to compounding Israeli mistrust of the role of the EU, which stems in part from support for NGOs that exclusively promote a Palestinian agenda and engage in biased anti-Israel activities, the delegitimization of Israel contradicts Sweden's stated goals for the region. In order to play a positive role as a European leader in assisting the constructive change necessary to end the Arab-Israeli conflict, Sweden's NGO funding practices and priorities must change.<sup>185</sup>

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<sup>185</sup> As of publication, NGO Monitor was still awaiting SIDA's response. The Swedish Embassy in Tel Aviv elected not to comment on a draft of this report.

## Diakonia: An Analysis of Activities in the Arab-Israeli Conflict

*“Diakonia is more a lobby group with a clear political agenda for the Middle East than a Christian aid organization ... . In one single month, October 2008, Diakonia sponsored 10 articles in the Swedish media, nine of which dealt with the world’s only Jewish country.”* (Ilya Meyer, “Equal value of all human life?,” *Jerusalem Post*, December 6, 2008)<sup>186</sup>

- Diakonia is Sweden’s largest humanitarian NGO, founded in 1966 by five Swedish churches. It receives most of its budget from the Swedish government via SIDA (SEK 332 million, ~\$47.2 million).
- By promoting a “right to resist” and delegitimizing Israel’s right to self-defense, the Civil Society and International Humanitarian Law (IHL) programs exploit and misrepresent international law.
- The IHL Program’s International Advisory Council is populated almost entirely with PLO advisors, Palestinians, and anti-Zionist Jewish activists.
- While some of the organization’s programs appear to be genuine humanitarian projects, the vast majority of resources are devoted to political campaigns, including a submission to the Goldstone Commission vilifying Israel and delegitimizing its right to defend itself against rocket attacks.
- Diakonia’s repetition of the Palestinian position refers to the “continuing of the occupation,” the “building of the Wall,” and “the fragmentation of the Palestinian territory” as “structural problems” behind the conflict. The pre-1967 history of terror, war, and rejection of Israel’s right to exist are erased.
- Tendentious international law activities, including the Humanitarian Policy & Law Forum at Harvard University, receive more funding than any other program related to the region, and represent the only such political example in Diakonia’s worldwide activities.
- Many of Diakonia’s partners (Alternative Information Center, Sabeel, Al-Haq, Al Mezan) are among the most extreme anti-Israel NGOs operating the region, employing inflammatory and, at times, antisemitic rhetoric.
- Enactment of NGO Monitor’s recommendations (listed below) will provide more balanced coverage of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Diakonia will also better serve the interests of the Palestinians, who deserve real help, not radical posturing.
- This report was sent to officials in Diakonia and the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA). Diakonia responded that it would provide no comment; SIDA did not reply.

<sup>186</sup> Available at: <http://www.jpost.com/servlet/Satellite?pagename=JPost/JPArticle/ShowFull&cid=1227702450461>.

## Background

Diakonia (“care and service” in Greek), Sweden’s largest humanitarian NGO, was founded in 1966 by five Swedish churches: the Alliance Mission, the Baptist Union, InterAct, the Methodist Church, and the Mission Covenant Church. It describes itself as a “Christian development organisation working together with local partners for a sustainable change for the most vulnerable people of the world.” The organization works with more than 400 partners in 30 countries, claiming to promote “fair and sustainable development in which living standards for the most vulnerable people are improved, and democracy, human rights and equality are respected. The starting point for this is the gospel with Jesus as the role model.”<sup>187</sup>

Diakonia’s work centers around five “core values”: “Human rights,” “Democratisation,” “Gender equality,” “Social and economic justice,” and “Peace and reconciliation.”<sup>188</sup> To further these values, Diakonia states that it “does not implement projects on its own, but instead co-operates with and supports local organisations. We often give institutional support, instead of support directed to isolated projects.”<sup>189</sup>

## Funding

In 2008, Diakonia’s revenue exceeded SEK 367 million (~\$47.2 million), of which SEK 332 million came from the Swedish government’s International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA), SEK 10.5 million from the EU, and SEK 5 million from the Norwegian government.<sup>190</sup> Activities in the Middle East, Central America, and South America each comprise about 14 percent of Diakonia’s

budget, while spending in Asia is 25 percent, and 30 percent in Africa. Advocacy work (primarily political lobbying in Sweden) uses about 3 percent of Diakonia’s budget.

## International Development Associations

Diakonia is a member of two large international development agency frameworks – the Association of International Development Agencies (AIDA) and AidWatch.

AIDA is a “co-ordination facility for international development agencies operating in the West Bank and Gaza”<sup>191</sup> including Oxfam, Trocaire, Christian Aid, and the Mennonite Central Committee. The organization collaborates on events and press releases, including many that condemn Israeli policy while stripping the context of asymmetrical war. AIDA is a co-sponsor of Diakonia’s IHL forums held at Al Quds University (see below).

AidWatch is “a pan-European lobby and campaigns initiative monitoring and advocating on the quality and the quantity of aid provided by EU member states (EU MS) and the European Commission (EC)”<sup>192</sup> under the auspices of the EU-supported Concord – a confederation of European NGOs active in relief and development work. In 2009, AidWatch issued a report, “Lighten the Load,”<sup>193</sup> which examines EU funding to humanitarian NGOs. One of the problems the report identifies regarding European aid is that it is “**increasingly being used as a political tool, and not aimed at poverty reduction**” (emphasis added).<sup>194</sup>

<sup>187</sup> Diakonia, “About Us,” Oct. 26, 2009. Available at: <http://www.diakonia.se/about>.

<sup>188</sup> Diakonia, “Our Core Values,” Oct. 26, 2009. Available at: <http://www.diakonia.se/values>.

<sup>189</sup> Diakonia, “Where Diakonia Works,” Nov. 2, 2009. Available at: <http://www.diakonia.se/sa/node.asp?node=515>.

<sup>190</sup> Diakonia, “Annual Report 2008.” Available at: [http://www.diakonia.se/documents/public/Annual\\_Reports/Annual\\_report\\_2008.pdf](http://www.diakonia.se/documents/public/Annual_Reports/Annual_report_2008.pdf).

<sup>191</sup> ReliefWeb, “(CLOSED) Humanitarian Facilitator to AIDA (Association of International Development Agencies),” March 22, 2002. Available at: <http://reliefweb.int/rw/res.nsf/db900SID/OCHA-68JLXT?OpenDocument>.

<sup>192</sup> AidWatch. Available at: <http://www.concordeurope.org/Public/Page.php?ID=25053>.

<sup>193</sup> Available at: [http://www.concordeurope.org/Files/media/internetdocumentsENG/3\\_Topics/Topics/Aidwatch/AidWatch-report-2009\\_light.pdf](http://www.concordeurope.org/Files/media/internetdocumentsENG/3_Topics/Topics/Aidwatch/AidWatch-report-2009_light.pdf).

<sup>194</sup> Diakonia, “AidWatch report on EU development aid: Lighten the Load,” May 15, 2009. Available at: <http://www.diakonia.se/sa/node.asp?node=3070>.

## Debate in Sweden over Efficacy of International Aid and Funding Conflicts

In September 2008, Swedish journalist Bengt Nilsson published a book, *Sweden Finances Wars in Africa*.<sup>195</sup> Nilsson claimed that Swedish aid was used to provide a “lucrative market for astute political leaders and guerilla movements.” The book sparked an intense debate in the Swedish press and aid community over the efficacy of development and humanitarian aid activities.<sup>196</sup> Diakonia claims to have been impacted by this debate “politically and externally.”<sup>197</sup> Nilsson’s conclusions, that humanitarian aid can have unintended consequences, and can even fuel conflicts, without proper oversight, are consistent with NGO Monitor’s research into the impact of funding for “human rights” NGOs active in the Israeli-Arab conflict – in particular Diakonia and its partner organizations.

## Diakonia & the Middle East

Diakonia has been operating in the Middle East since the 1960s, and opened its first office in the region in 1989. It runs programs in Egypt, Kurdish Iraq, Lebanon, Israel, and “Palestine.” Diakonia’s goals for the region are to “concentrate[] on addressing the lack of peace and security, increasing respect of human rights and eradicating the multidimensional aspects of poverty.”

## Diakonia’s Position Paper on Israel/Palestine

“Israel/Palestine” is a “priority area” for Diakonia – one of only two country-specific priority areas (the other is “Congo-Kinshasa”). In conjunction with its work, Diakonia has issued a “Position Paper on Israel & Palestine.”<sup>198</sup> This policy paper appears to be the only country-specific paper issued by Diakonia, and presents a vision for a “viable two

state solution” and to “not take side with any of the parties in the conflict.” The organization claims to want “an honest analysis of the causes of the current humanitarian crisis and we need an understanding of the structural problems behind them.”

In contrast to this stated goal, Diakonia’s paper uses the language of the Palestinian narrative, including “continuing of the occupation,” the “building of the Wall,” and “the fragmentation of the Palestinian territory.” The authors further claim that “these facts all constitute formal violation of international law.”<sup>199</sup> Diakonia does not discuss Palestinian terror, Arab rejectionism, the inculcation of antisemitism and violence among Palestinian children, corruption in the Palestinian Authority, restrictions on women’s rights, or Palestinian in-fighting as “structural problems” that impact the conflict. When some of these problems are mentioned, they are attributed to the effects of “the occupation,” even though they all predate the 1967 war.

Diakonia’s paper includes vilifying rhetoric such as referring to the “structures of apartheid,”<sup>200</sup> and argues that Israel “strangles” the Palestinian economy and “continuously violate[s] the laws of warfare.” Additionally, the organization, in recognizing a so-called “right to resist,” invents international law by claiming “IHL relates to resistance movements as a fact that needs to be taken into account,” and that because the international community does not recognize the annexation of East Jerusalem, Israel is “in violation of international law.” In this discussion, Diakonia also denies the Jewish people’s historical and religious connection to Jerusalem.

<sup>195</sup> Moussa Awuonda, *New African*, “Sweden’s African wars,” Jan. 2009. Available at: [http://www.ethnoprpress.se/NewAfrican\\_Nilsson.pdf](http://www.ethnoprpress.se/NewAfrican_Nilsson.pdf).

<sup>196</sup> Bo Forsberg, “Development cooperation contributes to democracy and poverty reduction,” June 29, 2007. Available at: [http://translate.google.com/translate?hl=en&sl=sv&u=http://boforsberg.blogspot.com/2007\\_06\\_01\\_archive.html&ei=uWk\\_SoT6B4uysAa8opGBAQ&sa=X&oi=translate&resnum=1&ct=result&prev=/search%3Fq%3D%2522Bengt%2BNillson%2522%2B%252B%2B%26hl%3Den%26client%3Df](http://translate.google.com/translate?hl=en&sl=sv&u=http://boforsberg.blogspot.com/2007_06_01_archive.html&ei=uWk_SoT6B4uysAa8opGBAQ&sa=X&oi=translate&resnum=1&ct=result&prev=/search%3Fq%3D%2522Bengt%2BNillson%2522%2B%252B%2B%26hl%3Den%26client%3Df).

<sup>197</sup> Diakonia, “Annual Report 2008.” Available at: [http://www.diakonia.se/documents/public/Annual\\_Reports/Annual\\_report\\_2008.pdf](http://www.diakonia.se/documents/public/Annual_Reports/Annual_report_2008.pdf).

<sup>198</sup> Diakonia, “Diakonia position paper on Israel/Palestine.” Available at: [http://www.diakonia.se/documents/public/IN\\_FOCUS/Israel\\_Palestine/Diakonia\\_Position\\_IPT\\_060517.pdf](http://www.diakonia.se/documents/public/IN_FOCUS/Israel_Palestine/Diakonia_Position_IPT_060517.pdf).

<sup>199</sup> There is no provision in any IHL convention or in customary law that states “occupation” is a violation of international law. Rather, if there is a situation of occupation, international law prescribes the actions of the occupying power. In addition, it is unclear what constitutes a “formal violation” of international law.

<sup>200</sup> For the inapplicability of the term “apartheid,” see Anthony Julius & Simon Schama, “John Berger is Wrong”, *Comment is Free*, *The Guardian* UK, Dec. 22, 2006, available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2006/dec/22/bergerboycott> (“The Palestinian cause, still less the cause of peace, is not served by promoting discrimination against Jews. It is indecent to call for the shunning of the Jewish state [such as using the inapplicable and immoral analogy of “apartheid”].”).

The views expressed in this policy document contribute to and reflect the one-sided activities of the organization.

### **Diakonia's Activities in the Arab-Israeli Conflict**

As with its work in other regions, Diakonia's approach to the Arab-Israeli conflict centers around five themes: "gender, democracy, human rights, social and economic justice and peace and conflict transformation." These themes are promoted through four sub-programs:

- The Rehabilitation Programme;
- The Children's Literature Programme;
- Supporting Civil Society Organisations in Palestine programme supporting local civil society actors in their work in democracy and human rights; and
- The International Humanitarian Law Programme.

While the Rehabilitation and Children's Literature programs appear to be genuine and important humanitarian projects, the Civil Society and International Humanitarian Law (IHL) programs are highly problematic, as this report demonstrates. Both attribute sole blame for the conflict to Israel, minimize the impact of terrorism and the context of asymmetrical war, and overtly promote the Palestinian narrative through political activities.

Many of Diakonia's partner organizations for these projects – including Al Mezan, Al-Haq, the Alternative Information Center, and Sabeel – are among the most extreme anti-Israel NGOs operating the region, employing inflammatory and at times, antisemitic and "Nazi" rhetoric. Other partners, such as B'Tselem, HaMoked, and PHR-I, have been widely criticized for their one-sided reporting and credibility problems. This aspect of Diakonia's activities works against peace and normalization in the region, further entrenching the conflict.

It is also unclear how these two programs, particularly the IHL program that receives the bulk of Diakonia's funding in this region, contribute to Diakonia's goals of eradicating the "multidimensional aspects of poverty." The overwhelmingly one-sided political content is inconsistent with Diakonia's own critique of EU funding for humanitarian aid that it is "increasingly being used as a political tool, and not aimed at poverty reduction" (see above, p. 31).

#### **The Rehabilitation Programme (2008–2009 budget: SEK 24,780,000)**<sup>201</sup>

Diakonia established its Rehabilitation Programme in the early 1990s, in conjunction with the Norwegian Association of the Disabled. Funded by SIDA and the Norwegian government (NORAD), it aims to promote for the disabled the "right to inclusion within their families, society and the state," and provides and coordinates "treatment plans."<sup>202</sup> The objectives and activities of this program appear to be in keeping with Diakonia's aims as a humanitarian organization, though the organization claims that due to "the occupation and lack of peace in Palestine, it is not difficult to grasp the negligence of the Palestinian Government to implement the law of Disability eight years after it has been endorsed."<sup>203</sup>

#### **The Children's Literature Programme (2005–2007 budget: SEK 18,000,000)**

Diakonia started its children's literature program in 1992 due to a "general dissatisfaction with the reading habits of Palestinian children."<sup>204</sup> The program distributes Arabic translations of Swedish books and books written by local authors; trains teachers and writers to improve the understanding and quality of books "in the Palestinian market"; and operates in partnership with the Palestinian Authority's Ministry of Culture and Ministry of Education and 13 NGOs.<sup>205</sup> This program appears to be a positive endeavor without overtly engaging in the demonization

<sup>201</sup> Figures provided by Diakonia.

<sup>202</sup> Diakonia's Rehabilitation Programme brochure, June 2008.

<sup>203</sup> Diakonia, "Rehabilitation Programme," Aug. 15, 2008. Available at: <http://www.diakonia.se/sa/node.asp?node=2230>.

<sup>204</sup> Diakonia, "Children's Literature Programme," Aug. 15, 2008. Available at: <http://www.diakonia.se/sa/node.asp?node=2231>.

<sup>205</sup> See <http://www.children-literature.edu.ps/English/index.html>.

or delegitimization of Israel. However, one of Diakonia's program partners, the Tamer Institute, is a signatory<sup>206</sup> to several calls<sup>207</sup> by the Palestinian Grassroots Anti-Apartheid Wall Campaign for "a comprehensive academic boycott of Apartheid Israel" and one of the organization's publications is entitled, "Apartheid, Annexation or Separation."<sup>208</sup> (NGO Monitor was unable to evaluate all of the books in the program.)

#### **Supporting Civil Society Organisations in Palestine Programme (2008–2010 budget: SEK 13,500,000)**

Under this program, Diakonia provides funding to local NGOs to ostensibly promote "social empowerment and capacity building" to "change the unfair structures in the society from within." Diakonia's NGO partners under this program are AIC, PHR-I, Al Nayzak for Scientific Innovation, Al-Sarayah Center for Community Services, Palestinian Counseling Center, Sabeel, Tamer Institute for Community Education, Wi'am, and Women's Affairs Technical Committee.

Aspects of the program nobly target youth to promote "non-violent conflict resolution, the dangers of dropping out of school and early marriage," and seek to "empower young women." However, several partners funded by this program, such as Sabeel and AIC, are among the most radical pro-Palestinian NGOs operating in the region and at times engage in antisemitic or "Nazi" rhetoric. Other partners, such as PHR-I, suffer from lack of credibility in their reporting and a biased ideological agenda. There is no rationale for funding for Sabeel, AIC, or PHR-I under the auspices of a program claiming to promote "non-violent conflict resolution, the dangers of dropping out of school and early marriage," or "personal development"

among Palestinian youth, particularly young Palestinian women.

#### **The International Humanitarian Law Programme (2006–2009 budget: SEK 46,400,000)**

The IHL program (fully funded by SIDA) receives the majority of Diakonia's funding for the region and is widely promoted by the organization. The program has its own website with a link on Diakonia's homepage and separate promotional materials.<sup>209</sup> The program "aims at increasing respect for and further implement[ation of] international humanitarian law in Israel/Palestine, as a means to improve the humanitarian situation, and create a possibility for peace in the region." The program is comprised of several components, including the IHL "Easy Guide" website, seminars, and events; sponsoring IHL web portals; and "monitoring breaches" of IHL.<sup>210</sup> To carry out this project, Diakonia partners with several organizations: Al-Haq, B'Tselem, HaMoked, Mossawa, Al Mezan, ACRI, the Harvard School of Public Health, and the Al Quds University Human Rights and IHL clinic<sup>211</sup> (detailed profiles below).

The IHL program directed against Israel appears to be unique in Diakonia's framework. A review by NGO Monitor could not find a similar type of program in terms of content or resources involving any other conflict region in the world. The importance of this program is linked to the exploitation of international law as a key strategy in the political war against Israel.<sup>212</sup> The results of this program and its one-sided content should raise serious concerns among policy officials and the Swedish public as to how this type of program serves humanitarian objectives, and why it is being supported by the Swedish government and ultimately, Swedish taxpayers.

<sup>206</sup> Al Awda-The Palestinian Right to Return Coalition, "Palestinian Popular Movements and Civil Society Re-Assert Call for Comprehensive Academic Boycott of Apartheid Israel." Available at: <http://www.al-awda.org/academicboycott.html>.

<sup>207</sup> Boycott Israeli Apartheid Campaign, "Palestinian Civil Society Calls for Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions Against Israel," July 9, 2005. Available at: <http://www.boycottisraeliapartheid.org/node/7>.

<sup>208</sup> Tamer Institute for Community Education, November 2008. Available at: [http://www.tamerinst.org/news\\_file/VOICES%20on%20the%20Wall.pdf](http://www.tamerinst.org/news_file/VOICES%20on%20the%20Wall.pdf).

<sup>209</sup> See <http://www.diakonia.se/sa/site.asp?site=777>.

<sup>210</sup> Diakonia, "Monitoring Breaches of International Law," Oct. 2, 2008. Available at: <http://www.diakonia.se/sa/node.asp?node=932>.

<sup>211</sup> Diakonia, "Our Partners," Nov. 2, 2009. Available at: <http://www.diakonia.se/sa/node.asp?node=928>.

<sup>212</sup> See Gerald M. Steinberg, "Can Israel win the 'soft power' war in Gaza?," *Jerusalem Post*, Dec. 28, 2009. Available at: <http://www.jpost.com/servlet/Satellite?cid=1230456503807&pagename=JPArticle/ShowFull>.

### IHL International Advisory Council

The content of the IHL program reflects the political leanings of the members of its “International Advisory Council”<sup>213</sup> that overwhelmingly consists of Palestinian advocates, consultants to the PA, and anti-Zionist Jewish activists.<sup>214</sup> Only one of the members, Anita Brodén, a member of the Swedish Parliament, appears not to have this type of background:

*Charles Shamas* is a co-founder of Al-Haq and a senior partner of the Ramallah-based Mattin Group. He is also a member of Human Rights Watch’s Middle East-North Africa advisory board. He has “advised the PLO/PNA on IHL-related diplomacy”; and led the lobbying effort of the EU “into reversing their de facto acceptance of Israel’s administrative annexation of the occupied Palestinian and Syrian territories.”<sup>215</sup> Shamas describes Israeli policy as “inseparable from violations of international humanitarian law,” just as in “rogue states” like “apartheid in South Africa” or genocidal regimes,<sup>216</sup> and distorts IHL statements to erase Palestinian terror (what he labels “resistance”). He also excuses the immorality of terrorism, by describing Palestinian mass violence as “an uprising of large elements of a civilian population against an

Occupying Power’s unlawful and predatory abuses of its control over that population and their habitat.”<sup>217</sup>

*Michael Bothe* represented the League of Arab States in the ICJ Advisory Opinion hearings on the Separation barrier.<sup>218</sup>

*Fritz Froehlich* is the coordinator of “UNWRA at 60”<sup>219</sup> and was an early proponent of the Durban strategy. In 1994, at a conference organized by PASSIA, Froelich advised that “projects emphasizing Jerusalem as Palestinian city should be implemented, NGOs should fight against demographic, physical, geographical and political deformation of Jerusalem and do their best to restore Arab presence and reconsider their activities.”<sup>220</sup>

*Göran Gunner* is a board member of Friends of Sabeel Scandinavia and was a speaker at Sabeel’s Fifth International Conference, “Challenging Christian Zionism: Theology, Politics, and the Palestine-Israel Conflict.”<sup>221</sup> The website [www.christianzionism.org](http://www.christianzionism.org) was an outgrowth of the Conference, and perpetuates anti-Israel demonization and the delegitimization of Zionism using theological themes. On the website, Sabeel advocates its stance for a “one state” solution.<sup>222</sup>

<sup>213</sup> See <http://www.diakonia.se/sa/node.asp?node=935>.

<sup>214</sup> Analysts have noted the attempt to legitimize anti-Israel and anti-Zionist positions by highlighting agreement from individual Jews, including Israelis, who profess these positions. See “‘Progressive’ Jewish Thought and the New Anti-Semitism,” by Alvin H. Rosenfeld, American Jewish Committee, 2007, [http://www.ajc.org/atf/cf/%7B42D75369-D582-4380-8395-D25925B85EAF%7D/PROGRESSIVE\\_JEWISH\\_THOUGHT.PDF](http://www.ajc.org/atf/cf/%7B42D75369-D582-4380-8395-D25925B85EAF%7D/PROGRESSIVE_JEWISH_THOUGHT.PDF).

<sup>215</sup> Charles Shamas, Panelist, “The Intersection of Law and Diplomacy: A Case Study of the EU-Israel Association Agreement.” Available at: [http://209.85.129.132/search?q=cache:0FHNqpbh1XsJ:asp.alhaq.org/zalhaq/site/eDocs/Expert%2520Seminar/Bios/bio\\_cs.htm+mattin+group&cd=1&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=il](http://209.85.129.132/search?q=cache:0FHNqpbh1XsJ:asp.alhaq.org/zalhaq/site/eDocs/Expert%2520Seminar/Bios/bio_cs.htm+mattin+group&cd=1&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=il).

<sup>216</sup> Charles Shamas, “Israel and the Palestinians: What Laws Were Broken? Expert Analysis,” May 8, 2002. Available at: <http://www.crimesofwar.org/expert/me-shamas.html>.

<sup>217</sup> Mark Dennis, “Arab-Israeli Conflict and the Laws of War,” interview with Charles Shamas, Crimes of War Project, American University. Available at: <http://www.crimesofwar.org/expert/arabisrael-print.html#shamas>.

<sup>218</sup> International Court of Justice The Hague, 2004. Available at: <http://unispal.un.org/unispal.nsf/a39191b210be1d6085256da90053dee5/94e8ed18cfa868c585256e4a00582d91?OpenDocument>.

<sup>219</sup> United Nations, “International Media Seminar on Middle East Peace Holds Panels on New Regional Dimensions, Future for Peace Process,” Dec. 2, 2008. Available at: <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2008/pal2107.doc.htm>.

<sup>220</sup> “The Role of NGOs in the Transition to Palestinian Statehood,” June 17–19, 1994. Available at: <http://www.passia.org/conferences/94/c19.htm>.

<sup>221</sup> April 14–18, 2004. Available at: [http://www.nonviolenceworks.com/snv/anti\\_warcal/afsc.htm](http://www.nonviolenceworks.com/snv/anti_warcal/afsc.htm).

<sup>222</sup> Challenging Christian Zionism, “Conference Statement: Challenging Christian Zionism,” April 2004. Available at: <http://www.christianzionism.org/conferencesN.asp>.

*Vinodh Jaichand* is deputy director of the Irish Centre for Human Rights. In a December 2005 speech, Jaichand compared Israel to an “apartheid state” and examined ways the “State of Israel is likely to be prosecuted for the crime against humanity of apartheid.”<sup>223</sup>

*Helena Johansson*, department head for the Swedish Confederation of Professional Employees, writes on her blog that Israel must be held responsible and prosecuted for the “completely disproportionate bombing of Gaza’s densely populated areas and attacks against UN buildings and hospitals,” and repeats false claims that “there was a truce between Hamas and Israel, but Israel did not commit to the conditions of the agreement sponsored by Egypt and continue their attacks and closure.”<sup>224</sup>

*Gilbert Marcus SC*, delegate to Amnesty International, claims Israel’s security barrier is “disproportionate,”<sup>225</sup> was a signatory to a letter condemning Israel’s Gaza operation as “inhumane,”<sup>226</sup> and served as a consultant to a pseudo-academic study organized by the former UN Rapporteur John Dugard and Al-Haq claiming Israel is an “apartheid” state.<sup>227</sup>

*Iain Scobbie* is active in advancing pro-Palestinian legal arguments and delegitimizing Israel’s right to fight against asymmetrical warfare.<sup>228</sup> During the Gaza war, he was a signatory to a letter claiming that Hamas rocket attacks do not “amount to an armed attack entitling Israel to rely on self-defence,” and claimed that the war was an act of “aggression” by Israel.<sup>229</sup> Scobbie was also a “principal contributor” to the Dugard apartheid study and is an advisor to the PA’s Negotiation Affairs Department.

*Lea Tsemel*, a Jewish, anti-Zionist activist, was a leading member of the Trotskyite anti-Zionist Revolutionary Communist League Matzpen party and founder of the Public Committee Against Torture in Israel.<sup>230</sup> She is married to Michael Warshawski, founder of the Alternative Information Center (see below). Her writings level spurious accusations against Israel, including “ethnic cleansing.”<sup>231</sup>

*Marcelo Weksler* is a board member of the Alternative Information Center. His article, “Israeli Attacks on Gaza: Before Words Will Not Help,”<sup>232</sup> (and posted on B’Tselem’s Facebook page<sup>233</sup>) uses such phrases as “the bestiality of Israeli society,” “the evil of the Israeli regime,” and that to the “clowns [mainstream Israeli society] ... [h]umanity is

<sup>223</sup> Vinodh Jaichand, Speech, “The Crime of Apartheid,” Dec. 15–16, 2005. Available at: [http://209.85.129.132/search?q=cache:GvDVGxQnRjwJ:www.asf.be/publications/formations\\_isr\\_pal\\_presentation\\_Vinodh\\_Jaichand\\_dec2005\\_EN.pdf+Vinodh+Jaichand,+israel&cd=2&hl=en&ct=clnk&client=safari](http://209.85.129.132/search?q=cache:GvDVGxQnRjwJ:www.asf.be/publications/formations_isr_pal_presentation_Vinodh_Jaichand_dec2005_EN.pdf+Vinodh+Jaichand,+israel&cd=2&hl=en&ct=clnk&client=safari).

<sup>224</sup> See <http://www.utredarna.nu/helenajohansson>.

<sup>225</sup> Voice of America, “Amnesty Blasts Israel for Damage to Palestinian Economy,” Sept. 8, 2003. Available at: <http://www1.voanews.com/english/news/a-13-a-2003-09-08-29-Amnesty-66862092.html?CFTOKEN=74062843&renderforprint=1&textonly=1&TEXTMODE=1&jsessionid=883036bd61f3f4aa1511246368577d3d2567&CFID=240282316>.

<sup>226</sup> Mail & Guardian, “Top SA Jews slam Gaza attack,” Feb. 1, 2009. Available at: <http://www.mg.co.za/article/2009-02-01-top-sa-jews-slam-gaza-attack>.

<sup>227</sup> Human Sciences Research Council, “Occupation, Colonialism, Apartheid?,” May 2009. Available at: <http://www.electronicintifada.net/downloads/pdf/090608-hsrc.pdf>.

<sup>228</sup> School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, “Law, Human Rights and Peace Building in the Middle East,” Feb. 11, 2009. Available at: <http://www.soas.ac.uk/lawpeacemiddleeast/>.

<sup>229</sup> Times Online, “Israel’s bombardment of Gaza is not self-defence – it’s a war crime,” Jan. 11, 2009. Available at: <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/comment/letters/article5488380.ece>.

<sup>230</sup> Israeli Left Archive, “Matzpen – The Israeli Socialist Organization.” Available at: “<http://israeli-left-archive.org/cgi-bin/library?site=localhost&a=p&p=about&c=matzpen&l=en&w=utf-8>.”

<sup>231</sup> Elaine Kelley, “PNA Officials Study U.S. Government Press Relations In USIA-Sponsored Project for Palestine,” Washington Report on Middle East Affairs, August/September 1997. Available at: <http://www.wrmea.com/backissues/0897/9708092.htm>.

<sup>232</sup> Marcello Weksler, AIC, “Israeli Attacks on Gaza: Before Words Will Not Help,” Jan. 15, 2009. Available at: <http://www.alternativenews.org/english/1693-israeli-attacks-on-gaza-before-words-will-not-help.html>.

<sup>233</sup> See: [http://209.85.135.132/search?q=cache:EA77nf\\_8A1AJ:www.facebook.com/board.php%3Fuid%3D4493763539+%22Israel+Attacks+on+Gaza:+Before+Words+Will+Not+Help%22&cd=1&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=il&client=firefox-a](http://209.85.135.132/search?q=cache:EA77nf_8A1AJ:www.facebook.com/board.php%3Fuid%3D4493763539+%22Israel+Attacks+on+Gaza:+Before+Words+Will+Not+Help%22&cd=1&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=il&client=firefox-a).

an anti-Semitic fiction. An invention of non-Jews lacking a conscience—a Jewish conscience.”

*Julia Wickham* is secretariat and delegations coordinator for the All-Party Parliamentary Britain-Palestine Group and the editor of *The Palestine Post* (UK). In an August 2006 letter to Tony Blair, she wrote that “Israel’s indiscriminate destruction of Lebanese and Gazan infrastructure is not lawful in that it constitutes retaliatory and collectively punitive measures against the civilian populations.”<sup>234</sup> She was a signatory to a petition supporting the filing of the “crimes against humanity” lawsuit against Ariel Sharon in Belgium.<sup>235</sup>

### “Easy Guide to International Humanitarian Law in the Occupied Palestinian Territory” Website

The “Easy Guide to IHL” website is a primary component of the IHL program, and is intended to “target” Swedish- and English-speakers “who are interested in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, generally familiar with the facts on the ground but are seeking to familiarize themselves with the legal tool in their advocacy messages and analysis.”<sup>236</sup> Diakonia claims that the “analysis” provided on the website “reflects Diakonia’s perspective following Diakonia’s position paper and does not intend to voice approaches of either one of the parties to the conflict.” Although the NGO includes a few scattered links to Israeli government sources, Diakonia notes that “the website primarily engages with the obligation of the State of Israel, as the occupying power, towards the Palestinian population,” and much of the content repeats unverifiable allegations made by NGO partners Al-Haq, HaMoked, and B’Tselem. The information presented on the website and the frequent misrepresentations of international law reflect this one-sided approach.

*Distorted History and Omitted Context.* The website provides an overview of legal and historical issues through the Palestinian narrative, distorting history and erasing context. In a representative example, the overview of “the years 1947-1967” claims that after “war broke out between Israel and a number of Arab states” in 1948, Israel was established on territory “which covered a larger part than allotted to it by the UN partition plan. A Palestinian state was not established and the Palestinians have been pursuing for many years, and still call for the implementation of their right to self-determination.”<sup>237</sup> This summary ignores the Arab rejection of the 1947 UN partition plan, the Arab-initiated 1948 war to destroy the nascent state, and the campaign of Arab attacks and massacres on Jews in the region both before and after the creation of Israel. Another claim on the website says, “The **oPt [occupied Palestinian territories] has been under the control and government of different regimes during the past 500 years**” (emphasis added).<sup>238</sup>

In another depiction of “The Wall,” Diakonia describes the “Seam Zone” as “caged between the Green Line and the Wall,” and writes that “[i]n 2002 Israel started to construct a wall inside the West Bank, separating Palestinians that live west of the Wall from their lands, families and services on the eastern side of it, based on Israel’s stated security reasoning to protect the state and Israeli settlers.” No mention is made of the hundreds of Israeli civilians killed by Palestinian suicide bombers prior to the barrier’s establishment, nor does Diakonia mention that these attacks have nearly ceased since its construction.

*Misrepresentation of International Law.* Much of the content on the IHL website is aimed at delegitimizing any means of self-defense employed by Israel. It includes statements on “a selection of Israeli policies that severely

<sup>234</sup> Aug. 8, 2006. Available at: [http://www.caabu.org/resources/mp\\_statements/lmec\\_letter\\_to\\_blair\\_lebanon/](http://www.caabu.org/resources/mp_statements/lmec_letter_to_blair_lebanon/).

<sup>235</sup> Available at: [http://www.israel-academia-monitor.com/index.php?type=large\\_advic&advice\\_id=42&page\\_data\[id\]=178&cookie\\_lang=en&the\\_session\\_id=73b7c020298216f2fc6711cd060f0130&BLUEWEBSESSIONSID=3980207036946421085520c3bbb04a40](http://www.israel-academia-monitor.com/index.php?type=large_advic&advice_id=42&page_data[id]=178&cookie_lang=en&the_session_id=73b7c020298216f2fc6711cd060f0130&BLUEWEBSESSIONSID=3980207036946421085520c3bbb04a40).

<sup>236</sup> Diakonia, “Diakonia’s Website ‘Easy Guide to International Humanitarian Law in the occupied Palestinian territory,’” Oct. 25, 2006. Available at: <http://www.diakonia.se/sa/node.asp?node=934>.

<sup>237</sup> Diakonia, “Historical overview of the right to self-determination in Palestine,” Sept. 4, 2009. Available at: <http://www.diakonia.se/sa/node.asp?node=921>.

<sup>238</sup> Diakonia, “International humanitarian law in the occupied Palestinian territory,” Nov. 9, 2009. Available at: <http://www.diakonia.se/sa/node.asp?node=828>.

affects the daily life of Palestinian civilians” such as “the Wall,” “House Demolition Policy,” “Movement Restrictions,” and “Israeli Settlements.” The page on Gaza promotes the spurious claim that Gaza remains “occupied” after the disengagement.<sup>239</sup> It also advances the false argument that international recognition of the end of occupation is a precondition for changing the status of “occupied” territory, even though no such requirement exists in international law. The Gaza page also asserts that Israel is engaging in “collective punishment” against the civilian population, and that “the methods used in the [Gaza war] [were] highly problematic and raise reasons to consider them as war crimes – violation of the principle of distinction, proportionality.”

*Reliance on the ICJ Advisory Opinion “Against the Wall.”* Diakonia continues to promote the ICJ Advisory Opinion “Against the Wall,” as well as many of the related legal briefs, even though the opinion is not legally binding, and Israel did not recognize the legitimacy of the proceedings. In one example, Diakonia uses the ICJ opinion to support the absurd claim (originally advanced by Al-Haq) that Israel does not have a right to self-defense under Article 51 of the UN Charter because “as specified in the International Court of Justice Advisory Opinion on the Wall from 2004,” Hamas launched rockets from Gaza, “an occupied territory, rather than from another state.”<sup>240</sup> In addition, the attempt to negate Israel’s unequivocal right to self-defense in the wake of attacks on its civilian population is fundamentally immoral.

*Promotion of the “right to resist.”* As noted, the IHL website promotes a so-called “right to resist” on behalf of the Palestinians – excusing the Palestinian campaign of deliberate attacks on Israeli civilians and delegitimizing

Israel’s right to defend itself. To support the specious claim of a “right to resist,” Diakonia writes, “[t]he use of force as part of resisting occupation in the Palestinian case is therefore derived from the **international legitimacy to recourse to armed struggle** in order to obtain the right to self-determination” (emphasis added).<sup>241</sup>

Notwithstanding the legal dispute over whether Palestinians are “a people under occupation,” no source is provided by Diakonia; and the invented concept of “international legitimacy” does not confer any type of legal right on Palestinians to conduct attacks on civilians. The “right to self-determination” also cannot be exercised in order to deny the self-determination rights of other peoples; Hamas, Fatah, and the PLO all call for the destruction of Jewish rights to a homeland. (For more information on the unsupported legal arguments disseminated by Diakonia and its partners, see NGO Monitor, *International Law Series: The Right to Self Defense*<sup>242</sup> and HRW’s *Letter to President Bush on Gaza: The “Collective Punishment” Hoax*.<sup>243</sup>)

### Seminars and Events

The IHL Program hosts many seminars and events for local UN and NGO officials to further the ostensible goal of “rais[ing] awareness for the basic rules of IHL within the Israeli and Palestinian societies.”<sup>244</sup> Presentations include “The Right to Health and Health Care under IHL and IHRL,” “International Law and the Economic Aspects of the Occupation,” and the “Monitoring Forum of IHL Violations in the Opt.” While some of the seminars present a more balanced view of IHL and the conflict, many promote the nullification of Israel’s international legal rights, involve speakers from radical NGOs that aggravate the conflict, and disseminate Palestinian propaganda. At

<sup>239</sup> Diakonia, “Does international humanitarian law apply to the Gaza Strip after the withdrawal?,” Jan. 14, 2009. Available at: <http://www.diakonia.se/sa/node.asp?node=842>.

<sup>240</sup> Diakonia, “IDF Operation Cast Lead,” Jan. 14, 2009. Available at: <http://www.diakonia.se/sa/node.asp?node=2795>.

<sup>241</sup> News from Middle East, “FLASHBACK: Resistance to Israeli occupation – a right?,” November 10, 2006. Available at: <http://209.85.129.132/search?q=cache:KaG0DKAgupYJ:newsfrommiddleeast.com/%3Fxstart%3Dhbcbc%26new%3D50092+%22international+legitimacy+to+recourse+to+armed+struggle%22+diakonia&cd=12&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=il>.

<sup>242</sup> January 13, 2010. Available at [http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/international\\_law\\_series\\_the\\_right\\_to\\_self\\_defense0](http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/international_law_series_the_right_to_self_defense0).

<sup>243</sup> June 16, 2008. Available at: [http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/hrw\\_s\\_letter\\_to\\_president\\_bush\\_on\\_gaza\\_the\\_collective\\_punishment\\_hoax](http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/hrw_s_letter_to_president_bush_on_gaza_the_collective_punishment_hoax).

<sup>244</sup> Diakonia, “IHL Education/Information,” Sept. 25, 2008. Available at: <http://www.diakonia.se/sa/node.asp?node=929>.

one event attended by NGO Monitor, a Diakonia staff member referred to rocket attacks on Israeli civilians as “resistance.” (Summaries and PowerPoint presentations of many of the events are available on the IHL website.)

At the March 2008 IHL Forum,<sup>245</sup> held at Al Quds University in conjunction with AIDA, entitled “Economy and the Occupation,” participants included Shir Hever from the Alternative Information Center (see below) and a representative from the Stop the Wall Campaign. The presentation by Diakonia’s legal advisor included the claim that Israel is “using political and military control to transform the existing – mostly agrarian – economies into captive markets for Israeli produce and sources of cheap, unprotected labor,” and advocated for divestment. Another speaker from Medico International claimed, “[e]ver since Oslo, Israel has been let off the responsibility for the OPT, and has been able to keep its enclave system going only with the help of foreign donors.”

NGO speakers at the December 2007 IHL Forum<sup>246</sup> included Sari Bashi of Gisha, Gareth Gleed from Al-Haq, and Fatmeh El-Ajou from Adalah. In support of the PLO claim that Israel continues to occupy Gaza, despite the 2005 withdrawal, Bashi made the illogical assertion that Israel decides whether “a new born child [in Gaza] is issued an ID or not” and that “[o]f course Hamas and Fatah can issue the family with an ID but this is pointless as Israel is the border authority.” Under such reasoning, it would be “pointless” for the United States to issue passports, since other countries determine whether US nationals can enter their territory. Two articles posted on the Diakonia website that summarize “the main points presented” are entitled, “Israel Violates International Humanitarian Law

in Gaza”<sup>247</sup> and “The Legal Case for Gaza”<sup>248</sup> published by Palestinian NGO Miftah.

Speakers at other events include Charles Shamas (see above), members of the Palestinian Negotiations Support Unit, a member of the Palestinian defense team for the advisory opinion case at the ICJ, Badil, UNWRA, and Lucy Mair of HRW (formerly associated with *Electronic Intifada*).

#### HaMoked Law Database (SEK 1,600,000 from 2006–2009)

The IHL program supports HaMoked’s Online Legal Library.<sup>249</sup> As on Diakonia’s IHL website, many of the documents on the database provide a distorted view or incorrect analysis of IHL. In one representative example, HaMoked claims the concluding observations of the UN Committee Against Torture “rejected Israel’s claims” that detention facility 1391 is no longer in operation and “demands operation of the facility cease.”<sup>250</sup> Yet, far from “rejecting Israel’s claims” and “demanding” operation of facility 1391 “cease,” the committee’s report in fact accepted Israel’s statement that the facility “has not been used since 2006” and simply stated that Israel should “ensure that no one is detained in any secret detention facility under its control in the future.”<sup>251</sup>

#### Program on Humanitarian Policy and Conflict Research (HPCR) in conjunction with Harvard University School of Public Health

“IHL in Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territory”<sup>252</sup> component (SEK 2,800,000 from 2006–2010). With SIDA funding, Diakonia supports HPCR International’s Humanitarian Policy & Law Forum operated in

<sup>245</sup> See <http://www.diakonia.se/sa/node.asp?node=1121>.

<sup>246</sup> Ibid.

<sup>247</sup> Palestine Monitor, Dec. 4, 2007. Available at: <http://www.palestinemonitor.org/spip/spip.php?article199>.

<sup>248</sup> Miftah, Dec. 6, 2007. Available at: <http://www.miftah.org/Display.cfm?DocId=15561&CategoryId=13>.

<sup>249</sup> See <http://www.diakonia.se/sa/node.asp?node=2655>.

<sup>250</sup> HaMoked, “HaMoked: Center for the Defence of the Individual requests to submit the concluding observations of the UN Committee against Torture as an exhibit in its petition regarding secret prison facility 1391,” May 25, 2009. Available at: [http://www.hamoked.org.il/news\\_main\\_en.asp?id=766](http://www.hamoked.org.il/news_main_en.asp?id=766).

<sup>251</sup> Committee Against Torture, “Consideration of Reports Submitted by States Parties Under Article 19 of the Convention,” April 27–May 15, 2009. Available at: <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cat/docs/cobs/CAT.C.ISR.CO.4.pdf>.

<sup>252</sup> Program on Humanitarian Policy and Conflict Research, Harvard University, “International Humanitarian Law in Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territory,” Jan. 2004–present. Available at: <http://www.hpcrresearch.org/projects/opt.php>.

conjunction with Harvard University's School of Public Health. A central component of the program is "IHL in Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories," developed "in consultation" with the UN, and aiming "to improve access to balanced information on international law and to promote the integration of legal and humanitarian analysis in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the Roadmap framework."

This program, like other Diakonia and IHL activities, promotes the Palestinian narrative under an academic façade via the distortion and manipulation of international law. Its "web portal"<sup>253</sup> contains "policy briefs" that claim to "analyze" IHL on aspects of the Arab-Israeli conflict, yet invariably conclude that Israel is violating international law. The forum is a major proponent and disseminator of the PLO "legal opinion" that Gaza remains "occupied."

### Diakonia Support for "Lawfare"

Another major component of the Diakonia IHL program is the exploitation of legal processes and courts to harass Israelis or companies doing business with Israel. This aspect of Diakonia's work is consistent with similar efforts involving Advisory Council member Charles Shamas, who is also co-founder of Al-Haq – one of the NGOs leading the "lawfare" campaign, and a recipient of significant Diakonia funding.

The primary vehicle for promoting "lawfare" is through sponsorship of conferences and seminars examining ways in which Israel can be held "accountable" in courts for alleged violations of international law. These events never encourage bringing Hamas, Fatah, the PA or other Palestinian actors to court for the murder and wounding of thousands of Israeli civilians. Nor do they target state supporters or companies aiding the financing of these attacks, including Saudi Arabia, Iran, Syria, and many banking institutions.

In September 2008, Diakonia sponsored a major conference in Brussels, "Palestine/Israel: Making Monitoring Work: (Re-) Enforcing International Law in Europe." NGO participants at the event included Jessica

Montell of B'Tselem, Hassan Jabareen of Adalah, Hadas Ziv of PHR-I, representatives of ICAHD, PCATI, Badil, Avocats Sans Frontiers, FIDH, as well as leaders of the anti-Israel "lawfare" movement: Raji Sourani of PCHR, Charles Shamas and researchers from Al-Haq, Yesh Gevul, Maria LaHood from the Center for Constitutional Rights, a representative of the law office of Michael Sfar, and attorneys Daniel Machover and Phil Shiner.

In support of the Durban strategy, participants accused Israel of "war crimes," and called for boycotts and "lawfare" against Israel. In particular:

- Montell declared that "most violations of human rights and international humanitarian law are the result of government policy, not the actions of a particular individual, so holding the army and state accountable on a broader level is crucial."
- Jabareen claimed the "dominant trend with Israeli legal thinking is revealed to have supported the collective punishment of Palestinians"; falsely claimed that the Israeli Supreme Court "is not amenable to hearing [] cases that deal with acts amounting to potential war crimes"; and stated that "[w]hen the Supreme Court justices had to justify the rationale behind the family unification law ... they could only provide racist reasons." He further noted that activists should try to portray Israel as an inherently undemocratic state and to "use that as part of campaigning internationally."
- Raji Sourani repeated canards such as claiming the IDF deliberately "fired seven artillery shells straight at [the] picnicking families" during the "Gaza beach incident,"<sup>254</sup> and noted that the purpose of the conference was to "look at the potential for launching more cases of universal jurisdiction" against Israel.
- Hadas Ziv, Executive Director of PHR-I (see below) falsely claimed that the Universal

<sup>253</sup> Available at: <http://opt.ihlresearch.org/>.

<sup>254</sup> NGO Monitor, "NGO Political Agendas Distort Reports on Gaza Beach Incident," June 26, 2006. Available at: <http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article.php?id=808>.

Declaration of Human Rights “gives people the right to fight occupation” and added “that if human rights don’t get revolutionized they in fact are part of the oppression.”

- Many participants discussed finding “ways to get more out of the ICJ’s Advisory Opinion,” including targeting “charities in the UK” and “financial institutions and banks.” Diakonia’s representative, Grietje Baars, noted that “Diakonia is currently researching third state responsibility.”

Other activities promoting “lawfare” include the March 2009 IHL Forum “Accountability for IHL Violations” held at Al Quds University in conjunction with AIDA,<sup>255</sup> and a July 2008 workshop held in conjunction with Avocats Sans Frontiers, “Enforcing International Humanitarian Law in Foreign Courts.” The workshop materials include a PowerPoint presentation entitled “Palestine: a war crime a minute,” which advocated using the “Easy Guide” website for legal analysis, and ending with the slide, “See you in Court!”

### **BDS, EU-Israel Relations**

Although officials from Diakonia told NGO Monitor that the organization does not support boycotts against Israel and on occasion releases statements calling on the EU to demand that the PA enforce its international legal obligations,<sup>256</sup> the evidence shows that it does promote divestment initiatives and calls for suspension or downgrading of EU-Israel relations, and speakers at several Diakonia events explicitly advocate for BDS. In addition, many Diakonia partners are active in or support BDS measures against Israel.

- Diakonia’s partner, the Tamer Institute, is a signatory to several calls to boycott Israel including a petition “to impose broad boycotts and implement divestment initiatives against Israel similar to those applied to South Africa in the apartheid era. We appeal to you to pressure your respective states to impose embargoes and sanctions against Israel.”<sup>257</sup>
- Charles Shamas (see above) discussed sanctions available under EU policy in his presentation “Economic and Political Measures in EU Legal Documents” at the March 2007 IHL Forum.<sup>258</sup> At the same event, Diakonia’s legal advisor presented “Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions: Legal Concepts in International Law.”<sup>259</sup>
- Lucy Mair, former researcher for HRW and *Electronic Intifada* author, spoke at the May 2005 IHL Forum on corporate responsibility, where she highlighted the divestment campaign against Caterpillar and how to “use corporate responsibility as a tactic in fighting against the Wall.”<sup>260</sup>
- Diakonia issued a joint report with the Church of Sweden targeting the Assa Abloy corporation for manufacturing locks at a factory located in the Barkan industrial zone.<sup>261</sup>
- On 27 January 2006, Diakonia and Amnesty International Sweden wrote a letter to Connex (copying the Swedish foreign minister and the French and Israeli ambassadors to Sweden) claiming that its participation in the Jerusalem

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<sup>255</sup> Diakonia, “The 14th AIDA IHL Forum on “Accountability for IHL violations,” March 23, 2009. Available at: <http://www.diakonia.se/sa/node.asp?node=1120>.

<sup>256</sup> My News Desk, “Diakonia on the EU to make demands on the Palestinian Authority,” June 22, 2009. Available at: <http://translate.google.com/translate?hl=en&sl=sv&tl=en&u=http://www.newsdesk.se/pressroom/diakonia/pressrelease/view/diakonia-uppmanar-eu-att-staella-krav-paa-palestinska-myndigheten-302963>.

<sup>257</sup> Boycott Israeli Apartheid Campaign, “Palestinian Civil Society Calls for Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions Against Israel,” July 9, 2005. Available at: <http://www.boycottisraeliapartheid.org/node/7>.

<sup>258</sup> Available at: [http://www.diakonia.se/documents/public/IHL/IHLfoum/th9/Sanctions\\_in\\_EU\\_laws\\_and\\_policies.pdf](http://www.diakonia.se/documents/public/IHL/IHLfoum/th9/Sanctions_in_EU_laws_and_policies.pdf).

<sup>259</sup> Available at: [http://www.diakonia.se/documents/public/IHL/IHLfoum/th9/Boycott\\_divestment\\_and\\_sanctions.pdf](http://www.diakonia.se/documents/public/IHL/IHLfoum/th9/Boycott_divestment_and_sanctions.pdf).

<sup>260</sup> Available at: <http://www.diakonia.se/documents/public/IHL/IHLfoum/th3/CorporateResponsibilityLucyMairHRW.pdf>.

<sup>261</sup> “Illegal Ground: Assa Abloy’s business in occupied Palestinian territory,” Oct. 21, 2008. Available at: [http://www.diakonia.se/Documents/public/IN\\_FOCUS/Israel\\_Palestine/Report\\_Illegal\\_Ground/Report\\_Mul-T-lock\\_081021.pdf](http://www.diakonia.se/Documents/public/IN_FOCUS/Israel_Palestine/Report_Illegal_Ground/Report_Mul-T-lock_081021.pdf).

light rail project and cooperation with the Israeli government was in violation of international law and UN Conventions.<sup>262</sup>

- During the Gaza war, Diakonia – along with AIDA partners Christian Aid, Oxfam, FIDH, Trocaire, World Vision, and others – issued a joint press release calling for the suspension of EU “upgrade” talks with Israel.<sup>263</sup>
- A presentation made by Diakonia’s legal advisor at the 2008 IHL forum (see above) advocated divestment strategies as a tool against Israel.
- Diakonia partners active in or supportive of the BDS movement include Alternative Information Center, Al-Haq, Al Mezan, Sabeel, and Wi’am.

### Diakonia & the Gaza Conflict

Following the violent takeover of Gaza by Hamas and increased rocket attacks on Israeli civilians in 2007, Diakonia joined the NGO campaign against Israel’s Gaza policy, accusing Israel of an “illegal siege,” “collective punishment,” and continued “occupation.” This campaign contributed to the conflict and gave Hamas leaders the expectation of international support for their terror activities. Many news stories on Diakonia’s website promote these themes and are a central focus for the organization. These statements present an immoral equivalence between Hamas’ deliberate rocket attacks on Israeli civilians and Israel’s response in self-defense. The claims are used to promote a political agenda, including calls for increased diplomatic pressure, and demands that the EU and other international bodies suspend agreements with Israel. No similar demands are presented with respect to Hamas, the Palestinian Authority, Egypt, or Iran.

Examples of Diakonia statements relating to Gaza (note that few mention or call for an end to ongoing Palestinian rocket attacks against Israeli civilians):

- April 15, 2009 statement accuses Israel of a “strangling siege”; refers to Palestinian partner Al Mezan “going all around the Gaza Strip collecting testimonies and evidence of possible war crimes committed by the Israeli military.”<sup>264</sup>
- January 15, 2009 press release: Diakonia Secretary General Bo Forsburg demands that “[t]he Swedish Prime Minister must meet with the Israeli ambassador to hand in a protest against the Israeli violence in Gaza, both regarding the attack on the UN headquarters in Gaza City, the disproportionate violence and the destruction of all Swedish aid.”<sup>265</sup>
- December 29, 2008 release: Forsburg claimed that “[s]o far, only the Palestinian side suffered from sanctions for not meeting the terms of the peace process. The world’s lack of political pressure on both parties, including the approval of EU’s association agreement with Israel void of any demands on Israel, has regrettably contributed to the negative developments in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict ... . This madness must be stopped.”<sup>266</sup>
- November 11, 2007 “Call to end the isolation of Gaza” claims the “political, economic and social isolation imposed on the occupied Gaza Strip violates international law and has dire consequences for future peace, development and security in the region.” Israel is accused of “mak[ing] a mockery of international

<sup>262</sup> Available at: <http://www.diakonia.se/documents/public/IHL/nonihlforum/CONNEXbrev060125.pdf>.

<sup>263</sup> Diakonia press release, “Aid agencies call for suspension of enhanced EU-Israel agreements,” Jan. 7, 2009. Available at: <http://www.diakonia.se/sa/node.asp?node=2787>.

<sup>264</sup> Diakonia, “Gaza: Picking up the pieces,” April 15, 2009. Available at: <http://www.diakonia.se/sa/node.asp?node=3016>.

<sup>265</sup> Diakonia press release, “Prime Minister Reinfeldt has to hand in a formal protest to the Israeli Ambassador,” Jan. 15, 2009. Available at: <http://www.diakonia.se/sa/node.asp?node=2802>.

<sup>266</sup> Diakonia press release, “Stop the madness in Gaza!,” Dec. 29, 2008. Available at: <http://www.diakonia.se/sa/node.asp?node=2785>.

humanitarian law, the illegal policy of collective punishment is only serving to deepen despair and frustration in Gaza.”<sup>267</sup>

### Submission to Goldstone Commission

Repeating distorted legal claims (see above) and unverifiable NGO claims, Diakonia submitted a 15-page brief to the Goldstone Commission.<sup>268</sup> The submission vilifies Israel and delegitimizes its right to defend itself against rocket attacks, while Hamas crimes are relegated to three short paragraphs on the last page of the report. The document also repeats many legal canards including:

- Diakonia makes the non-serious legal claim that Gaza remains occupied.
- Diakonia repeats a spurious legal claim made by Al-Haq that Israel did not act in self-defense during the conflict.<sup>269</sup> In other words, Diakonia is promoting an argument that Israel has no right to defend its civilians from attack under international law – a complete distortion of international law. The only reason to advance this argument is to justify Palestinian war crimes.
- Diakonia claims Israel deliberately targeted civilians, ignoring the myriad of evidence to the contrary,<sup>270</sup> and ignoring overwhelming documentation of Hamas’ policy of operating within residential areas to maximize civilian casualties. Hamas’ actions are a violation of the principle of distinction and the prohibition against human shields.
- Diakonia uses language such as “collective punishment” and repeats the controversial ICRC

guidelines regarding the classification of civilians who “directly participate in hostilities.” These guidelines were rejected by a majority of the legal experts engaged by the ICRC to draft them.<sup>271</sup>

See NGO Monitor’s report on the Goldstone Commission, October 22, 2009, for further analysis of Diakonia’s and other NGOs’ submissions.<sup>272</sup>

### Diakonia Partners

Diakonia emphasizes the role of its partners in carrying out the aims of its organization. The 2008 Annual Report lists 27 partners in the region – four in Israel (ACRI, B’Tselem, HaMoked, and PHR-I) and 23 in “Palestine” (Mossawa, a Haifa-based NGO, is listed under “Palestine”). While some of its partners are engaged in genuine humanitarian aid activities – such as the Al Bireh Public Library, Al Iman Childhood Center, and several rehabilitation organizations – many of its partners are among the most politically extreme NGOs in the region. Several Diakonia grantees are signatories to the Palestinian NGO Code of Conduct, which states:

The signatory NGOs also undertake to be in line with the national agenda without any normalization activities with the occupier, neither at the political-security nor the cultural or developmental levels. No endeavor would be carried out if it undermines the inalienable Palestinian rights of establishing statehood and the return of the refugees to their original homes...<sup>273</sup>

All partners listed below receive funding from SIDA via Diakonia. (See above pp. 19-29 for more information on Swedish government funding of NGOs.)

<sup>267</sup> Diakonia, “Call to end the isolation of the Gaza Strip,” Nov. 23, 2007. Available at: <http://www.diakonia.se/sa/node.asp?node=2172>.

<sup>268</sup> June 30, 2009. Available at: [http://www.diakonia.se/documents/IHL\\_archive/GOLDSTONEfinal.doc](http://www.diakonia.se/documents/IHL_archive/GOLDSTONEfinal.doc).

<sup>269</sup> See “Al-Haq Brief: Legal Aspects of Israel’s Attacks on the Gaza Strip during “Operation Cast Lead,” Jan. 7, 2009. Available at: [http://www.alhaq.org/pdfs/Legal\\_Brief\\_Gaza\\_Cast\\_Lead\\_Jan.pdf](http://www.alhaq.org/pdfs/Legal_Brief_Gaza_Cast_Lead_Jan.pdf).

<sup>270</sup> See “The Operation in Gaza - Factual and Legal Aspects,” Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, July 29, 2009. Available at: [http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/Terrorism-+Obstacle+to+Peace/Terrorism+and+Islamic+Fundamentalism-/Operation\\_in\\_Gaza-Factual\\_and\\_Legal\\_Aspects.htm](http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/Terrorism-+Obstacle+to+Peace/Terrorism+and+Islamic+Fundamentalism-/Operation_in_Gaza-Factual_and_Legal_Aspects.htm).

<sup>271</sup> Bill Gertz, “Terrorists and laws of war,” *Washington Times*, June 18, 2009. Available at: <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2009/jun/18/inside-the-ring-95264632/?page=2>.

<sup>272</sup> Available at: [http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/amnesty\\_international\\_goldstone\\_s\\_cheat\\_sheet\\_](http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/amnesty_international_goldstone_s_cheat_sheet_).

<sup>273</sup> NDC, “Palestinian Code of Conduct,” 2008. Available at: <http://www.ndc.ps/main.php?id=22>.

### Alternative Information Center (AIC) (SEK 1.5 million, 2007–2009)

NGO partner in the Civil Society program. AIC often refers to the “Israeli occupation-regime” and the Arab-Israeli “colonial conflict”<sup>274</sup> and opposes “normalization” with Israel, claiming that the collaboration of a Palestinian NGO with the Israeli Peres Center for Peace “is politically unacceptable, and morally disgusting. Shimon Peres is definitely an enemy of the Palestinian people, of human rights and of peace.”<sup>275</sup> AIC officials participate in United Nations frameworks; have accused Israel of “genocide,”<sup>276</sup> a “policy of ethnic cleansing,”<sup>277</sup> and “apartheid,”<sup>278</sup> and have also compared Israeli military and political officials to Nazis.<sup>279</sup> (See AIC Profile, NGO Monitor, June 4, 2009).<sup>280</sup> Two members of Diakonia’s IHL Advisory Council are linked with AIC.

### Al-Haq (SEK 3.2 million, 2006–2010)

Al-Haq is a central partner in the IHL program. The organization is a leader of the “lawfare” movement, initiating lawsuits in Canada and the UK, and preparing “ready-to-be-used case files” against Israeli officials in foreign courts. Al-Haq lists boycotts among its goals and objectives,<sup>281</sup> and lobbied the EU to annul the upgrade of EU-Israel bilateral relations. General Director Shawan

Jabarin has been denied exit visas by Israel and Jordan for his alleged ties to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) terror group. Charles Shamas (see above) is a co-founder of the NGO.

### Sabeel (SEK 800,000, 2006–2008)

Sabeel is a partner in Diakonia’s civil society project. A 2008 Sabeel project, “The Nakba Memory, Reality and Beyond,” aims “to commemorate the Nakba of 1948, examine the current struggles for freedom, equality, and identity, and confront the continuing problems of the 1948 refugees”; “create a better understanding of the history of 1948, the Palestinian Nakba (Catastrophe)”; and “create a stronger civil society informed and concerned about the Nakba and who will work proactively inside Israel ... on ... the situation of second class citizenship for Palestinians.”<sup>282</sup> Sabeel is a leader of the church divestment campaign,<sup>283</sup> and director Naim Ateek employs antisemitic themes and imagery<sup>284</sup> in sermons promoting his “Palestinian Liberation Theology.”<sup>285</sup>

### Physicians for Human Rights-Israel (PHR-I) (SEK 1.6 million, 2006–2009)

Under the civil society program, PHR-I carried out a project entitled “The Occupied Palestinian Territory,

<sup>274</sup> AIC, “AIC Mission Statement.” Available at: <http://www.alternativenews.org/about.html>.

<sup>275</sup> Nassar Ibrahim, “The Case against Palestinian Normalization with Israel,” Sept. 4, 2007. Available at: <http://www.alternativenews.org/nassar-ibrahim/986-the-case-against-palestinian-normalization-with-israel.html>.

<sup>276</sup> Michael Warschawski, “Sanctions Now – Upgrading, Hell No!,” Dec. 2, 2008. Available at: <http://www.alternativenews.org/michael-warschawski/1628-sanctions-now--upgrading-hell-no.html>.

<sup>277</sup> Ahmad Jaradat, “Israel’s Ethnic Cleansing Policy and Land Day: Palestinian Uprising and Resistance,” March 30, 2009. Available at: <http://www.alternativenews.org/english/1836-israels-ethnic-cleansing-policy-and-land-day-palestinian-uprising-and-resistance.html>.

<sup>278</sup> Sergio Yahni, “Shame on Europe: The Upgrade in EU-Israel Relations Voids the Substance of the International Legal System,” Dec. 10, 2008. Available at: <http://www.alternativenews.org/english/1752-shame-on-europe-the-upgrade-in-eu-israel-relations-voids-the-substance-of-the-international-legal-system.html>.

<sup>279</sup> Michael Warschawski, “Absolutely Not in Their Name, Not in Ours,” Jan. 18, 2009. Available at: <http://www.alternativenews.org/michael-warschawski/1619-absolutely-not-in-their-name-not-in-ours-.html>.

<sup>280</sup> Available at: [http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/alternative\\_information\\_center\\_aic\\_profile](http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/alternative_information_center_aic_profile).

<sup>281</sup> Available at: <http://www.alhaq.org/etemplate.php?id=51>.

<sup>282</sup> SIDA NGO Database, “The Nakba Memory, Reality and Beyond 2008-2009.” Available at: <http://www2.sida.se/sida/jsp/sida.jsp?d=390&a=42140&pm>.

<sup>283</sup> NGO Monitor, “Sabeel’s Ecumenical Facade,” July 10, 2005. Available at: [http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/\\_sabeel\\_s\\_ecumenical\\_facade\\_](http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/_sabeel_s_ecumenical_facade_).

<sup>284</sup> NGO Monitor, “Sabeel Conferences: Fuelling the Arab-Israeli Conflict,” Oct. 8, 2007. Available at: [http://www.ngo-monitor.org/data/images/File/sabeel\\_conference\\_101107.pdf](http://www.ngo-monitor.org/data/images/File/sabeel_conference_101107.pdf).

<sup>285</sup> Sabeel, “About Us.” Available at: <http://www.sabeel.org/etemplate.php?id=2>.

Prisoners & Detainees” claiming to “Protect the right to health of Palestinian in the Occupied Territories: Protect[] medical neutrality and the safety of medical premises and staff in the occupied territories, [and] Protect[] freedom of movement (access to health) of Palestinian patients, medical personnel and medical goods and conducting local and international advocacy.”<sup>286</sup> PHR-I campaigns include the unsupported claim that Israel is required to provide “free access to health services” in the Palestinian Authority,<sup>287</sup> and that Israel is responsible for the PA’s decision to suspend payments for Palestinian patients in Israeli hospitals. This political NGO is also lobbying against the upgrade of EU-Israel relations.<sup>288</sup>

#### Women’s Affairs Technical Committee (WATC) (SEK 113,959, 2008)

Another partner in Diakonia’s civil society program, WATC’s plainly stated ideology is that “the social struggle for the full emancipation of all members of the Palestinian society ... must go hand in hand with the national struggle for the liberation of Palestine.”<sup>289</sup> A WATC newsletter asserts that “[t]he Israeli occupation has continued building its wall of apartheid and segregation.”<sup>290</sup> In a letter entitled

“Stop Israeli Massacres and the Zionist aggressions on the Gaza Strip immediately,” WATC irresponsibly labeled the Gaza conflict “a war of extermination.”<sup>291</sup>

#### Al Mezan (SEK 1,100,000, 2007–2009)

An IHL program partner, Al Mezan’s activities reflect a radical anti-Israel agenda, including promoting claims of “Israeli war crimes”<sup>292</sup> and “apartheid.”<sup>293</sup> During the Gaza conflict, Al Mezan accused Israel of “unprecedented, disproportionate bombardment of civilians targets,” “criminal [] aggression against civilians”<sup>294</sup> and committing a “‘holocaust’ (genocide).”<sup>295</sup> Al Mezan’s casualty figures during the conflict have been found to be without credibility as many Hamas fighters are listed as civilians.<sup>296</sup>

#### Mossawa (SEK 1.4 million, 2006–2008)

Mossawa, a partner in the IHL program, engages in political and legal campaigns that delegitimize Israel as a Jewish state with charges of “racism” and other pejoratives.<sup>297</sup> Mossawa is influential in international forums, and uses “lawfare” and the legal process to silence independent analysis and criticism of its activities, libeling

<sup>286</sup> SIDA NGO Database, “PHR 2007-2009 The Occupied Palestinian Territory, Prisoners & Detainees.” Available at: <http://www2.sida.se/sida/jsp/sida.jsp?d=390&a=40059&pm>.

<sup>287</sup> ReliefWeb, “Physicians for Human Rights-Israel and human rights organizations in a joint position paper on the decision to stop covering Palestinian’s medical care in Israel,” March 9, 2009. Available at: <http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/rwb.nsf/db900SID/CJAL-7PYM36?OpenDocument>.

<sup>288</sup> B’Tselem, “Israeli human rights organizations to EU: Use Association Council meeting to stop settlements and open Gaza,” June 15, 2009. Available at: [http://www.btselem.org/english/press\\_releases/20090615.asp](http://www.btselem.org/english/press_releases/20090615.asp).

<sup>289</sup> WATC, “WATC’s Vision.” Available at: <http://www.watcpal.org/english/display.asp?DocID=13>.

<sup>290</sup> WATC, “Voice of Women 302,” Dec. 4, 2008. Available at: <http://www.watcpal.org/english/display.asp?DocID=273>.

<sup>291</sup> Dec. 31, 2008. Available at: <http://www.watcpal.org/english/display.asp?DocID=250>.

<sup>292</sup> Al Mezan, “Following the Goldstone Report: Adalah, Al Mezan and Al Haq Submit New Complaints and Demands to Israel for Criminal Investigations into Suspected War Crimes in Gaza,” Nov. 25, 2009. Available at: [http://www.mezan.org/en/details.php?id=9283&ddname=crimes&id\\_dept=31&p=center](http://www.mezan.org/en/details.php?id=9283&ddname=crimes&id_dept=31&p=center).

<sup>293</sup> Al Mezan, “On 9th Anniversary of 2nd Intifada: Al Mezan Condemns Forced Entry of Israeli Settlers and Police into Al Aqsa Mosque; Calls for International Protection,” Sept. 28, 2009. Available at: [http://www.mezan.org/en/details.php?id=9059&ddname=ESC%20rights&id\\_dept=9&p=center](http://www.mezan.org/en/details.php?id=9059&ddname=ESC%20rights&id_dept=9&p=center).

<sup>294</sup> Al Mezan, “IOF Shelling of a UN Shelter in Gaza Kills 42 Civilians – Death Toll in the Gaza Strip Rises to 668; Including 123 Children and 44 Women,” Jan. 7, 2009. Available at: [http://www.mezan.org/en/details.php?id=1509&ddname=gaza%20destruction&id\\_dept=9&id2=9&p=center](http://www.mezan.org/en/details.php?id=1509&ddname=gaza%20destruction&id_dept=9&id2=9&p=center).

<sup>295</sup> Al Mezan, “Al Mezan Condemns the Assassination of As-Smiri and the Killing of an Infant; Calls for International Intervention,” March 5, 2008. Available at: <http://www.mezan.org/en/a.php?id=1628>.

<sup>296</sup> Lt. Col. (ret.) Jonathan D. Halevi, JCPA, “Casualties within the Palestinian Security Systems: Myth versus Reality” (Hebrew), May 24, 2009. Available at: <http://jcpa.org.il/JCPAHeb/Templates/showpage.asp?FID=594&DBID=1&LNGID=2&TMID=99&ID=22712>.

<sup>297</sup> NGO Monitor, “US State Department Report on Human Rights relies on politicized NGOs,” March 7, 2007. Available at: [http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/us\\_state\\_department\\_report\\_on\\_human\\_rights\\_relies\\_on\\_politicized\\_ngos\\_](http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/us_state_department_report_on_human_rights_relies_on_politicized_ngos_).

its critics as “racists.”<sup>298</sup> This strategy is akin to that used by many politicized NGOs “**whereby Zionist organizations, foreign companies and governments that collaborate with Israel’s regime can be held accountable** in court.”<sup>299</sup>

Although the claims in such cases are without foundation, the primary goals are to deter analysis and divert the limited resources of critics into costly legal processes.

#### Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Network (EMHRN) (SEK 240,000, 2004–2005)

EMHRN encompasses more than 60 NGOs, to ostensibly strengthen “human rights and democratic reform within the framework of the Barcelona process and EU-Arab cooperation frameworks.”<sup>300</sup> EMHRN funds are allocated to conferences, research, and educational materials produced for its member NGOs. EMHRN members from Israel and the PA consist exclusively of NGOs active in advancing Arab and Palestinian political goals and promoting BDS.<sup>301</sup>

#### HaMoked (SEK 1.6 million, 2006–2009)

HaMoked’s legal database is funded via Diakonia’s IHL program. The organization is an Israel-based NGO which claims to assist Palestinians who are “subjected to the Israeli occupation which causes severe and ongoing violation of their rights.”<sup>302</sup> HaMoked joined six other Israeli NGOs

in a submission to the UN Human Rights Council’s investigation of the Gaza war, accusing Israel of “war crimes” with only a token reference to Hamas’ “sporadic” rocket fire against Israel civilians. A 2007 HaMoked report on security detainees utilized “questionable methodology” and a “lack of verifiable sources.”<sup>303</sup> In 2006, State Prosecutor Nira Mashraki argued that HaMoked’s work to defend human rights was seriously compromised by its one-sided approach, arguing that “the organization’s self-presentation as ‘a human rights organization’ has no basis in reality and is designed to mislead.”<sup>304</sup>

#### B’Tselem (SEK 4.4 million, 2006–2008)

Diakonia’s highest-funded partner in the IHL program, B’Tselem “endeavors to document and educate the Israeli public and policymakers about human rights violations in the Occupied Territories.”<sup>305</sup> However, B’Tselem focuses almost exclusively on alleged Israeli violations, eliminating the context of asymmetrical war, mass terror, and intra-Palestinian violence. B’Tselem is one of the first exponents of the “collective punishment” and “Gaza remains occupied” allegations. B’Tselem’s credibility,<sup>306</sup> particularly regarding statistics on Palestinian casualties, has been repeatedly challenged<sup>307</sup> by independent researchers on grounds of faulty methodology,<sup>308</sup> inaccuracy, and unverifiable sources.<sup>309</sup>

<sup>298</sup> Ibid.

<sup>299</sup> Palestinian Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions National Committee (BNC), “United Against Apartheid, Colonialism and Occupation Dignity & Justice for the Palestinian People,” October 2008. Available at: [http://bdsmovement.net/files/English-BNC\\_Position\\_Paper-Durban\\_Review.pdf](http://bdsmovement.net/files/English-BNC_Position_Paper-Durban_Review.pdf).

<sup>300</sup> EMHRN, “Mission, Values & Objectives,” Oct. 26, 2008. Available at: [http://en.euromedrights.org/index.php/about\\_the\\_network/who\\_we\\_are/3005.html](http://en.euromedrights.org/index.php/about_the_network/who_we_are/3005.html).

<sup>301</sup> NGO Monitor, “Europe’s Hidden Hand,” April 2008, pp. 23–25. Available at: [http://www.ngo-monitor.org/data/images/File/NGO\\_Monitor\\_EU\\_Funding\\_Europes\\_Hidden\\_Hand.pdf](http://www.ngo-monitor.org/data/images/File/NGO_Monitor_EU_Funding_Europes_Hidden_Hand.pdf).

<sup>302</sup> HaMoked, “About HaMoked.” Available at: [http://www.hamoked.org.il/pages\\_en.asp?page\\_id=1](http://www.hamoked.org.il/pages_en.asp?page_id=1).

<sup>303</sup> NGO Monitor, “Claims in B’tselem/Hamoked report lack credibility,” May 7, 2007. Available at: <http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article.php?id=1411>.

<sup>304</sup> NGO Monitor, “Israeli State Prosecutor Recognises Bias of Israeli Human Rights NGOs, HaMoked and B’Tselem,” March 23, 2006. Available at: [http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/\\_israeli\\_state\\_prosecutor\\_recognises\\_bias\\_of\\_israeli\\_human\\_rights\\_ngos\\_hamoked\\_and\\_b\\_tselem\\_](http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/_israeli_state_prosecutor_recognises_bias_of_israeli_human_rights_ngos_hamoked_and_b_tselem_).

<sup>305</sup> B’Tselem, “About B’Tselem.” Available at: [http://www.btselem.org/english/About\\_BTselem/Index.asp](http://www.btselem.org/english/About_BTselem/Index.asp).

<sup>306</sup> NGO Monitor, “Focus: Reports expose more questions on B’Tselem’s credibility,” October 2008. Available at: [http://www.ngo-monitor.org/digest\\_info.php?id=2135#btselem](http://www.ngo-monitor.org/digest_info.php?id=2135#btselem).

<sup>307</sup> Lt. Col. (ret.) Jonathan D. Halevi, JCPA, “An additional example of the importance of criticism of human rights organizations” (Hebrew), June 14, 2009. Available at: <http://www.jcpa.org.il/JCPAHeb/Templates/showpage.asp?FID=602&DBID=1&LNGID=2&TMID=99&IID=22817>.

<sup>308</sup> NGO Monitor, “B’Tselem’s Gaza Report - Ideology Instead of Facts,” March 13, 2008. Available at: [http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/b\\_tselem\\_s\\_gaza\\_report\\_ideology\\_instead\\_of\\_facts](http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/b_tselem_s_gaza_report_ideology_instead_of_facts).

<sup>309</sup> Dan Izenberg, “Report slams B’Tselem Cast Lead figures,” *Jerusalem Post*, Sept. 16, 2009. Available at: <http://www.jpost.com/servlet/Satellite?cid=1251804580143&pagename=JPost%2FJPArticle%2FShowFull>.

## Conclusion and Recommendations

Diakonia's support for some of the most extreme NGOs operating in the region raises considerable concerns, particularly given the substantial amount of funding it receives from the Swedish government and taxpayers. Diakonia consistently presents a simplified and highly misleading view of the conflict, where Palestinians are always victims and Israel is always guilty. Its campaigns, publications, statements, and events repeatedly promote the Palestinian narrative, while ignoring the context of asymmetrical war as well as responsibility of Palestinian actors for failures in Palestinian society. Its extensive funding for programs that do not have humanitarian objectives (despite the rhetoric) suggests that the organization is not fulfilling its mandate and lends credence to the debate currently underway in Sweden regarding the role of humanitarian organizations. As a result, the evidence clearly suggests that not only is Diakonia's work not bringing the region any closer to peace, rather it is exacerbating and entrenching the conflict.

Given the amount of Swedish public funding used to support Diakonia's projects in the region and the nature of those activities, NGO Monitor has the following recommendations:

### Transparency and Accountability:

- There are few publicly available reports that analyze the impact of Diakonia's activities and funding programs. Lacking such basic information, it is impossible for public officials, journalists, and others to determine whether the funding promotes the declared objectives. Therefore, we recommend that substantive and independent program evaluations of Diakonia-funded projects be made publicly available. These evaluations should systematically assess how each program is contributing to the goals of the organization.
- Diakonia should also undertake investigations to ensure that its funding is not being used to support terror or to justify acts of violence.

### Programming and Decision-Making:

- As noted in its own AidWatch report critiquing EU humanitarian aid, Diakonia should make aid less of a "political tool" and direct it more towards "poverty reduction" on the ground.

- The IHL program receives the highest amount of funding in the region, yet does not appear to serve humanitarian goals. Diakonia funding should be directed more towards programs such as the Rehabilitation and Children's Literature Programme rather than towards programs that are used solely as tools to delegitimize Israel's right to self-defense.
- The IHL Advisory Council is almost entirely populated with PLO advisors and Palestinian and anti-Zionist Jewish activists. The board should be diversified to include a wider range of opinion and expertise.
- The IHL program currently approaches topics exclusively from the Palestinian perspective. It should be expanded to include the Israeli perspective.
- The IHL program should seriously examine the obligations of the Palestinian Authority, Hamas, and other Palestinian actors under IHL.
- The IHL partner organizations should be more diversified, representing both Palestinian and Israeli perspectives (and not just the Palestinian narrative).
- If these reforms cannot be implemented, the IHL program should be disbanded.
- Funding under the Civil Society Program should actually be directed towards programs aimed at serving youth, rather than programs promoting antisemitic or Nazi analogies.

### Partners:

Many of Diakonia's partners are among the most extreme voices in the conflict. The organization should work with more partners within the mainstream of Palestinian and Israeli societies, particularly those that do not engage in demonization or the delegitimization of Israel, or contribute to the conflict.

- Diakonia should work with organizations whose activities as well as rhetoric consistently support a two-state solution – a Jewish state of Israel alongside a Palestinian state – and end support

for organizations that work against this goal such as by promoting a “right of return.”

- Diakonia should end support for those organizations that actively campaign against normalization with Israel or Israelis, and that oppose peace based on mutual compromises.
- Diakonia should end support for those organizations that seek to deny the right of the Jewish people to self-determination.
- As a church organization, Diakonia has a moral obligation to promote acceptance of all religious faiths. It should not countenance expressions

of religious hatred or use of Nazi analogies directed against Israel. The organization should not tolerate partners that promote antisemitic theological themes in their work.

- Diakonia should end ties with any partner organization that supports terrorism or is connected to terrorist organizations.

Enactment of the above recommendations by Diakonia would not only provide more balanced coverage of the Arab-Israeli conflict, it would also better serve the interests of the Palestinians, who deserve real help, not radical posturing.

# Norway

## Norwegian NGO Funding: Peace and Coexistence, or Boycotts and Apartheid Rhetoric?

- Norwegian People's Aid (NPA), which received NOK 49 million (~\$7.8 million) from the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) and the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (Norad) in 2007 for its work with the Palestinians, accused Israel of “war crimes” and “collective punishment,” is active in the Stop the Wall Campaign, uses “apartheid” rhetoric, and supported the so-called Free Gaza Movement. NPA also funds other anti-Israel NGOs and partners with them.
- The Norwegian Aid Committee (NORWAC) receives MFA humanitarian funds for emergency medical assistance. A NORWAC representative, Dr. Mads Gilbert, has engaged in radical propaganda, including justifying the 9/11 attacks and false claims regarding the Gaza conflict.
- The Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) and the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC) partnered with Palestinian “right of return” NGO Badil on a report on the security barrier. The report labels the barrier a “crime against humanity,” and does not call for a halt to the terrorist attacks against Israeli civilians that led to the barrier’s construction.
- Norwegian Church Aid supports many NGOs with anti-Israel agendas, including Bat Shalom and Ecumenical Accompaniment Programme in Palestine and Israel, and is an “important affiliate” of the Stop the Wall Campaign in Norway. NCA attacked the Norwegian government for refusing to transfer money to the “ Hamas government” in Gaza.
- The MFA funds Israeli NGOs B’Tselem, PCATI, HaMoked, and Gisha. The Norwegian Representative Office to the Palestinian Authority supports extreme groups Al-Haq, Al Mezan, PCHR, and Miftah. During the Gaza conflict, these NGOs condemned Israel, misrepresenting international humanitarian law to delegitimize Israeli self-defense measures.
- NORAD supports a number of NGOs active in “anti-wall” campaigns, including the Norwegian Association of NGOs for Palestine, the “coordinator for the Norwegian Tear-Down the Wall Campaign and the Norwegian Boycott Israel Campaign.”
- On February 4, 2010, the Deputy Head of the Norwegian Mission to Israel wrote to NGO Monitor with a full list of Israeli and Palestinian NGOs that received government funding in 2009. In addition to the NGOs mentioned in this report, the letter named: Ir Amim, Machsom Watch, Emek Shaveh, the Association for Civil Rights in Israel (ACRI), the Geneva Initiative, Yesh Din, Peace Now, the Maan Development Center, the Gaza Community Mental Health Program, and Al-Dameer. See the full letter in Appendix III.

## Background

According to a 2009 review commissioned by the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD), the Palestinian Authority is “the second largest recipient of aid from the Norwegian Government, after Sudan.” This “reflects the prominence of the ‘Middle East Peace Process’ in the Norwegian Foreign Policy agenda” for which “the overarching purpose has been ... to contribute to a two-state solution.”<sup>310</sup>

In addition, Norway channels significant funds via Norwegian and Palestinian NGOs. The Norwegian NGOs receive major funding from the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) and lesser funding from NORAD, which officially “provides long-term support for capacity building of the civil society, while MFA reserves its NGO funds for more acute humanitarian aid and emergency support.”<sup>311</sup>

Since 1999, the Norwegian government has provided grants to “solidarity organizations, development organizations, humanitarian organizations, political parties, professional and labour organizations, religious groups and research institutes” operating in the PA.<sup>312</sup> The NORAD review found that “[t]he complex administrative management of MFA/Norad grants makes it difficult for the different sections within MFA/Norad to have a complete picture of the support to civil society organizations.”<sup>313</sup>

Norwegian development assistance totaled NOK 21.8 billion in 2007.<sup>314</sup> Of this amount, bilateral assistance (including multi-bilateral assistance) accounted for NOK 15.7 billion (~\$3.4 billion). Norway lists the “Palestinian Administered Areas” as the third biggest “recipient country” of bilateral assistance in 2007, having received

NOK 622 million. According to the external review of NORAD, “planning figures for 2008 indicate[d] a further increase, to 800 million, a 400% increase in less than 10 years.”<sup>315</sup>

Of the bilateral assistance given to the PA in 2007, NOK 3 million were given through international NGOs, NOK 23 million through local NGOs, NOK 139 million through Norwegian NGOs and NOK 1.5 million through regional NGOs. (In 2006, the “Palestinian Area” received NOK 563 million.) The sources of the remaining funding not provided through NGOs were not listed and were likely provided through the UN or other international bodies that are out of the scope of this analysis.

## MFA

Funding to local NGOs from the Norwegian MFA is channeled through the Norwegian Representative Office (NRO) in the Palestinian Authority. Figures for the specific allocation of funds to NGOs in general or individual organizations are not readily available from these governmental bodies, and neither the MFA nor the NRO has responded to e-mailed enquiries from NGO Monitor, reflecting a lack of transparency. Hence, the funding information on the MFA and NRO may not be comprehensive.

Additionally, the NORAD-commissioned review found that “[s]everal of the [Palestinian] partners highlighted the advantage of having the Norwegian MFA as a back donor, as most other donors have stricter and more time consuming procedures for changes of projects, and are also less prone to finance projects that can be politically sensitive.”<sup>316</sup> This suggests a lack of oversight and a willingness to overlook the use of Norwegian funding for

<sup>310</sup> Nordic Consulting Group, “Review of Norwegian Support to Palestine Through Norwegian NGOs,” March 2009, p. 20. Available at: [http://www.norad.no/en/\\_binary?download=true&id=49478](http://www.norad.no/en/_binary?download=true&id=49478).

<sup>311</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.

<sup>312</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22.

<sup>313</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 55.

<sup>314</sup> NORAD, “Annual Report 2007.” Available at: [http://www.norad.no/en/\\_binary?download=true&id=7588](http://www.norad.no/en/_binary?download=true&id=7588).

<sup>315</sup> The most recent publicly available figures are from 2007, casting doubt on claims that anyone can “apply to gain access to information about the funding” (Jakken Blorn Lian, “Right of Reply: Norway is not anti-Semitic,” *Jerusalem Post*, Dec. 12, 2009. Available at: <http://www.jpost.com/servlet/Satellite?apage=2&cid=1260447421469&pagename=JPost/JPArticle/ShowFull>.)

<sup>316</sup> Nordic Consulting Group, “Review of Norwegian Support to Palestine Through Norwegian NGOs,” March 2009, p. 4. Available at: [http://www.norad.no/en/\\_binary?download=true&id=49478](http://www.norad.no/en/_binary?download=true&id=49478).

politicized purposes, which may have been designated for “humanitarian aid and emergency support.”<sup>317</sup>

The role of the Norwegian MFA in politicized NGO projects was highlighted when Foreign Minister Jonas Gahr Store “praised” the book *Eyes in Gaza* by NORWAC representatives Mads Gilbert and Erik Fosse (see below), which accused Israel of a “monstrous, systematically implemented and comprehensive massacre” in Gaza.<sup>318</sup>

## NORAD

### Background

The Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation/ Direktoratet for utviklingssamarbeid (NORAD) is the main actor in Norwegian development policy<sup>319</sup> and “politically and technically responsible for Norwegian development cooperation.”<sup>320</sup> Its stated functions are “to advise the aid administration, provide funding for Norwegian and international development NGOs, and carry out quality assurance and evaluation of Norway’s development co-operation activities.”<sup>321</sup>

In an e-mail from a NORAD official, NGO Monitor received “an overview of NORAD support to NGO projects in Palestinian areas in 2008.”<sup>322</sup>

### Norwegian People’s Aid

The NPA, as mentioned above, is funded by both the Norwegian MFA and by NORAD; however the organization claims that its work in “Palestine” is financed mainly by NORAD.<sup>323</sup> In an e-mail, NORAD official Gunvor W. Skancke explained that MFA funding is

intended for emergency operations and NORAD support is for long-term development work with Palestinian partners. In 2007, NPA received NOK 122,290,000 from NORAD for its global work.<sup>324</sup> Skancke claimed that in 2007 NORAD provided NOK 20 million for Palestinian projects.

### Other NORAD projects

NORAD’s partner base listed its partners in the “Palestinian Administered Areas,”<sup>325</sup> including Norwegian Church Aid (NOK 3,299,000 in 2008) and Norwegian People’s Aid (NOK 9,465,000 in 2008). In addition to development and humanitarian projects in the Palestinian Authority and Gaza, NORAD provided support to organizations that are involved with “anti-wall” campaigns:

- Delta International KFUK-KFUM / Delta Internasjonalt KFUK-KFUM. KFUK-KFUM is listed as member of the Norwegian “Riv Muren kampanjen” (“Tear-Down the Wall campaign”).
- The Norwegian Confederation of Trade Unions/ Landsorganisasjonen i Norge (LO) receives NORAD funding. LO is listed as an affiliate of the Norwegian Stop the Wall Campaign.<sup>326</sup> On January 8, 2009, LO condemned Israel’s “rocket attacks on Gaza and its invasion by land forces” and stated that “[a]ssaults and the killing of civilians cannot be defended.”
- Union of Education Norway/Utdanningsforbundet is still listed among member organizations

<sup>317</sup> Ibid., p. 21. Available at: [http://www.norad.no/en/\\_binary?download=true&id=49478](http://www.norad.no/en/_binary?download=true&id=49478).

<sup>318</sup> Cnaan Liphshiz, Haaretz, “Norwegian minister under fire for praise of Cast Lead book,” Jan. 2, 2010. Available at: <http://www.haaretz.com/hasen/spages/1139216.html>.

<sup>319</sup> Norway: The official site in Israel, “Development Cooperation.” Available at: [http://www.norway.org.il/About\\_Norway/Government-and-Policy/humanitarian/development/](http://www.norway.org.il/About_Norway/Government-and-Policy/humanitarian/development/).

<sup>320</sup> UNESCO, “Government Donors: Norway,” Oct. 10, 2008. Available at: [http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL\\_ID=32662&URL\\_DO=DO\\_TOPIC&URL\\_SECTION=201.html](http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=32662&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html).

<sup>321</sup> Norway Ministry of Foreign Affairs, “Norad.” Available at: <http://www.regjeringen.no/en/dep/ud/ryddemappe/ud/english/ministry/etater/norad/Norad.html?id=448793>.

<sup>322</sup> From Gunvor W. Skancke, Assistant Director, Civil Society Department, Norad, Jan. 22, 2009.

<sup>323</sup> NPA, “NPA in Palestine.” Available at: <http://www.npaid.org/IPS?id=419&module=Articles&action=ArticleFolder.publicOpenFolder>.

<sup>324</sup> NPA, “Annual Report 2007.” Available at: <http://www.npaid.org/filestore/2007NFENGrappportWEB.pdf>.

<sup>325</sup> Link no longer available.

<sup>326</sup> NPA, “Stop the Wall Campaign in Norway.” Available at: <http://otto.idium.no/folkehjelp.no/?module=Articles;action=Article.publicShow;ID=1213>.

of the Norwegian “Riv Muren kampanjen” (“Tear-Down the Wall campaign”).<sup>327</sup> In 2008, the Union of Education Norway received NOK 582,000 from NORAD.

Other organizations are listed on the 2008 overview of NGO projects in Palestinian areas obtained from NORAD, yet they are not included in NORAD’s partner base. For instance, NOK 240,000 was granted to the Norwegian Association of NGOs for Palestine (Fellesutvalget for Palestina), which defines itself as is “an umbrella for Norwegian non-governmental organizations working for the rights and freedom of the Palestinian People” and is “the coordinator for the Norwegian Tear-Down the Wall Campaign and the Norwegian Boycott Israel Campaign.”<sup>328</sup>

### Impact of government funding for politicized NGOs

In contrast to Norway’s stated objectives of humanitarian aid and long-term development, much of its NGO funding is not used for these noble purposes.

The diversion of funding and the lack of accountability are facilitated by the central reliance on political NGOs, which receive approximately one-third of this Norwegian government support. NGO Monitor’s detailed analyses of the activities of these Norwegian, Palestinian, Israeli, and international NGOs demonstrate that in many cases, these programs are counterproductive to development, coexistence, and cooperation. The Norwegian government is funding highly politicized groups that regularly demonize

Israel, while failing to hold these NGOs accountable. In addition to financing activities that are contrary to stated Norwegian regional goals, including democracy and peace, Norway’s support lends legitimacy to these NGOs and their activities.

### Norwegian Government-Funded NGOs Norwegian People’s Aid/Norsk Folkehjelp

Norwegian People’s Aid (NPA) is one of the biggest and most highly regarded of Norway’s humanitarian and development NGOs. It is funded both by the MFA and by NORAD. In 2007, NPA received NOK 83 million from the MFA.<sup>329</sup> According to an e-mail from NORAD’s Skancke in 2007, NPA received NOK 29 million for emergency operations in the Palestinian Authority.

NPA describes itself as “a humanitarian organization rooted in the Norwegian Labour Movement” and clearly states that it is “not a politically neutral organization.”<sup>330</sup> Nevertheless, it receives government funding to promote this openly biased agenda, which often fuels the conflict rather than contributing to compromise and mutual understanding.

NPA’s activities in support of demonization:

- **Accusations of “Collective Punishment”<sup>331</sup> and “War Crimes”:** On January 6, 2009, NPA Secretary General Petter Eide accused Israel of subjecting the Palestinian population in Gaza to “collective punishment.”<sup>332</sup> The organization has also issued a petition entitled “Stop Israel’s

<sup>327</sup> Riv Muren-kampanjen, “Affiliates,” June 3, 2007. Available at: <http://rivmuren.blogspot.com/2008/06/tilsluttede-organisasjoner.html>.

<sup>328</sup> Palestina.no, “Norwegian Association of NGO’s for Palestine.” Available at: <http://www.palestina.no/index.php?display=39>.

<sup>329</sup> NPA, “Annual Report 2007.” Available at: <http://www.npaid.org/filestore/2007NFENGrapportWEB.pdf>.

<sup>330</sup> Ibid.

<sup>331</sup> Human rights groups, including Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch, regularly level charges that Israeli “blockades” or “sanctions” on Gaza constitute “collective punishment.” These accusations are both legally and factually false. According to international law, the term “collective punishment” refers to the imposition of criminal penalties upon a group of people as a result of the crimes of one or more individuals or groups. Restriction on the flow of goods in a war environment, or other forms of economic sanctions, does not constitute collective punishment. The level of humanitarian aid required during war time is specified in Article 23 of the Fourth Geneva Convention. Pursuant to this standard, Israel has allowed access for humanitarian supplies well in excess of its legal obligations.

<sup>332</sup> Inge Sellevag, “Accuses Israel of war crimes (translation),” Jan. 6, 2009. Available at: <http://translate.google.co.il/translate?hl=en&sl=no&u=http://www.bt.no/nyheter/utenriks/Anklager-Israel-for-krigsforbrytelse-685276.html&ei=ZBE6S7nQFp7smwPC5qitAg&sa=X&oi=translate&ct=result&resnum=1&ved=0CAgQ7gEwAA&prev=/search%3Fq%3Dhttp://www.bt.no/nyheter/utenriks/Anklager-Israel-for-krigsforbrytelse-685276.html%26hl%3Den%26sa%3DG>.

War Crimes!,” which refers to Israel’s alleged “disproportionate use of violence” and “clear violations of international humanitarian law.”<sup>333</sup>

- **Support for the Free Gaza Movement:** In August 2008, NPA expressed “appreciation and congratulations” to the Free Gaza Movement for “breaking the siege” in the provocative “Gaza boat” campaign in support of the Hamas leadership.<sup>334</sup> Under the façade of “humanitarian aid,” these fringe activists promoted their campaign by referring to Israel as “Palestine,” its creation as the “Nakba” (catastrophe), and accusing Israel of “ethnic cleansing.”<sup>335</sup>
- **Stop the Wall Campaign in Norway:** NPA’s website promotes the Stop the Wall Campaign in Norway, and displays an illustration of the security barrier and the text, “Riv muren i Palestina. Trodde du Apartheid var historie?” (“Tear the Wall in Palestine. Did you think Apartheid was history?”).<sup>336</sup> The use of the false apartheid analogy is a central part of the Durban strategy of demonization and political warfare against Israel’s legitimacy.

Examples of NPA support for politicized NGOs:

- NPA is listed as a member of the Norwegian Association of NGOs for Palestine (Fellesutvalget for Palestina, further discussed below), which is the coordinator for the Norwegian Tear-Down the Wall Campaign and the Norwegian Boycott Israel Campaign.<sup>337</sup>
- The Stop the Wall Campaign in Norway lists NPA as one of its affiliates.<sup>338</sup>
- The Ma’an Development Center lists NPA among its “past and present international contributors and partners.”<sup>339</sup> In 2009, the MDC published “Boycott, Divestment & Sanctions – lessons learned in effective solidarity,” a guide to grassroots and international BDS campaigns.<sup>340</sup>
- According to its website, the Palestinian Agricultural Relief Committee (PARC) is supported by NPA.<sup>341</sup>
- NPA also funds the Palestinian Association for Cultural Exchange (PACE),<sup>342</sup> a signatory to a petition which calls for the academic boycott

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<sup>333</sup> NPA, “Stop Israeli war crimes,” Jan. 5, 2009. Available at: <http://www.folkehjelp.no/?module=Articles;action=Article.publicShow;ID=7224>.

<sup>334</sup> NPA, “The Free Gaza Movement arrives,” Aug. 27, 2008. Available at: <http://otto.idium.no/nf.no/?module=Articles;action=Article.publicShow;ID=6683>.

<sup>335</sup> See NGO Monitor, “Focus: EU funded NGOs lead Hamas-supported Gaza boat stunt,” August 2008. Available at: [http://www.ngo-monitor.org/digest\\_info.php?id=2055](http://www.ngo-monitor.org/digest_info.php?id=2055).

<sup>336</sup> NPA, “Stop the Wall Campaign in Norway.” Available at: <http://otto.idium.no/folkehjelp.no/?module=Articles;action=Article.publicShow;ID=1213>.

<sup>337</sup> Palestina.no, “Norwegian Association of NGO’s for Palestine.” Available at: <http://www.palestina.no/index.php?display=39>.

<sup>338</sup> NPA, “Stop the Wall Campaign in Norway.” Available at: <http://otto.idium.no/folkehjelp.no/?module=Articles;action=Article.publicShow;ID=1213>.

<sup>339</sup> Ma’an Development Center, “Donors and Partners.” Available at: <http://www.maan-ctr.org/donors/donors.html>.

<sup>340</sup> Available at: <http://www.maan-ctr.org/publications/Factsheets/Boycott.pdf>.

<sup>341</sup> NPA, “About alleviating suffering,” March 12, 2007. Available at: <http://www.npaid.org/?module=Articles;action=Article.publicShow;ID=4675>.

<sup>342</sup> PACE, “Partners and supporters.” Available at: [http://pace.ps/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=64:partners-and-supporters&catid=25:pages](http://pace.ps/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=64:partners-and-supporters&catid=25:pages).

of Israel.<sup>343</sup> PACE also partners with PARC,<sup>344</sup> and is a member of the Palestinian Environment NGOs Network, PENGON,<sup>345</sup> which includes a number of highly politicized NGOs.

- NPA cooperates with several local partners, among them Badil. NPA and Badil collaborated on the “Training and Participation for Palestinian Refugees” project.<sup>346</sup>

### MFA Funding for Emergency Relief to Gaza (NORWAC)

The MFA allocates funds to several humanitarian organizations that provide emergency medical aid and assistance to the wounded and injured in Gaza.<sup>347</sup> The funds are channeled primarily through the World Health Organization (WHO), the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC).

Financial support is also provided to the Norwegian Aid Committee (NORWAC) ostensibly to provide health-care

services in partnership with the Palestinian Ministry of Health.<sup>348</sup> However, since arriving in Gaza, NORWAC representative Dr. Mads Gilbert has repeatedly and falsely accused Israel of deliberately targeting civilians<sup>349</sup> and invoked a comparison with the 1982 events in Sabra and Shatila.<sup>350</sup> In a December 2009 lecture, Gilbert reportedly pointed out that “[a]ccording to President Shimon Peres, the implementation of the war, went 90 percent according to plan. The intention, in other words, was to kill 90 percent of the civilians.” He also referred to Israeli drones as “horrible Israeli devil machines.”<sup>351</sup>

Another NORWAC representative publicly voiced his suspicion that Israel used white phosphorous illegally and DIME weaponry in Gaza and claimed “the war launched by Israel has been targeting civilians in particular.”<sup>352</sup>

NORWAC director-general Erik Fosse endorsed the “Gaza Freedom March” coordinated by the “International Coalition to End the Illegal Siege of Gaza,”<sup>353</sup> which claims that the march is “part of a broader strategy to end the Israeli occupation by targeting nonviolently its flagrant violations of international law from the house demolitions and settlements to the curfews and torture.”<sup>354</sup>

<sup>343</sup> Al Awda-The Palestinian Right to Return Coalition, “Palestinian Popular Movements and Civil Society Re-Assert Call for Comprehensive Academic Boycott of Apartheid Israel.” Available at: <http://www.al-awda.org/academicboycott.html>.

<sup>344</sup> PACE, “Partners and Supporters.” Available at: [http://pace.ps/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=64:partners-and-supporters&catid=25:pages](http://pace.ps/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=64:partners-and-supporters&catid=25:pages).

<sup>345</sup> NGO Monitor, “PENGON.” Available at: <http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/pengon>.

<sup>346</sup> NPA, “Democratic rights and the right to participation,” Aug. 20, 2007. Available at: <http://www.npaid.org/?module=Articles;action=Article.publicShow;ID=5214>.

<sup>347</sup> Norway Ministry of Foreign Affairs, “Norway provides humanitarian relief to Gaza,” Dec. 30, 2009. Available at: <http://www.regjeringen.no/en/dep/ud/press/News/2008/norway-provides-humanitarian-relief-to-g.html?id=541401>.

<sup>348</sup> NGO Monitor, “Dr Mads Gilbert’s Media Campaign,” Jan. 6, 2009. Available at: [http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/press\\_statement\\_dr\\_mads\\_gilbert](http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/press_statement_dr_mads_gilbert).

<sup>349</sup> YouTube, “The Reality In Gaza,” Dec. 31, 2008. Available at: [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GDjthFt6EZg&feature=player\\_embedded](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GDjthFt6EZg&feature=player_embedded).

<sup>350</sup> Line Fransson, Dagbladet, “A bluff that civilians are spared,” Dec. 31, 2008. Available at: <http://www.dagbladet.no/2008/12/31/nyheter/utenriks/gaza/hamas/israel/4209747/>.

<sup>351</sup> Vegard Velle, Fagbladet, “Shocking lecture introduced Palestine Project” (title translated by NGO Monitor from Norwegian), Dec. 17, 2009. Available at: [http://translate.google.co.il/translate?hl=en&sl=no&u=http://www.fagbladet.no/nyheter/article4765957.ece%3Fservice%3Dprint&ei=lmA7S7TBFY-B\\_Qbp3IWGCQ&sa=X&oi=translate&ct=result&resnum=1&ved=0CAgQ7gEwAA&prev=/search%3Fq%3Dhttp://www.fagbladet.no/nyheter/article4765957.ece%26hl%3Den%26sa%3Dg](http://translate.google.co.il/translate?hl=en&sl=no&u=http://www.fagbladet.no/nyheter/article4765957.ece%3Fservice%3Dprint&ei=lmA7S7TBFY-B_Qbp3IWGCQ&sa=X&oi=translate&ct=result&resnum=1&ved=0CAgQ7gEwAA&prev=/search%3Fq%3Dhttp://www.fagbladet.no/nyheter/article4765957.ece%26hl%3Den%26sa%3Dg).

<sup>352</sup> GlobalSecurity.org, “Unconventional weapons: medical account from Gaza,” Jan. 13, 2009. Available at: <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/news/2009/01/mil-090113-misna01.htm>.

<sup>353</sup> International Coalition to End the Illegal Siege of Gaza, “Gaza Freedom March! Endorsers.” Available at: <http://www.gazafreedommarch.org/article.php?id=5032>.

<sup>354</sup> International Coalition to End the Illegal Siege of Gaza, “About Us.” Available at: <http://www.gazafreedommarch.org/article.php?id=5022>.

### Norwegian Refugee Council

The Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) describes itself as “an independent humanitarian organization whose task is to assist and protect people who have been forced to flee their countries, or their homes within their country, due to war or conflict.”<sup>355</sup> NRC “has been active in the Palestinian Territories since 2006,”<sup>356</sup> “providing protection and humanitarian assistance to refugees and internally displaced persons.” In 2008, NRC allocated NOK 925,000 to the “Palestine Territories,” all of which was provided by the Norwegian MFA.<sup>357</sup>

NRC is a member of the Association of International Development Agencies (AIDA),<sup>358</sup> whose members in 2006–2007 included American Near East Refugee Aid (ANERA),<sup>359</sup> Caritas, Diakonia, Ecumenical Accompaniment Programme in Palestine and Israel (EAPPI), Ford Foundation, Oxfam (Great Britain, Quebec), Save the Children (Sweden, UK, US), and World Vision. Many of these NGOs have an anti-Israeli political bias. Together with 28 other AIDA members, NRC was a signatory to a statement (date not specified), which “urge[s] all responsible parties including the State of Israel which remains the occupying power with ‘effective control’ of Gaza, to refrain from actions that collectively punish civilians.”<sup>360</sup>

### Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC)

The Geneva-based Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC) (established in 1998 by the Norwegian

Refugee Council) reported that it received \$412,042 from the Norwegian MFA in 2008,<sup>361</sup> which made up more than 15 percent of its budget. NRC programs include a response to the “humanitarian disaster” in Gaza, which involves pressuring the international community to help stop the “war and the atrocities.”<sup>362</sup> In 2008, the IDMC apparently received and executed projects for UNRWA in the West Bank and in Gaza.<sup>363</sup>

IDMC regularly negates Israel’s right to security in its human rights analyses,<sup>364</sup> as is the case with a recent news alert on the recent Gaza operation, where the context of Hamas’ rocket firing into Israeli territory was completely ignored.<sup>365</sup>

In 2006, IDMC, together with NRC and Badil, co-published a study on the security barrier entitled “Displaced by the Wall: Pilot Study on Forced Displacement Caused by the Construction of the West Bank Wall and its Associated Regimes in the Occupied Palestinian Territories.”<sup>366</sup> Badil is a radical Palestinian NGO that promotes the “Right of Return” and provides active support to boycotts, divestment, and sanctions (BDS) campaigns against Israel.

Much of the report is taken up by emotive accounts of Palestinian children and their objection to “Israel’s policy of separation and isolation.”<sup>367</sup> It labels the construction of the barrier “a crime against humanity” and a “war crime” but fails to weigh the context of widespread Palestinian

<sup>355</sup> NRC, “NRC Policy Paper.” Available at: <http://www.nrc.no/?did=9177799>.

<sup>356</sup> NRC, “Facts About NRC’s Country Programme,” Oct. 27, 2009. Available at: <http://www.nrc.no/?did=9167645>.

<sup>357</sup> NRC, “Annual Report 2008,” p. 35. Available at: <http://www.nrc.no/?did=9411765>.

<sup>358</sup> NRC, “Isolation of Gaza Must End.” Available at: <http://www.nrc.no/?did=9217477>.

<sup>359</sup> AIDA, “Member Organizations 2008-2009.” Available at: <http://aidajerusalem.org/index.php?action=members>.

<sup>360</sup> NRC, “Isolation of Gaza Must End.” Available at: <http://www.nrc.no/?did=9217477>.

<sup>361</sup> IDMC, “Activity Report 2008,” p. 34. Available at: [http://www.internal-displacement.org/8025708F004BE3B1/%28httpInfoFiles%29/5756783534B62E42C12575D3004DD7AC/\\$file/Activity\\_Report\\_2008.pdf](http://www.internal-displacement.org/8025708F004BE3B1/%28httpInfoFiles%29/5756783534B62E42C12575D3004DD7AC/$file/Activity_Report_2008.pdf).

<sup>362</sup> NRC, “Gaza faces humanitarian disaster,” Jan. 6, 2009. Available at: <http://www.nrc.no/?did=9367461>.

<sup>363</sup> NRC, “Facts About NRC’s Country Programme,” Oct. 27, 2009. Available at: <http://www.nrc.no/?did=9167645>.

<sup>364</sup> NGO Monitor, “Norwegian Funding for Politicized NGOs -- Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre,” Jan. 4, 2007. Available at: [http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/norwegian\\_funding\\_for\\_politicized\\_ngos#10](http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/norwegian_funding_for_politicized_ngos#10).

<sup>365</sup> IDMC, “Occupied Palestinian Territory: Tens of thousands displaced in Gaza,” Jan. 8, 2009. Available at: <http://www.internal-displacement.org/idmc/website/news.nsf/%28httpIDPNewsAlerts%29/4612CA90FA82BCF6C125753800628F68?OpenDocument#anchor0>.

<sup>366</sup> September 2006. Available at: [http://www.internal-displacement.org/8025708F004BE3B1/%28httpInfoFiles%29/D03CD0BE11176177C12571F5003523AD/\\$file/displaced%20by%20wall.pdf](http://www.internal-displacement.org/8025708F004BE3B1/%28httpInfoFiles%29/D03CD0BE11176177C12571F5003523AD/$file/displaced%20by%20wall.pdf).

<sup>367</sup> *Ibid*, p. 52.

terrorism that led to the construction of the barrier. While the report calls on the UN to implement the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice on Israel to “dismantle the Wall,” and on the PA to advocate for the rights of Palestinian IDPs, it does not call for a halt to the violence against Israeli civilians.

### **Norwegian Church Aid/Kirkens Nødhjelp**

Norwegian Church Aid (NCA) states on its website that it receives money from MFA and from NORAD.<sup>368</sup> In 2007, NCA received NOK 178.5 million from the MFA and NOK 119.9 million from NORAD.<sup>369</sup>

Following Hamas’ takeover of Gaza in 2006, NCA, along with NRC (see above) and Norwegian People’s Aid (see below), criticized the Norwegian government for “withdrawing economic support” to the “ Hamas government.”<sup>370</sup> These groups claimed that “[i]t is difficult to see that Hamas in government position has acted in a way that should lead to the economic sanctions against the Palestinian government that these cuts in reality are.”

NCA’s partner organizations in Israel<sup>371</sup> include:

- Bat Shalom (a member of the Coalition of Women for Peace), which calls for the Palestinian “right of return”<sup>372</sup> and holds an annual “Alternative Independence/Nakbah day”,<sup>373</sup>
- Parents Circle-Families Forum (PCFF), a “joint

reconciliation mission” comprised of Israeli and Palestinian bereaved families;<sup>374</sup>

- Rabbis for Human Rights.

NCA’s Palestinian partner organizations (NCA only lists groups with websites) include:

- Middle East Council of Churches/Department of Service of Palestinian Refugees (MECC/DSPR);
- Lutheran World Federation (LWF);
- Evangelical Lutheran Church of Jordan and the Holy Land (ELCJHL);
- World Council of Churches/Ecumenical Accompaniment Programme in Palestine and Israel (WCC/EAPPI);
- Jerusalem Center for Women (JCW);
- Center for Applied Research and Education (CARE);
- The Treatment and Rehabilitation Centre for Victims of Torture (TRC), which has, inter alia, referred to Israel’s “Apartheid Wall which is designed to strangle Palestinian life in general.”<sup>375</sup>

NCA is a member of Action by Churches Together International (ACT International).<sup>376</sup> Additionally, the Stop the Wall Campaign in Norway lists NCA as one of its most important affiliates in the country.<sup>377</sup> For NCA’s response to this report, see Appendix III.

<sup>368</sup> NCA, “Finance and administration,” Aug. 26, 2008. Available at: <http://www.kirkensnodhjelp.no/en/About-NCA/About-NCA/Finance--admin/>.

<sup>369</sup> NCA, “2007 Annual Review.” Available at: <http://www.kirkensnodhjelp.no/Documents/Kirkens%20N%C3%B8dhjelp/Publikasjoner/%C3%85rsmeldinger/annual%20review%202007.pdf>.

<sup>370</sup> NPA, “NGO’s criticises foreign minister for withdrawing economic support,” April 10, 2006. Available at: <http://www.npaid.org/?module=Articles;action=Article.publicShow;ID=3587>.

<sup>371</sup> June 26, 2008. Available at: <http://www.kirkensnodhjelp.no/no/Arbeidet-vart/Hvor-vi-jobber/Midtosten/Israel/>.

<sup>372</sup> Bat Shalom, “The Jerusalem Link declaration of principles,” Jan. 2001. Available at: [http://www.batshalom.org/jlink\\_principles.php](http://www.batshalom.org/jlink_principles.php).

<sup>373</sup> Bat Shalom, “Annual Events.” Available at: <http://www.batshalom.org/article.php?id=32>.

<sup>374</sup> PCFF, “About Us.” Available at: <http://www.theparentscircle.com/about.asp>.

<sup>375</sup> TRC, “A Call for the International Community to Stop Israeli Violations Against Palestinians.” Available at: <http://www.trc-pal.org/etemplate.php?id=37>.

<sup>376</sup> ACT, “ACT members based in Norway.” Available at: <http://www.act-intl.org/countries.php?uid=64>. ACT International’s members are drawn from the World Council of Churches (WCC) and the Lutheran World Federation (LWF). Those operating in Israel/the Palestinian Territories include Christian Aid (CA), Lutheran World Federation (LWF), and Young Men’s Christian Association-East Jerusalem (YMCA).

<sup>377</sup> NPA, “Stop the Wall Campaign in Norway.” Available at: <http://otto.idium.no/folkehjelp.no/?module=Articles;action=Article.publicShow;ID=1213>.

### Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF)

The MFA and NORAD both provide substantial funding to Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF).<sup>378</sup> The MFA donated EUR 7,695,000 to MSF in 2007. According to NORAD's Skancke, MFA funding for MSF's Palestinian operations was only in place until 2005. This is a welcome development, as while MSF is active in the Palestinian Authority and works with children affected by traumatic stress, the organization sometimes departs from its humanitarian aid mandate. For example, in a press release titled "Temporary halt to Gaza bombing a paltry response as extreme violence victimizes civilians" of January 7, 2009, MSF makes no mention of Hamas' role in the conflict whatsoever. Instead, it focuses on condemning Israel's operation against Hamas as "affecting civilians indiscriminately" and its toll as "indicative of extreme violence indiscriminately affecting civilians."<sup>379</sup>

### B'Tselem

B'Tselem lists the Norwegian MFA as a donor.<sup>380</sup> Research has shown that B'Tselem's methodology is problematic, often inconsistent, and reflects the organization's political agenda.<sup>381</sup> As with the global campaign against Israel's security barrier, B'Tselem was at the forefront of labeling Israeli responses to terror from Gaza as "collective punishment." B'Tselem also claimed that Israel violated international humanitarian law in Gaza in 2008, including "excessive and disproportionate force," a lack

of distinction between civilians and combatants, and the use of "prohibited weapons." A number of independent reports have seriously questioned B'Tselem's credibility, and leveled charges of "deception" and distortions.<sup>382</sup>

### The Public Committee Against Torture in Israel (PCATI)

The Public Committee Against Torture in Israel, PCATI, listed the Norwegian MFA as a supporter in 2006 (according to the Israeli Registry of Non-profits), and the organization's website still lists the Norwegian MFA and the Royal Norwegian Embassy as donors.<sup>383</sup> PCATI's activities are highly political, and its campaigns extend far beyond the specifics of its mission statement.<sup>384</sup> In December 2006, the Israeli High Court rejected PCATI's petition on targeted killings, on the grounds of legitimate self-defense against terror.<sup>385</sup> During the recent Gaza operation, PCATI accused Israel of having inflicted "indiscriminate damage" on "innocent Palestinian civilians"<sup>386</sup> and even petitioned the Supreme Court, accusing the IDF of deliberately targeting medical personnel and ambulances.<sup>387</sup>

### Gisha

The Norwegian MFA is listed as a funder on the Gisha website.<sup>388</sup> Gisha is an Israeli NGO, which issues pseudo-legal briefs to attack Israeli policies. In December 2008, Gisha issued a 12-page "position paper," "Gaza Closure Defined: Collective Punishment, Position Paper on the

<sup>378</sup> MSF, "Financial Report 2007." Available at: [http://www.msf.org/source/financial/2007/MSF\\_Financial\\_Report\\_2007.pdf](http://www.msf.org/source/financial/2007/MSF_Financial_Report_2007.pdf).

<sup>379</sup> Available at: [http://msf.org/msfinternational/invoke.cfm?objectid=B2D7C7F3-15C5-F00A-25DD34BA6C5FB552&component=toolkit.pressrelease&method=full\\_html](http://msf.org/msfinternational/invoke.cfm?objectid=B2D7C7F3-15C5-F00A-25DD34BA6C5FB552&component=toolkit.pressrelease&method=full_html).

<sup>380</sup> B'Tselem, "List of donors to B'Tselem." Available at: [http://www.btselem.org/english/About\\_BTselem/Donors.asp](http://www.btselem.org/english/About_BTselem/Donors.asp).

<sup>381</sup> NGO Monitor, "NGO Monitor's Analysis of B'Tselem's Annual Report for 2007," March 13, 2008. Available at: [http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/ngo\\_monitor\\_s\\_analysis\\_of\\_b\\_tselem\\_s\\_annual\\_report\\_for\\_](http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/ngo_monitor_s_analysis_of_b_tselem_s_annual_report_for_)

<sup>382</sup> NGO Monitor, "Focus: Reports expose more questions on B'Tselem's credibility," Oct. 2008. Available at: [http://www.ngo-monitor.org/digest\\_info.php?id=2135#btselem](http://www.ngo-monitor.org/digest_info.php?id=2135#btselem).

<sup>383</sup> PCATI, "Donors." Available at: <http://stoptorture.org.il/en/donors>.

<sup>384</sup> PCATI, "About PCATI." Available at: <http://www.stoptorture.org.il/en/odot>.

<sup>385</sup> NGO Monitor, "Supreme Court rejects Public Committee Against Torture's claim that targeted killings are illegal," Dec. 14, 2006. Available at: [http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/\\_supreme\\_court\\_rejects\\_public\\_committee\\_against\\_torture\\_s\\_claim\\_that\\_targeted\\_killings\\_are\\_illegal\\_](http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/_supreme_court_rejects_public_committee_against_torture_s_claim_that_targeted_killings_are_illegal_)

<sup>386</sup> PCATI, "Human rights groups report from the field." Available at: <http://www.stoptorture.org.il/en/node/1361>.

<sup>387</sup> PCATI, "Petition to Supreme Court against attacks on medical teams in the Gaza Strip and preventing them from providing aid to the injured" (Hebrew), Jan. 8, 2009. Available at: <http://www.stoptorture.org.il/he/node/1366>.

<sup>388</sup> Gisha, "Institutional Donors." Available at: <http://www.gisha.org/index.php?intLanguage=2&intSiteSN=141&OldMenu=137&intItemId=125>.

International Law Definition of Israeli Restrictions.”<sup>389</sup> It promotes the false claims that Israel is responsible for “occupied” Gaza under international law, and that Israel is under a legal obligation to grant “freedom of movement” to Gaza residents. The NGO also claims that responses to Hamas attacks aimed at civilians lack a “concrete military objective,” while discounting the tons of humanitarian aid<sup>390</sup> provided by Israel to Gaza and ignoring Israel’s legal obligations under international anti-terror treaties.<sup>391</sup> A report issued by Israeli lawyers Justus Reid Weiner and Avi Bell details some of the fallacies in Gisha’s legal arguments.<sup>392</sup>

### HaMoked

HaMoked, which lists the Norwegian MFA as a funder in 2007<sup>393</sup> (according to documents received from the Israeli Registry of Non-Profits, in 2006 Norway provided \$210,000), is an Israeli NGO that claims to assist Palestinians who are “subjected to the Israeli occupation which causes severe and ongoing violation of their rights.”<sup>394</sup> According to the Israeli Ministry of Justice, a 2007 HaMoked report utilized “questionable methodology” and a “lack of verifiable sources.”<sup>395</sup> In 2006,

State Prosecutor Nira Mashraki argued that HaMoked’s work to defend human rights was seriously compromised by its one-sided approach, arguing that “the organization’s self-presentation as ‘a human rights organization’ has no basis in reality and is designed to mislead.”<sup>396</sup>

### **MFA funding through NRO**

In addition to the above-mentioned funding from the MFA, all funding given through the Norwegian Representative Office (NRO) originates from the MFA. NGOs listing NRO – and hence the MFA – as a donor include:

### Al Mezan

The Norwegian Representative Office is listed as one of the core donors of Al Mezan.<sup>397</sup> Al Mezan’s activities reflect a radical anti-Israel agenda, including promoting claims of “Israeli war crimes.” During the January 2009 Gaza operation, Al Mezan issued numerous press releases, including allegations of “Israeli massacres,”<sup>398</sup> “slaughtering civilians,” “scandalous war crimes,”<sup>399</sup> and “despicable disregard to civilian life.”<sup>400</sup>

<sup>389</sup> December 2008. Available at: [http://www.gisha.org/UserFiles/File/publications\\_english/Publications%20and%20Reports\\_English/Gaza%20Closure%20Defined%20Eng%281%29.pdf](http://www.gisha.org/UserFiles/File/publications_english/Publications%20and%20Reports_English/Gaza%20Closure%20Defined%20Eng%281%29.pdf).

<sup>390</sup> Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, “Humanitarian assistance to Gaza during the period of calm (June 19 – Dec 18, 2008),” Dec. 26, 2008; see also [http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/Terrorism-+Obstacle+to+Peace/Hamas+war+against+Israel/FAQ-Operation\\_in\\_Gaza-Legal\\_Aspects.htm#35](http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/Terrorism-+Obstacle+to+Peace/Hamas+war+against+Israel/FAQ-Operation_in_Gaza-Legal_Aspects.htm#35).

<sup>391</sup> NGO Monitor, “NGOs and Durban demonization at UN human rights review of Israel,” Dec. 3, 2008. Available at: [http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/ngos\\_propogandize\\_at\\_un\\_periodic\\_review\\_of\\_israel](http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/ngos_propogandize_at_un_periodic_review_of_israel).

<sup>392</sup> JCPA, “International Law and the Fighting in Gaza,” 2008. Available at: <http://www.jcpa.org/text/puzzle1.pdf>.

<sup>393</sup> HaMoked, “HaMoked Donors.” Available at: [http://www.hamoked.org.il/sub\\_pages.asp?sub\\_page\\_id=3&page\\_id=1](http://www.hamoked.org.il/sub_pages.asp?sub_page_id=3&page_id=1).

<sup>394</sup> HaMoked, “About HaMoked.” Available at: [http://www.hamoked.org.il/pages\\_en.asp?page\\_id=1](http://www.hamoked.org.il/pages_en.asp?page_id=1).

<sup>395</sup> NGO Monitor, “Claims in B’tselem/Hamoked report lack credibility,” May 7, 2007. Available at: <http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article.php?id=1411>.

<sup>396</sup> NGO Monitor, “Israeli State Prosecutor Recognises Bias of Israeli Human Rights NGOs, HaMoked and B’Tselem,” March 23, 2006. Available at: [http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/\\_israeli\\_state\\_prosecutor\\_recognises\\_bias\\_of\\_israeli\\_human\\_rights\\_ngos\\_hamoked\\_and\\_b\\_tselem\\_](http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/_israeli_state_prosecutor_recognises_bias_of_israeli_human_rights_ngos_hamoked_and_b_tselem_).

<sup>397</sup> Al Mezan, “Al Mezan Donor Partners in 2009.” Available at: <http://www.mezan.org/en/messege.php?view=messageen>.

<sup>398</sup> Al Mezan, “IOF Targets a 3rd UNRWA Shelter and Continues its massacres in the Gaza Strip - The Int’l Community Must End Slaughtering Civilians Immediately,” Jan. 17, 2009. Available at: [http://www.mezan.org/en/details.php?id=1498&ddname=gaza%20destruction&id\\_dept=9&id2=9&p=center](http://www.mezan.org/en/details.php?id=1498&ddname=gaza%20destruction&id_dept=9&id2=9&p=center).

<sup>399</sup> Al Mezan, “Israeli Massacres in Gaza Continue: 284 Killed; Including 32 Children, and 755 Injured; Gaza’s Service Systems Paralyzed under Severe Lack of Medicine, Food and Power,” Dec. 29, 2008. Available at: [http://www.mezan.org/en/details.php?id=1522&ddname=gaza%20destruction&id\\_dept=9&id2=9&p=center](http://www.mezan.org/en/details.php?id=1522&ddname=gaza%20destruction&id_dept=9&id2=9&p=center).

<sup>400</sup> Al Mezan, “Israel Conducts New War Crimes in Gaza: Air Raid Targets Dense Block in Jabalia Killing Nizar Rayyan and 7 People - Number of Casualties in Gaza Rises to 337 People, Including 43 Children and 15 Women,” Jan. 1, 2009. Available at: [http://www.mezan.org/en/details.php?id=1519&ddname=gaza%20destruction&id\\_dept=9&id2=9&p=center](http://www.mezan.org/en/details.php?id=1519&ddname=gaza%20destruction&id_dept=9&id2=9&p=center).

### Palestinian Center for Human Rights (PCHR)

The Representative Office of Norway is listed as a funder in PCHR's 2008 annual report,<sup>401</sup> and is still listed on the NGO's website.<sup>402</sup> PCHR regularly describes Israel's policies as "apartheid"<sup>403</sup> and accuses Israel of ethnic cleansing<sup>404</sup> and collective punishment. PCHR referred to the abduction of Gilad Shalit and the attack against an IDF outpost at Kerem Shalom as "resistance."<sup>405</sup> PCHR is also a leader in the anti-Israel "lawfare" movement and has worked to bring cases in England, New Zealand, the US, Spain, and Switzerland. During the Gaza war, PCHR's anti-Israel campaigning included accusations of Israeli "war crimes," "crimes against humanity," "collective punishment,"<sup>406</sup> "indiscriminate killing and continued systematic destruction of all the Palestinian institutions and civilian facilities in the Gaza Strip."<sup>407</sup>

### Miftah

The NRO is listed as a supporter in Miftah's 2008 annual report.<sup>408</sup> Miftah has described Israel as an apartheid state,<sup>409</sup> has referred to suicide bombers as "resistance activists,"<sup>410</sup> and was active in the 2001 Durban Conference.

During the Gaza war, Miftah made false claims of an Israeli "massacre,"<sup>411</sup> invoking the strategy used in Jenin in 2002.

### Al-Haq

The Representative Office of Norway granted \$83,000 to the Palestinian NGO Al-Haq in 2007. Al-Haq was an active participant in the World Conference against Racism held in Durban in 2001,<sup>412</sup> regularly submits politically motivated reports to the UN Human Rights Council, and is a leader in the anti-Israel "lawfare" movement, bringing lawsuits against Israel in Europe and North America. Its general director, Shawan Jabarin, has been denied exit visas by Israel and Jordan on account of his alleged ties to the PFLP. On July 7, 2008, the Israeli Supreme Court upheld the visa denial because it examined reliable evidence that Jabarin is "among the senior activists of the Popular Front terrorist organization."<sup>413</sup> During the Gaza operation, Al-Haq lobbied in the UN Human Rights Council, accusing Israel of "war crimes," "the willful killing of civilians and the extensive destruction of civilian property," and a "widespread and systematic attack directed against a

<sup>401</sup> PCHR, "Annual Report 2008," p. 7. Available at: [http://www.pchrgaza.org/files/Reports/English/pdf\\_annual/annual2008-E.pdf](http://www.pchrgaza.org/files/Reports/English/pdf_annual/annual2008-E.pdf).

<sup>402</sup> PCHR, "Funding." Available at: <http://www.pchrgaza.ps/about/funding.html>.

<sup>403</sup> PCHR, "Fact Sheet: Settlements and Apartheid in the OPT," March 18, 2002. Available at: <http://www.pchrgaza.org/facts/fact3.htm>.

<sup>404</sup> PCHR, "PCHR Director Attends Two International Conferences," June 1, 2006. Available at: <http://www.pchrgaza.org/files/PressR/English/2006/news/20-2006.htm>.

<sup>405</sup> PCHR, "6 Palestinians, Including 4 Children, Injured in Gaza Due to Misuse of Weapons," Dec. 23, 2008. Available at: <http://www.pchrgaza.org/files/weapon/english/2008/report44.html>.

<sup>406</sup> PCHR, "PCHR Publishes 'Targeted Civilians' a Comprehensive Report on the Israeli Military Offensive against the Gaza Strip," Sept. 8, 2009. Available at: <http://www.pchrgaza.org/files/PressR/English/2009/news/40-2009.html>.

<sup>407</sup> PCHR, "Israeli Military Raids on Gaza Civilian Population Continues, and Humanitarian Crisis Exacerbates in the Midst of Shameful Silence of the International Community," Dec. 31, 2008. Available at: <http://www.pchrgaza.org/files/PressR/English/2008/124-2008.html>.

<sup>408</sup> Miftah, "Annual Activities Report 2008." Available at: <http://www.miftah.org/Mact/MiftahActivityReport2008.pdf>.

<sup>409</sup> Anti-Apartheid Wall Campaign, "Stand With the Palestinian and Lebanese People: Stop Apartheid Israel NOW!," July 22, 2006. Available at: <http://www.miftah.org/Display.cfm?DocId=10894&CategoryId=32>.

<sup>410</sup> Miftah, "Palestinian Women and the Intifada," July 5, 2006. Available at: <http://www.miftah.org/Display.cfm?DocId=10709&CategoryId=21>.

<sup>411</sup> Miftah, "Halt the Massacre," Dec. 29, 2008. Available at: <http://www.miftah.org/Display.cfm?DocId=18398&CategoryId=2>.

<sup>412</sup> Al-Haq, "Discussion Paper on International Protection in Palestine," 2002. Available at: <http://www.alhaq.org/pdfs/International%20Protection%20-%20Perceptions%20and%20Possibilities.pdf>.

<sup>413</sup> "Shawan Rateb Abdullah Jabarin versus The Commander of IDF Forces in the West Bank," July 3, 2008. Available at: <http://www.alhaq.org/pdfs/HCI%20Shawan%20Jabarin%20v%20IDF.pdf>.

civilian population bringing them to the level of crimes against humanity.”<sup>414</sup>

### Conclusion

As demonstrated in this detailed analysis, Norwegian government money continues to be channeled through the MFA and NORAD to many politicized Norwegian, Palestinian, Israeli, and international NGOs. NGO Monitor’s detailed research demonstrates that this funding supports NGO political campaigns that employ the “apartheid” rhetoric that fuels the conflict and Israeli distrust, misrepresent international humanitarian law, delegitimize Israeli self-defense, promote boycotts, and erase Palestinian terror. As opposed to engendering coexistence, many NGOs often promote hate and conflict.

Indeed, the radical political campaigns promoted by some of these NGOs continue to contradict objectives

that the Norwegian government claims to pursue, such as the establishment of a Palestinian state through a two-state solution and laying the foundation for resuming peace negotiations based on mutual acceptance and compromise. The promotion of democracy, human rights, and good governance is also hindered by the financing of NGO campaigns that focus on one-sidedly attacking Israel, while ignoring Palestinian human rights abuses, corruption, and factional violence.

The Norwegian government should independently and professionally reevaluate its funding to NGOs active in the Arab-Israeli conflict, while demanding accountability and ensuring an end to the rhetoric of hate that is counterproductive to peace. Without a clear policy that repudiates these politicized campaigns, the impact of Norwegian funding for these NGOs will continue to damage important humanitarian and development goals.

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<sup>414</sup> United Nations, “Human Rights Council - Ninth special session on the Grave Violations of Human Rights in the Occupied Palestinian Territory including the recent aggression of the occupied Gaza Strip,” Jan. 9, 2009. Available at: <http://www.un.org/webcast/unhrc/archive.asp?go=090109>.

# Denmark

## Danish Funds for Boycotts, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) Campaigns and Politicized NGOs: Government Funding and Support Analysis

- Denmark is a major international donor to the Palestinian Authority.
- The Danish Foreign Ministry and Embassy have provided direct funds to Israeli NGOs with political agendas.
- DanChurchAid channels funds from the Danish government to politicized NGOs in Israel and the Palestinian Authority. A multi-donor secretariat run by the NGO Development Center (NDC-Ramallah) distributed \$6 million of pooled funds from Denmark, Switzerland, the Netherlands, and Sweden to 25 Israeli and Palestinian NGOs.
- NDC is responsible for the “Palestinian NGO Code of Conduct,” a document that demands its signatories reject “any normalization activities with the occupier, neither at the political-security nor the cultural or developmental levels.”
- Badil, an NGO funded by DCA and NDC, has referred to “Israel’s colonial apartheid regime,” “state-sponsored racism,” and “systematic ethnic cleansing.”
- Overlap between sources of Danish funding allows NGOs to receive Danish taxpayer money through multiple channels. Efficiency, accountability, and transparency should be required in the public funding of NGOs.

## Background: The Danish International Development Agency (Danida)

“Denmark is one of the largest international donors to the Palestinians ... . In November 2007, the Danish Foreign Minister, Dr. Per Stig Moeller, pledged more than 120 million USD (589 million DKK) in support for Palestinians in 2008–10.”<sup>415</sup>

Danish foreign aid and international development funds are distributed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs through the Danish International Development Agency (Danida). According to Denmark’s official website, development assistance constitutes at least 0.8 percent of its GNP,<sup>416</sup> making Denmark one of the world’s major aid donors. While Africa remains Denmark’s primary focus, “Gaza/West Bank” received 51.5 million Danish kroner (DKK) in 2008 (approximately \$10.3 million) – including DKK 7.23 million in project assistance and DKK 4.25 million in humanitarian assistance.<sup>417</sup> Denmark is also “one of the largest donors to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA).<sup>418</sup> In the last five years, Denmark has thus contributed more than 65 million USD to the regular budget and emergency appeals of UNRWA, including more than 14 million USD in 2007 alone.”

Denmark’s stated goal in assisting the PA is “[t]he strengthening of democracy, good governance and human rights in the oPt. Therefore, Denmark actively supports a number of vital Palestinian institutions involved in this endeavour.”<sup>419</sup>

Examples of “vital Palestinian institutions” which receive significant financial assistance from Denmark include the Palestine Liberation Organization Negotiations Affairs Department, a quasi-governmental organization that promotes an anti-Israel political agenda,<sup>420</sup> uses demonizing rhetoric such as “apartheid,” and denies the legitimacy of Israel as a Jewish state.<sup>421</sup>

Denmark also directs funds through Danish NGOs, regarded as important partners of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, that claim to focus on reducing poverty.<sup>422</sup> These NGOs channel emergency humanitarian relief,<sup>423</sup> as during the 2006 Lebanon War.<sup>424</sup> In 2008, the total budget for Danish NGO development was DKK 958.5 million (~\$190 million).<sup>425</sup> Humanitarian assistance through NGOs was DKK 478.2 million (~\$95 million).<sup>426</sup>

The four main frameworks for funding of highly politicized NGOs are the Danish Foreign Ministry, DanChurchAid

<sup>415</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, “Danish Development Assistance to the Palestinians,” Oct. 8, 2009. Available at: <http://www.missionramallah.um.dk/en/menu/DevelopmentAssistance>.

<sup>416</sup> See <http://www.denmark.dk/en/menu/About-Denmark/Government-Politics/Politics/Foreign-And-Defence-Policy/Danish-development-assistance-focus-on-Africa>.

<sup>417</sup> Danida, “NGO-Samarbejde 2008.” Available at: <http://www.um.dk/NR/rdonlyres/2C1CCD5B-6BE0-481A-8B91-A29D6D448EEF/0/Beretningensamlet2008.pdf>.

<sup>418</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, “UNRWA,” May 8, 2009. Available at: <http://www.missionramallah.um.dk/en/menu/DevelopmentAssistance/UNRWA/>.

<sup>419</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, “Danish Development Assistance to the Palestinians,” Oct. 8, 2009. Available at: <http://www.missionramallah.um.dk/en/menu/DevelopmentAssistance>.

<sup>420</sup> See <http://www.nad-plo.org/>.

<sup>421</sup> PLO Negotiations Affairs Department, “Did You Hear?.” Available at: [http://www.nad-plo.org/main.php?view=mainextra\\_hear](http://www.nad-plo.org/main.php?view=mainextra_hear).

<sup>422</sup> See Danida, “NGO-Samarbejde 2006.” Available at: [http://www.netpublikationer.dk/um/7887/pdf/NGO\\_2006\\_-\\_endelige\\_webudgave.pdf](http://www.netpublikationer.dk/um/7887/pdf/NGO_2006_-_endelige_webudgave.pdf).

<sup>423</sup> Danida, “NGO-Samarbejde 2007,” p. 4. Available at: <http://www.um.dk/NR/rdonlyres/DFCBE31F-2A2F-427A-A1F4-B864320F552E/0/NGO2007Maj2008web.pdf>.

<sup>424</sup> Danida, “NGO-Samarbejde 2006,” p. 7. Available at: [http://www.netpublikationer.dk/um/7887/pdf/NGO\\_2006\\_-\\_endelige\\_webudgave.pdf](http://www.netpublikationer.dk/um/7887/pdf/NGO_2006_-_endelige_webudgave.pdf).

<sup>425</sup> This comprised 11.8% of Danish bilateral development assistance and 7.8% of global Danish aid funding in 2008.

<sup>426</sup> This comprised 37.9% of the total humanitarian assistance and 3.9% of the total Danish assistance in 2008. See: Danida, “NGO-Samarbejde 2008,” p. 5. Available at: <http://www.um.dk/NR/rdonlyres/2C1CCD5B-6BE0-481A-8B91-A29D6D448EEF/0/Beretningensamlet2008.pdf>.

(DCA), NDC (the multi-donor Secretariat), and Danish government funding via the European Union, including support for the Copenhagen-based EMHRN. The following report will examine the available information (reflecting limited transparency from the Danish government)<sup>427</sup> on each of these frameworks.

### **Direct funding for NGOs via the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark**

The Denmark Ministry of Foreign Affairs is one of the channels through which Danish government funds reach politicized NGOs. The ministry claims that the “overall aim of the regional assistance is to underpin the Middle East peace process by strengthening cooperation, confidence building and trans-national understanding in the region...”<sup>428</sup> The Foreign Ministry’s Tel Aviv Embassy website is limited to 2006 grantees, including Bimkom, the Peres Center for Peace, and the Parents Circle.<sup>429</sup> Based on information from the Israeli Registry of Non-Profits, these groups continued to receive Danish funds in 2007.

#### **Bimkom**

Ostensibly focusing on “the right to equality and social justice in matters of planning, development, and the allocation of land resources,”<sup>430</sup> Bimkom regularly engages in political activity regarding topics completely unrelated

to planning rights. Bimkom has received Danish funding through the Foreign Ministry as well as through the NDC (see below). In 2006, Bimkom received DKK 1,132,000 from the Danish Foreign Ministry to conduct a “planning survey for a Palestinian neighbourhood in East Jerusalem,” which would “be used as a model for other Palestinian neighbourhoods.”<sup>431</sup> As reflected in a July 2009 plan to “retroactively legalize illegal construction in Arab neighborhoods,”<sup>432</sup> Bimkom’s work in this arena attempts to change Israeli government policy.<sup>433</sup>

#### **Peres Center for Peace**

The Peres Center for Peace was awarded DKK 4,020,000 from the Danish Foreign Ministry in 2006 for medical staff training that “is not otherwise provided to the Palestinians.”<sup>434</sup>

#### **Parents Circle**

Parents Circle was granted DKK 600,000 in 2006 for a project called “Building Trust and Hope,” which aimed to “introduce Palestinians and Israelis to the idea of reconciliation through meetings with a joint Israeli and Palestinian facilitator team.”<sup>435</sup> While Parents Circle’s activities are generally unbiased, leaders use this platform to attack Israeli policies<sup>436</sup> and sponsor anti-Israeli-policy events.<sup>437</sup>

<sup>427</sup> The Danish government provided NGO Monitor with a comprehensive list of NGOs funded by Danida, through 2007. However, complete information on other Danish funding instruments for Israeli and Palestinian NGOs was not provided.

<sup>428</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, “Regional Projects,” Feb. 12, 2007. Available at: <http://www.ambtelaviv.um.dk/en/menu/theembassy/regionalprojects>.

<sup>429</sup> Ibid.

<sup>430</sup> Yesh Din, “Israeli Human Rights Organizations.” Available at: <http://www.yesh-din.org/site/index.php?page=links&lang=en>.

<sup>431</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, “Regional Projects,” Feb. 12, 2007. Available at: <http://www.ambtelaviv.um.dk/en/menu/theembassy/regionalprojects>.

<sup>432</sup> Etgar Lefkovits, “‘Interior Minister doesn’t have authority to delay J’lem master plan,’” *Jerusalem Post*, July 11, 2009. Available at: <http://www.jpost.com/servlet/Satellite?cid=1246443778436&pagename=JPost%2FJPArticle%2FShowFull>.

<sup>433</sup> In 2007, Bimkom received NIS 24,725 (~\$5,000) from the Danish Embassy (according to the Israeli Registry of Non-Profits).

<sup>434</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, “Regional Projects,” Feb. 12, 2007. Available at: <http://www.ambtelaviv.um.dk/en/menu/theembassy/regionalprojects>.

<sup>435</sup> Ibid.

<sup>436</sup> Atara Beck, “World Vision charity presents anti-Israel propaganda,” *Jewish Tribune*, June 3, 2008.

<sup>437</sup> NGO Monitor, “EU-funded NGOs lead anti-Israel events on anniversary of 1967 war,” June 5, 2007. Available at: <http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article.php?id=1440>.

### Danish Funding through DanChurchAid (DCA)

DanChurchAid (DCA), a major Danish humanitarian NGO “rooted in the Danish National Evangelical Lutheran Church,” aims to “assist the poorest of the poor”<sup>438</sup> and is funded through private donations, foundations, Danida, the UN, the EU, and other bilateral donors.<sup>439</sup>

In 2008, the Danish government provided DKK 213.9 million to DCA – a significant increase from the DKK 176 million provided in 2007.<sup>440</sup>

DCA works multilaterally – with close ties to the World Council of Churches (WCC) – as well as bilaterally with local churches, church councils, and civil (“folkelige”) organizations.<sup>441</sup> The WCC, a major supporter and leader of the anti-Israel boycotts, divestment, and sanctions (BDS) campaign,<sup>442</sup> is active in efforts to condemn Israel at the UN<sup>443</sup> and funds the Ecumenical Accompaniment Programme in Palestine and Israel (EAPPI). EAPPI has demonstrated an anti-Israel agenda, especially in publications such as “40 Years of Occupation”<sup>444</sup> with an article advocating illegal and inflammatory activities to

“end the occupation” – including hacking government websites, commemorating “Naqba,” and recognizing the “right of return.”<sup>445</sup>

DCA’s international aid framework focuses on 13 areas, including “Israel/Palestine,”<sup>446</sup> and DCA partners include local churches, development programs, advocacy groups, and some of the most politicized NGOs working in Israel and the Palestinian Authority, such as Badil and the Palestinian Center for Human Rights (PCHR).<sup>447</sup>

### Badil

An April 2006 report,<sup>448</sup> conducted by DanChurchAid and Trocaire and then published with permission by Badil, demonstrates DanChurchAid’s close identification with Badil, especially in recognition of the NGO’s role in promoting the “right of return.”<sup>449</sup> The evaluators praise Badil’s “important role in the coordination and launching of the BDS campaign which seems to lack coordination at the national level.”<sup>450</sup> Indeed, Badil is a leading actor in the BDS campaign against Israel, and has called for a “targeted campaign to expose the lies of AIPAC and the

<sup>438</sup> DanChurchAid, “About DanChurchAid.” Available at: [http://www.danchurchaid.org/who\\_we\\_are](http://www.danchurchaid.org/who_we_are).

<sup>439</sup> DanChurchAid, “Financed by private donations and funds.” Available at: [http://www.danchurchaid.org/partners\\_networks\\_donors](http://www.danchurchaid.org/partners_networks_donors).

<sup>440</sup> DKK 114.314 million for development assistance and DKK 64.581 million for humanitarian aid. See Danida, “NGO-Samarbejde 2006,” p. 37. Available at: [http://www.netpublikationer.dk/um/7887/pdf/NGO\\_2006\\_-\\_endelige\\_webudgave.pdf](http://www.netpublikationer.dk/um/7887/pdf/NGO_2006_-_endelige_webudgave.pdf).

<sup>441</sup> Danida, “NGO-Samarbejde 2008,” p. 13. Available at: <http://www.um.dk/NR/rdonlyres/2C1CCD5B-6BE0-481A-8B91-A29D6D448EEF/0/Beretningsamlet2008.pdf>.

<sup>442</sup> Anti-Defamation League, “ADL Calls on Christian Gathering to Step Back from the Politics of Partisanship and Become a Force for Peace in the Middle East,” February 28, 2002. Available at: [http://209.85.129.132/search?q=cache:wfhzephHKK0J:www.adl.org/PresRele/ChJew\\_31/4046\\_62.htm+ADL+%2B+WCC&cd=1&hl=iw&ct=clnk&gl=il&client=firefox-a](http://209.85.129.132/search?q=cache:wfhzephHKK0J:www.adl.org/PresRele/ChJew_31/4046_62.htm+ADL+%2B+WCC&cd=1&hl=iw&ct=clnk&gl=il&client=firefox-a).

<sup>443</sup> Eye on the UN, “The UN-NGO Connection: Spreading the Message of Hate and Terrorism,” June 12, 2006. Available at: [http://www.eyeontheun.org/assets/attachments/misc/2006\\_UN-NGO\\_Report.pdf](http://www.eyeontheun.org/assets/attachments/misc/2006_UN-NGO_Report.pdf).

<sup>444</sup> Summer 2007. Available at: [http://www.eappi.org/fileadmin/eappi/files/resources/chain\\_reaction/Chain\\_Reaction\\_6th\\_edition.pdf](http://www.eappi.org/fileadmin/eappi/files/resources/chain_reaction/Chain_Reaction_6th_edition.pdf).

<sup>445</sup> The WCC hosted the 2006 “global advocacy week concerning the situation in Palestine and Israel,” including “solidarity visits with Christian Peacemaker Teams in Hebron,” a “settlement tour with ICAHD,” and an opportunity to “witnes[s] the destruction in Jenin Refugee Camp.” See VOX, “A Christian Voice - a Human Concern,” Jan. 2006. Available at: <http://www.reliefweb.int/library/documents/2005/caritas-opt-19jan.pdf>.

<sup>446</sup> Danida, “NGO-Samarbejde 2008,” p. 13. Available at: <http://www.um.dk/NR/rdonlyres/2C1CCD5B-6BE0-481A-8B91-A29D6D448EEF/0/Beretningsamlet2008.pdf>.

<sup>447</sup> DanChurchAid, “Partners in Israel-Palestine,” June 10, 2006. Available at: [http://www.danchurchaid.org/where\\_we\\_work/middle\\_east/israel\\_palestine/read\\_more/partners\\_in\\_israel\\_palestine](http://www.danchurchaid.org/where_we_work/middle_east/israel_palestine/read_more/partners_in_israel_palestine).

<sup>448</sup> “Evaluation of The BADIL Campaign for Palestinian Refugee and Residency Rights,” April 2006. Available at: <http://www.badil.org/en/documents/category/2-working-papers?download=12%3Aevaluation-of-the-badil-campaign-for-palestinian-refugee-and-residency-rights>.

<sup>449</sup> Ibid.

<sup>450</sup> Ibid., p. 9.

Anti-Defamation League and to expose the Jewish and Zionist community's double standards regarding Nakba & Occupation.<sup>451</sup> Badil has also referred to "Israel's colonial apartheid regime," "state-sponsored racism,"<sup>452</sup> and "systematic ethnic cleansing,"<sup>453</sup> and claims that "[i]nstitutionalized racism and discrimination" are the "root causes of the...displacement and dispossession of the Palestinian people."<sup>454</sup> Badil receives Danish funding through both DanChurchAid and the NDC (see below).

### **B'Tselem**

This NGO received \$133,776 from DCA in 2007 (according to the Israeli Registry of Non-Profits). In 2006, B'Tselem received DKK 693,822 from DanChurchAid,<sup>455</sup> and DanChurchAid remains on its donor list.<sup>456</sup> B'Tselem "endeavors to document and educate the Israeli public and policymakers about human rights violations in the Occupied Territories."<sup>457</sup> However, B'Tselem focuses almost exclusively on alleged Israeli violations, eliminating the context of asymmetrical war, mass terror, and intra-Palestinian violence. B'Tselem was one of the first NGOs to promote the "collective punishment" and "Gaza remains occupied" allegations. B'Tselem's credibility,<sup>458</sup> particularly regarding statistics on Palestinian casualties, has been

repeatedly challenged by independent researchers on grounds of faulty methodology, inaccuracy, unverifiable sources,<sup>459</sup> and distortion of context.<sup>460</sup> B'Tselem also has received Danish funding through the NDC and EIDHR (see below).

### **PCHR**

PCHR regularly refers to rocket attacks on Israeli civilians as "resistance."<sup>461</sup> PCHR is a leader in the "lawfare" strategy of exploiting universal jurisdiction statutes in democratic countries in order to bring cases against Israeli political and military officials for "war crimes" and "crimes against humanity." PCHR alleged that almost 70 percent of all casualties in the Gaza war were civilian, an unsubstantiated claim that was repeated in the media and in the Goldstone Report. PCHR's figures have been independently disproven through credible research.<sup>462</sup> In addition to DanChurchAid funding,<sup>463</sup> PCHR receives Danish support through the NDC and EMHRN (see below).

### **DanChurchAid and BDS**

In addition to supporting NGOs active in BDS – WCC, Badil, PCHR, and East Jerusalem YMCA – DCA has

<sup>451</sup> Badil, "In 2007 the Occupation turns 40 In 2008 al-Nakba turns 60." Accessed on March 10, 2009.

<sup>452</sup> Badil, "A Call for New Vision and Strategies," Summer 2007. Available at: <http://www.badil.org/en/al-majdal/item/419-a-call-for-new-vision-and-strategies>.

<sup>453</sup> Badil's Oral Statement at Durban Review Conference Preparatory Committee Second Substantive Session, October 16, 2008. Available at: <http://www.un.org/webcast/unhrc/archive.asp?go=081016>.

<sup>454</sup> Badil, "Ongoing Forced Displacement of the Palestinian Population on Both Sides of the 'Green Line'," Autumn 2008–Winter 2009. Available at: <http://www.badil.org/en/al-majdal/item/57-ongoing-forced-displacement-of-the-palestinian-population-on-both-sides-of-the-%E2%80%9Cgreen-line%E2%80%9D>.

<sup>455</sup> This information is based on a July 9, 2008 e-mail from a DanChurchAid official.

<sup>456</sup> B'Tselem, "List of donors to B'Tselem." Available at: [http://www.btselem.org/english/About\\_BTselem/Donors.asp](http://www.btselem.org/english/About_BTselem/Donors.asp).

<sup>457</sup> B'Tselem, "About B'Tselem." Available at: [http://www.btselem.org/english/About\\_BTselem/Index.asp](http://www.btselem.org/english/About_BTselem/Index.asp).

<sup>458</sup> NGO Monitor, "Claims in B'tselem/Hamoked report lack credibility," May 7, 2007. Available at: <http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article.php?id=1411>.

<sup>459</sup> Lt. Col. (ret.) Jonathan D. Halevi, "An additional example of the importance of criticism of human rights organizations" (Hebrew), Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, June 14, 2009. Available at: <http://www.jcpa.org.il/JCPAHeb/Templates/showpage.asp?FID=602&DBID=1&LNGID=2&TMID=99&IID=22817>.

<sup>460</sup> Dan Izenberg, "Report slams B'Tselem Cast Lead figures," *Jerusalem Post*, September 16, 2009. Available at: <http://www.jpost.com/servlet/Satellite?cid=1251804580143&pagename=JPost%2FJPArticle%2FShowFull>.

<sup>461</sup> PCHR, "6 Palestinians, Including 4 Children, Injured in Gaza Due to Misuse of Weapons," December 23, 2008. Available at: <http://www.pchrgaza.org/files/weapon/english/2008/report44.html>.

<sup>462</sup> Lt. Col. (ret.) Jonathan D. Halevi, JCPA, "Casualties within the Palestinian Security Systems: Myth versus Reality" (Hebrew), May 24, 2009. Available at: <http://jcpa.org.il/JCPAHeb/Templates/showpage.asp?FID=594&DBID=1&LNGID=2&TMID=99&IID=22712>.

<sup>463</sup> PCHR, "Annual Report 2008," p. 7. Available at: [http://www.pchrgaza.org/files/Reports/English/pdf\\_annual/annual2008-E.pdf](http://www.pchrgaza.org/files/Reports/English/pdf_annual/annual2008-E.pdf).

commented: “DanChurchAid does not believe boycott to be morally wrong, but it does not believe that a general boycott will be effective.”<sup>464</sup>

### Danish funding to political NGOs through the multi-donor secretariat: the NGO Development Center (NDC)

The concept of a multi-donor secretariat to provide funding to Israeli and Palestinian NGOs originated in 2005 with an agreement between Austria, Denmark, Sweden, and Switzerland.<sup>465</sup> Denmark negotiated on behalf of the donor countries to arrange management of the secretariat, which subsequently changed hands a number of times. From July 2008 through December 2009, the NGO Development Center in Ramallah has been managing the grants on behalf of Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, and the Netherlands. The NDC distributed \$6 million to 25 Israeli and Palestinian NGOs, many of which are among the most radical groups operating in the context of the Arab-Israeli conflict.<sup>466</sup>

The selection of NDC to manage Denmark’s funding is surprising. Danish policy in the region calls for the promotion of “pluralistic societ[ies],” “tolerance,” and “cooperation.”<sup>467</sup> Yet, NDC is responsible for facilitating and funding the “Palestinian NGO Code of Conduct,” a document that rejects “any normalization activities with the occupier, neither at the political-security nor the cultural or developmental levels.”<sup>468</sup> The document also calls for the “return of the refugees to their original

homes” – the effective end of Israel as a Jewish state. These declarations are in direct conflict with above-stated Danish values regarding support for civil society.

NDC recipients include Badil (\$100,000), B’Tselem (\$450,000), PCHR (\$400,000), and Bimkom (\$150,000) – see above; and PCATI (\$240,000), Al-Haq (\$500,000), and Al Mezan (\$500,000) – see below. NDC also funds other highly political NGOs, including ICAHD (\$80,000), HaMoked (\$500,000), and the Palestinian NGO Network (\$130,000). (See “NGO Development Center: Scandinavian Funding for NDC and NGOs” p. 8).

### Danish NGO funding through the European Union

Note: A detailed list of EU-funded Israeli and Palestinian NGOs can be found in *NGO Monitor’s Europe’s Hidden Hand* (April 2008).<sup>469</sup>

Danish contributions to development cooperation within the European Union account for almost 15 percent of Denmark’s multilateral development assistance, or approximately 7 percent of Denmark’s total aid budget (section 6).<sup>470</sup> Many local NGOs benefit from European Union funding through the European Instrument for Human Rights and Democracy (EIDHR), and thus, indirectly, from Danish funds. Moreover, the Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Network (EMHRN) receives 80 percent of its funding from the EU. EMHRN, based in Copenhagen, also receives direct funding from Denmark.<sup>471</sup>

<sup>464</sup> DanChurch Aid and Trocaire, “Evaluation of The BADIL Campaign for Palestinian Refugee and Residency Rights,” p. 22, April 2006. Available at: <http://www.badil.org/en/documents/category/2-working-papers?download=12%3Aevaluation-of-the-badil-campaign-for-palestinian-refugee-and-residency-rights>.

<sup>465</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, “Multi-Donor Secretariat for support to NGOs within human rights and good governance” April 2009. Available at: <http://www.um.dk/NR/rdonlyres/C2454AE2-DE5D-4458-9815-48BB22F48B2C/0/05PalaestinaMultidonorsekretariat.doc>.

<sup>466</sup> NDC, “Human Rights/Good Governance Beneficiary List.” Available at: <http://www.ndc.ps/uploads/File/Copy%20of%20HRGG%20List%20of%20beneficiary%20NGOs%281%29.pdf>. No. 19.

<sup>467</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, “General Principles Governing Support to Development Projects Implemented by NGOs.” Available at: <http://www.um.dk/NR/rdonlyres/2CD4BB72-31F2-4FAA-B728-3F0FE1973B78/0/GENERALPRINCIPLESGOVERNINGSUPPORTTODEVELOPMENTPROJECTSIMPLEMENTEDBYNGOS.doc>.

<sup>468</sup> NDC, “Palestinian Code of Conduct,” 2008, p. 11. Available at: <http://www.ndc.ps/main.php?id=22>.

<sup>469</sup> Available at: [http://www.ngo-monitor.org/data/images/File/NGO\\_Monitor\\_EU\\_Funding\\_Europes\\_Hidden\\_Hand.pdf](http://www.ngo-monitor.org/data/images/File/NGO_Monitor_EU_Funding_Europes_Hidden_Hand.pdf).

<sup>470</sup> G.R. Olsen and L. Udsholt, “The Danish Aid Administration: Between Politics and Technical Rationality,” Copenhagen Centre for Development Research (CDR Working Paper No. 95.12), 1995. Available at: [http://www.euforic.org/dk/cdr95\\_12.htm](http://www.euforic.org/dk/cdr95_12.htm).

<sup>471</sup> EMHRN, “How we are funded.” Available at: <http://www.euromedrights.net/45>.

EMHRN encompasses more than 80 NGOs that claim to promote human rights. It receives an annual budget of approximately €1 million via EIDHR, under the general framework of supporting “democracy, good governance and rule of law.” EMHRN’s official mandate is to develop “synergies between regional and local human rights work, the human rights instruments of the Barcelona process as well as the wider Arab world.” EMHRN funds are allocated to conferences, research, and educational materials produced for its member NGOs. EMHRN assists these NGOs in influencing public opinion by providing them access to Europe’s policymaking community.

Other EMHRN activities include facilitating dialogue and assistance among its members and lobbying to advance the policy goals of affiliated NGOs. The EMHRN members from Israel and the PA consist exclusively of NGOs active in advancing Arab and Palestinian political goals. As shown in NGO Monitor’s detailed analyses, many of these NGOs are active in promoting the strategy of BDS based on the final declaration of the NGO Forum at the 2001 Durban Conference. EMHRN reports often contribute to this process, advance specious Palestinian claims, and erase the context of terror against Israel, thereby exacerbating the perception of the conflict in countries where EMHRN is widely received, especially across North Africa.<sup>472</sup>

For instance, at the beginning of the Gaza conflict, EMHRN released a joint statement claiming that Israel had “directly targeted the civilian Palestinian population” and accused Israel of enacting “collective punishment.”<sup>473</sup> EMHRN’s criticism of the EU largely rests on the Gaza war, claiming that “[r]ather than a clear and firm condemnation [by the EU] of the intolerable situation caused by the Israeli attacks in the Gaza Strip, this seems to be nothing more than a face-saving operation by the EU.”<sup>474</sup>

EMHRN also provides a platform for and promotes the views of its partner NGOs,<sup>475</sup> which include the NGOs listed in the chart below. Of these NGOs, Al-Haq, Al Mezan, Public Committee Against Torture in Israel (PCATI), PCHR, and B’Tselem also received NDC grants.

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<sup>472</sup> NGO Monitor, “Europe’s Hidden Hand,” April 2008, pp. 23–25. Available at: [http://www.ngo-monitor.org/data/images/File/NGO\\_Monitor\\_EU\\_Funding\\_Europes\\_Hidden\\_Hand.pdf](http://www.ngo-monitor.org/data/images/File/NGO_Monitor_EU_Funding_Europes_Hidden_Hand.pdf).

<sup>473</sup> FIDH and EMHRN, “Ensuring respect of international law to prepare for peace,” Dec. 29, 2008. Available at: <http://www.fidh.org/Ensuring-respect-of-international-law-to-prepare>.

<sup>474</sup> EMHRN, “A stronger reaction is needed,” Jan. 16, 2008. Available at: <http://www.euromedrights.net/pages/560/news/focus/68777>.

<sup>475</sup> EMHRN, “Members of the EMHRN-Palestine.” Available at: <http://www.emhrn.net/pages/58#Palestine>.

### Overlap between different frameworks for Danish NGO funding

Many NGOs received funds from different frameworks within the Danish government. This overlap raises questions of government oversight in funding processes.

For genuine humanitarian projects, this phenomenon increases the bureaucratic overhead and waste so that aid does not reach the organizations and individuals who need it. Efficiency, accountability, and transparency should be required of all publicly-funded NGOs.

NGO	Direct Gov't	DanChurchAid	NDC	EU
<b>Bimkom</b>	✓ 24,725 NIS (2007)*		✓ \$150,000 (2008–9)	
<b>Peres Center for Peace</b>	✓ 4,020,000 DKK (2006)			✓ Partnerships for Peace <sup>476</sup>
<b>Badil</b>		✓ DCA website	✓ \$100,000 (2008–9)	
<b>PCHR</b>		✓ DCA website	✓ \$400,000 (2008–9)	✓ EMHRN
<b>B'Tselem</b>		✓ \$133,776 (2007)*	✓ \$450,000 (2008–9)	✓ EMHRN
<b>PCATI</b>			✓ \$240,000 (2008–9)	✓ EMHRN
<b>Adalah</b>				✓ EMHRN
<b>Al-Haq</b>			✓ \$500,000 (2008–9)	✓ EMHRN
<b>Al Mezan</b>			✓ \$500,000 (2008–9)	✓ EMHRN

\*Information from the Israeli Registry of Non-Profits.

### Conclusion

The Danish Foreign Ministry – both directly and through its international development agency Danida – along with DanChurchAid, the NDC, and via EU frameworks, provides significant funding to some of the most politicized NGOs. Many of these groups use support from Denmark to oppose Israeli policies.

DanChurchAid, which receives tens of millions of dollars annually from the Danish government, supports and partners with active participants in the BDS campaign against Israel. NDC funds NGOs that distort international law and human-rights rhetoric to condemn Israel. Such funding is inconsistent with Danish government policies and commitments to promoting peace and compromise, and frustrates the stated goals of “strengthening democracy, good governance and human rights.”<sup>477</sup>

<sup>476</sup> NGO Monitor, “Partnerships for Peace? An Analysis of the European Commission’s NGO funding under the PFP Program,” December 18, 2008. Available at: [http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/partnerships\\_for\\_peace\\_an\\_analysis\\_of\\_the\\_european\\_commission\\_s\\_ngo\\_funding\\_under\\_the\\_pfp\\_program](http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/partnerships_for_peace_an_analysis_of_the_european_commission_s_ngo_funding_under_the_pfp_program).

<sup>477</sup> NGO Monitor sent an earlier version of this report to officials from the Danish Representative Office in Ramallah and to DanChurchAid. While the Danish government did not respond, DanChurchAid sent comments and NGO Monitor responded to those comments. See <http://www.ngo-monitor.org/data/images/File/danchurchaid-response.pdf> and <http://www.ngo-monitor.org/data/images/File/NGO-response-to-danchurchaid.pdf>.

## Finland

### Finnish Funding for NGOs: Political Warfare under the “Peace” Façade

- In 2009, the Finnish Foreign Ministry provided 731 million euros in development funds worldwide via Finnish NGOs and government agencies, some of which was channeled to political NGOs in the Arab-Israeli conflict region.
- Finnish funding supports politicized NGOs based in Israel, including the Public Committee Against Torture in Israel (PCATI) and HaMoked, as well as Palestinian groups such as the Jerusalem Center for Social and Economic Rights (JCSER), and the Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs (PASSIA).
- The funding goes to NGOs that are active participants in the BDS (boycotts, divestment and sanctions) campaign to isolate Israel internationally, employ “apartheid” rhetoric, and pursue anti-Israel agendas in other ways. Such activities are inconsistent with the Finnish government’s stated goal of promoting Middle East peace.
- According to the available data, Finland provides comparatively less funding than other Scandinavian countries to NGOs involved in demonization campaigns against Israel. Significantly, the extent of such support has decreased since 2006, when NGO Monitor published its previous study, “Analysis of NGO Funding: Finland’s Ministry for Foreign Affairs Development Cooperation.”<sup>478</sup>
- Nevertheless, Finnish government development funds still support several NGOs involved in BDS and similar anti-Israel activities.

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<sup>478</sup> March 6, 2006. Available at: <http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article.php?id=775>.

## Background

Of the EUR 731 million provided by the Finnish Foreign Ministry in 2009 for worldwide “development assistance,”<sup>479</sup> EUR 84 million went to Finnish NGOs for “development cooperation and information activities.”<sup>480</sup> The majority of Finnish government funding for NGOs is channeled to “partner organizations” that are considered to have “sufficient financial and administrative resources enabling the conduct of high-standard development cooperation” and “long-term professional experience.”<sup>481</sup>

## Direct government funding to the region

Finnish funding to the “Palestinian Territories” is categorized under the framework of “partner countries and areas recovering from violent crises.” This support focuses on “crisis resolution and stabilising conditions,”<sup>482</sup> and aims to “support the Middle East peace process” and “the creation of two independent states” by “building the prerequisites for a functioning Palestinian state.” To achieve these goals, Finland claims to support three sectors: “education, water and sanitation, and the land register.”<sup>483</sup> Recipients under the framework include:

### Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs (PASSIA)

In 2006–2007, the Finnish Representative Office in Ramallah fully funded two PASSIA research projects (the three-volume “Palestine in Review” and four-volume

“Documents on Jerusalem”) and partially funded the eight-volume “Documents on Palestine.”<sup>484</sup>

PASSIA claims to be an “Arab non-profit institution located in Jerusalem/Al-Quds with a financially and legally independent status. It is not affiliated with any government, political party or organization.”<sup>485</sup> Its website features a page entitled “SELECTED LINKS-Israel’s Apartheid Separation Wall,”<sup>486</sup> listing articles from highly politicized groups such as the Palestinian Anti-Apartheid Wall Campaign. In a June 2009 document on “Israeli Settlement Activities & Related Policies,” PASSIA claimed that “successive Israeli governments have zealously and incessantly pursued ... the ‘Judaization’ of East Jerusalem, a policy of changing its Arab character and creating a new geopolitical reality in order to guarantee territorial, demographic, and religious control over all of [the] city. They have shared their pursuit of this goal with various settler groups ... their motivation being both messianic and nationalistic in nature.”<sup>487</sup>

PASSIA is also a member of the Palestinian NGO Network (PNGO),<sup>488</sup> a leader of the “National Committee for the BDS Campaign.”<sup>489</sup> During the Gaza war, PNGO accused Israel of “erasing the memory of resistance and struggle ... so Israel would be free to impose its goals, and instill a culture of obedience, and compliance with the occupying power.”<sup>490</sup>

<sup>479</sup> Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland, “Appropriations and their use.” Available at: <http://formin.finland.fi/Public/default.aspx?nodeid=15392&contentlan=2&culture=en-US>.

<sup>480</sup> Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland, “Subsidies and other funding.” Available at: <http://formin.finland.fi/public/default.aspx?nodeid=15408&contentlan=2&culture=en-US>.

<sup>481</sup> Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland, “Support for partner organisations.” Available at: <http://formin.finland.fi/Public/default.aspx?nodeid=15436&contentlan=2&culture=en-US>.

<sup>482</sup> Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland, “Partner countries recovering from violent crises.” Available at: <http://formin.finland.fi/Public/default.aspx?nodeid=15379&contentlan=2&culture=en-US>.

<sup>483</sup> Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland, “Palestinian Territories.” Available at: <http://formin.finland.fi/Public/default.aspx?nodeid=15383&contentlan=2&culture=en-US>.

<sup>484</sup> PASSIA, “Annual Report 2006-2007,” p.133. Available at: <http://www.passia.org/publications/Annual/2006-2007/Appendices.pdf>.

<sup>485</sup> PASSIA, “About PASSIA.” Available at: <http://www.passia.org/index.htm>.

<sup>486</sup> Available at: <http://www.passia.org/links-Wall.htm>.

<sup>487</sup> P. 21. Available at: <http://www.passia.org/publications/bulletins/Jerusalem2009/Web-Bulletin%20-%20%20Jeusalem%202009%20Final.pdf>.

<sup>488</sup> See [http://www.passia.org/about\\_us/about\\_passia.htm#NETWORKING](http://www.passia.org/about_us/about_passia.htm#NETWORKING).

<sup>489</sup> See <http://www.pngo.net/default.asp?i=190>.

<sup>490</sup> Palestinian Campaign for the Academic & Cultural Boycott of Israel, “Palestinian orgs. call for boycott and end of Gaza siege,” Jan. 28, 2009. Available at: <http://www.pacbi.org/etemplate.php?id=913>.

### HaMoked

On its website, HaMoked lists Finland as a 2008 donor, and according to the Israeli Registry of Non-Profits, HaMoked received NIS 100,595 in 2006 from the Finnish Embassy in Israel. HaMoked accuses Israel of “war crimes” with only a token reference to Hamas’ “sporadic” rocket fire against Israel civilians.<sup>491</sup> In 2006, Israel’s State Prosecutor asserted that HaMoked’s “self-presentation as ‘a human rights organization’ has no basis in reality and is designed to mislead.”<sup>492</sup> HaMoked called the Gaza war a “punitive operation” and promoted the unverified claim that “[m]any prisoners ... were held in pits in the ground ... apparently dug by the army.”<sup>493</sup> During the Gaza war, HaMoked distorted international law to criminalize Israeli actions, falsely claiming that “phosphorous and cluster bombs” are “illegal weapons prohibited by International Humanitarian Law.”<sup>494</sup> HaMoked has also compared Israel to “totalitarian countries.”<sup>495</sup>

### **Finnish NGOs involved in anti-Israel activities**

The Foreign Ministry’s website lists a project entitled “Capacity Building Programme in Gaza and West Bank,” under the category of the “Palestinian Territories.”<sup>496</sup> However, aside from a few limited details, information on NGO involvement is not provided.<sup>497</sup>

### KIOS: The Finnish NGO Foundation for Human Rights

The Finnish Foreign Ministry provides money to three Finnish groups that “do not implement their own development cooperation projects, but distribute funds ... to organisations in developing countries.” One of these groups is KIOS: The Finnish NGO Foundation for Human Rights,<sup>498</sup> which, as shown below, transfers funds to a number of radical NGOs.

Since 1998, KIOS has received EUR 7,660,627 in government funds.<sup>499</sup> According to the Finnish Foreign Ministry, “KIOS is able to work on politically-sensitive human rights issues.”<sup>500</sup> In the past decade, KIOS has channeled tens of thousands of euros of Finnish government funds to several highly politicized Israeli and Palestinian NGOs, including:

### Public Committee Against Torture in Israel (PCATI)

In 2009, KIOS granted EUR 80,900 to PCATI for “[l]egal aid, legal research and advocacy against torture.” In previous grants, KIOS has supported PCATI programs to “respond swiftly and effectively to cases of torture and ill treatment of prisoners and detainees” (2007), and train “field lawyers and researchers ... to meet the high demand for legal services and ensure the capacity to monitor, verify,

<sup>491</sup> “Submission of Human Rights Organizations based in Israel.” Available at: <http://www.acri.org.il/pdf/goldstone1.pdf>.

<sup>492</sup> NGO Monitor, “Israeli State Prosecutor Recognises Bias of Israeli Human Rights NGOs, HaMoked and B’Tselem,” March 23, 2006. Available at: [http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/\\_israeli\\_state\\_prosecutor\\_recognises\\_bias\\_of\\_israeli\\_human\\_rights\\_ngos\\_hamoked\\_and\\_b\\_tselem\\_](http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/_israeli_state_prosecutor_recognises_bias_of_israeli_human_rights_ngos_hamoked_and_b_tselem_).

<sup>493</sup> NGO Monitor, “The Goldstone ‘Fact Finding’ Mission and the Role of Political NGOs,” Sept. 7, 2009. Available at: [http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/the\\_goldstone\\_gaza\\_fact\\_finding\\_committee\\_and\\_the\\_lund\\_london\\_guidelines\\_](http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/the_goldstone_gaza_fact_finding_committee_and_the_lund_london_guidelines_).

<sup>494</sup> HaMoked, “HaMoked: Center for the Defence of the Individual and other human rights organizations turned to the Prime Minister, the Minister of Defence and the Attorney General: Halt the Use of Illegal Weapons Prohibited by International Law,” Jan. 15, 2009. Available at: [http://www.hamoked.org.il/news\\_main\\_en.asp?id=636](http://www.hamoked.org.il/news_main_en.asp?id=636).

<sup>495</sup> HaMoked, “Machsom Watch’s security violations,” June 14, 2009. Available at: [http://www.ngo-monitor.org/digest\\_info.php?id=2497#machsom](http://www.ngo-monitor.org/digest_info.php?id=2497#machsom).

<sup>496</sup> Fida International, “FIDA DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION PROGRAMMES 2007-2010.” Available at: <http://www.fidadevelopment.fi/Development-Programmes.htm>. Frikyrklig samverkan, “Utvecklingssamarbete & humanitar hjälp.” Available at: <http://translate.google.co.il/translate?hl=en&sl=sv&tl=en&u=http%3A%2F%2Faid.frikyrkligsamverkan.fi%2F&anno=2>. “For providing guest workers with legal assistance, FELM collaborates with Israeli non-governmental organisations.” FELM, “Community Support and Peace Building.” Available at: [http://www.mission.fi/in\\_english/global\\_mission/regions/israel/](http://www.mission.fi/in_english/global_mission/regions/israel/).

<sup>497</sup> Although unrelated to political bias, NGO Monitor also noted that the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission “works in collaboration with congregations of Messianic Jews” in Israel.

<sup>498</sup> Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland, “Support for development cooperation funds.” Available at: <http://formin.finland.fi/Public/default.aspx?nodeid=34749&contentlan=2&culture=en-US>.

<sup>499</sup> Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland, “Evaluation: Finnish NGO Foundations,” p. 43. Available at: <http://formin.finland.fi/public/download.aspx?ID=41580&GUID={95BA2F60-33FF-4C4D-B9C2-5B3B9B38FCD3}>.

<sup>500</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 102.

expose and improve detainee conditions by retaining additional legal workers” (2004).<sup>501</sup>

PCATI claims to fight against torture and for prisoner rights. While extensively criticizing alleged Israeli abuses, the group has done virtually no campaigning to uphold the rights of Gilad Shalit, held incommunicado by Hamas since June 25, 2006 in flagrant violation of the Geneva Conventions. PCATI often lobbies in international forums to promote its one-sided, politicized agenda. PCATI leaders testified in Geneva in front of the UN’s fact-finding mission on the Gaza war, where they referred to Israel’s “unacceptable collective punishment” and to Palestinian “martyrs.”<sup>502</sup>

#### **Jerusalem Center for Social and Economic Rights (JCSER)**

KIOS has funded the JCSER since 2005. In 2009, JCSER received EUR 79,700 for a project “[d]efending Palestinian Economic and Social Rights in Jerusalem.”<sup>503</sup> JCSER

refers to the “systematic, programmed campaign of Israel’s Judaization of Jerusalem,” the “Apartheid Wall,” “ethnic cleansing,” and Israeli “[r]acial [i]ncitement.”<sup>504</sup>

#### **Kav LaOved**

In 2009, Kav LaOved was awarded EUR 23,500 from KIOS for “protecting the human and labor rights of West Bank Palestinians employed by Israelis.”<sup>505</sup> In contrast to other groups, such as PCATI, Kav LaOved generally criticizes Israel’s human rights record without participating in the rhetoric of demonization.

#### **Conclusion**

The stated Finnish focus in the “Palestinian Territories” is to support the peace process and set the groundwork for a future Palestinian state. Funding groups that utilize apartheid rhetoric, advance the Palestinian narrative regarding Jerusalem, and distort the context of the conflict does not advance such goals. Adherence to the intended aims will require a reevaluation of grantees and closer monitoring of partner spending.

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<sup>501</sup> Ibid.

<sup>502</sup> United Nations, “UN Fact Finding Mission on the Gaza Conflict - Public Hearings First & Second session,” July 7, 2009. Available at: <http://www.un.org/webcast/unhrc/archive.asp?go=090707>.

<sup>503</sup> Ibid.

<sup>504</sup> JCSER, “Annual Narrative Report (2008).” Available at: [http://www.jcser.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=287:annual-narrative-report-2008-&catid=24:annual-reports&Itemid=33](http://www.jcser.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=287:annual-narrative-report-2008-&catid=24:annual-reports&Itemid=33).

<sup>505</sup> KIOS, “Other countries.” Available at: [http://www.kios.fi/english/other\\_countries/](http://www.kios.fi/english/other_countries/).

## Appendix I: Scandinavian Government Funding for Politicized NGOs

NGO	NDC (Sweden, Switzerland, Denmark, Netherlands)	Sweden	Denmark	Norway	Finland	EU (via various frameworks such as EIDHR, PFP, etc.)
B'Tselem	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
HaMoked	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
PCATI	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
PCHR	✓		✓	✓		✓
Al Mezan	✓	✓		✓		✓
Al-Haq	✓	✓		✓		
PHR-I	✓	✓				✓
Bimkom	✓		✓			✓
WATC	✓	✓				✓
Gisha	✓*			✓		✓
Al-Dameer	✓			✓		✓
WCLAC	✓					✓
DCI-PS	✓	✓				
Badil	✓		✓			
Musawa	✓					✓
Addameer	✓	✓				
JCW	✓	✓				

\*Although not listed by NDC as a recipient, Gisha thanks NDC for funding on its website. See: <http://gisha.org/index.php?intLanguage=2&intSiteSN=141&OldMenu=137&intItemId=125>.

**Information was gleaned from the most recent available numbers for each funding source;  
therefore, overlap may not have necessarily occurred in the same year.**

## Appendix II: Alphabetical Summary of NGOs in This Report

### Addameer

Addameer refers to the Israeli army as the “Israeli Occupying Forces,” and accuses Israel of “collective punishment” and a “policy of using Palestinian prisoners as pawns to achieve political and military gains.” Addameer endorsed a UN submission alleging Israeli “war crimes ... include wilful killing and the extensive destruction of houses and other civilian property.” In oral testimony to the UN, Addameer claimed that “[t]he main purpose of these policies of the imprisonment was to broke [sic] the soul of the resistance in the Palestinian people against the occupation.” Addameer also alleged that “since the Israeli occupation ... began, 700,000 Palestinians have been imprisoned by the Israeli military”; no source is provided for this dubious figure. If Addameer’s claim of 700,000 imprisoned Palestinians is to be believed, since 1967, 17,500 new prisoners would have to be detained by Israel annually. Even at the height of the Palestinian terror campaign in 2002, the number of Palestinian prisoners averaged around 5,000 at any one time. Moreover, given that many of these prisoners were sentenced to multiple-year terms or were repeat offenders, the same individuals are included in the figures for each year. Addameer’s statement must be dismissed as nothing more than pure propaganda.

FUNDED BY: NDC, Sweden

### AidWatch

AidWatch is “a pan-European lobby and campaigns initiative monitoring and advocating on the quality and the quantity of aid provided by EU member states (EU MS) and the European Commission (EC)” under the auspices of the EU-supported Concord – a confederation of European NGOs active in relief and development work. In 2009, AidWatch issued a report, “Lighten the Load,” that examines EU funding to humanitarian NGOs. One of the problems the report identifies regarding European aid is that it is **“increasingly being used as a political tool, and not aimed at poverty reduction”** (emphasis added).

### Al-Dameer

Al-Dameer released a statement calling for the “prosecut[ion] [of] the Israeli war criminals” and called for “the PLC to convene in a legal way and to adopt the draft law of the Palestinian Authority to Pursue the IOF committed crimes against the Palestinians.” After the

release of the Goldstone “fact-finding” report on the Gaza conflict, Al-Dameer called “[t]o prosecute the military commanders and Israeli civilians before the national courts of criminal jurisdiction, to effectuate the principle of international criminal jurisdiction of national courts.” This organization has never issued calls to prosecute Palestinians, including Hamas, for their perpetration of war crimes against and direct targeting of Israeli civilians, in particular, children.

FUNDED BY: NDC, Norway, EU

### Al-Haq

Al-Haq lists boycotts among its goals and objectives, and is a leader of the “lawfare” movement to interfere in the diplomatic relations between Israel and countries such as the UK by bringing lawsuits against UK officials to block trade with Israel. General Director Shawan Jabarin has been denied travel visas by Israel and Jordan for his alleged ties to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) terror group. Al-Haq assisted the Bil’in Village Council in bringing a case in Quebec against Canadian corporations, claiming that they were “aiding, abetting, assisting and conspiring with Israel, the Occupying Power.” This NGO was also behind the September 2009 attempt to arrest Israeli Defense Minister Ehud Barak in the UK.

FUNDED BY: NDC, Sweden, Norway, EU

### Al Mezan

Al Mezan’s activities reflect a radical anti-Israel agenda, including promoting claims of “Israeli war crimes,” “apartheid,” “ethnic cleansing,” “criminal aggression against civilians,” “Israeli massacres,” and “slaughtering civilians.” The organization also offensively employs Nazi and Holocaust rhetoric, referring to Israeli “incit[ement]” and “holocaust (genocide).” Al Mezan has also joined the “lawfare” movement, partnering with Al-Haq in its attempt to arrest Israeli Defense Minister Ehud Barak in the UK.

FUNDED BY: NDC, Sweden, Norway, EU

### Alternative Information Center (AIC)

AIC refers to the “Israeli occupation-regime” and the Arab-Israeli “colonial conflict.” AIC is against normalization with Israel, claiming that the collaboration of a Palestinian NGO with the Israeli Peres Center for Peace “is politically

unacceptable, and morally disgusting. Shimon Peres is definitely an enemy of the Palestinian people, of human rights and of peace.” AIC officials participate in United Nations frameworks; have accused Israel of “genocide,” a “policy of ethnic cleansing,” and “apartheid”; and have also compared Israeli military and political officials to Nazis.  
FUNDED BY: Sweden (Diakonia)

### **Arab Thought Forum**

ATF consistently uses the language of demonization, employing terms such as “apartheid,” “ethnic cleansing,” “genocide,” and “collective punishment,” while promoting the boycotts, divestment, and sanctions (BDS) campaign. ATF claims that “the Zionist notion carries racist principles that keep producing Apartheid forms.” This NGO refers to “so called ‘Palestinian Terrorism.’” Until 2009, ATF partnered with the Institute for Historical Justice and Reconciliation, whose executive committee is chaired by Richard Goldstone.  
FUNDED BY: NDC

### **Association of International Development Agencies (AIDA)**

AIDA is a “co-ordination facility for international development agencies operating in the West Bank and Gaza” including Oxfam, Trocaire, Christian Aid, and the Mennonite Central Committee. The organization collaborates on events and press releases, including many that condemn Israeli policy while deleting the context of asymmetrical war. AIDA is a co-sponsor of Diakonia’s IHL forums held at Al Quds University (see below).  
FUNDS: Diakonia IHL forums

### **Badil**

Badil’s claimed focus is the “right of return.” Badil calls for a “targeted campaign to expose the lies of AIPAC and the Anti-Defamation League and to expose the Jewish and Zionist community’s double standards regarding Nakba & Occupation.” Badil also refers to “Israel’s colonial apartheid regime,” “state-sponsored racism,” and “systematic ethnic cleansing,” and alleges that “[i]nstitutionalized racism and discrimination” are the “root causes of the...displacement and dispossession of the Palestinian people.”  
FUNDED BY: NDC, Denmark

### **Bat Shalom**

Bat Shalom (a member of the Coalition of Women for Peace), calls for the Palestinian “right of return” and holds an annual “Alternative Independence/Nakbah day.” Refers

to the “Apartheid system,” “collective punishment,” and “land confiscation,” and accuses Israel of using “transfer as a mechanism for ethnic cleansing.” Bat Shalom, along with a Palestinian partner, participated in the NGO Forum of the 2001 Durban Conference.

FUNDED BY: Norway (Norwegian Church Aid)

### **Bimkom**

Bimkom claims to focus on “the right to equality and social justice in matters of planning, development, and the allocation of land resources.” But Bimkom regularly opposes the Israeli government’s policy regarding topics completely unrelated to planning rights, including the Gaza war. During the Gaza war, Bimkom, along with other Israeli NGOs, accused Israel of “making wanton use of lethal force which has to date caused the death of hundreds of uninvolved civilians” and “forc[ing]” Palestinians to “live in fear and terror.”

FUNDED BY: NDC, Denmark, EU

### **B’Tselem**

This NGO “acts primarily to change Israeli policy in the Occupied Territories,” a political objective. While widely considered Israel’s premier human-rights organization, B’Tselem has faced serious criticism for its misrepresentations of international law, inaccurate research, skewed statistics (including casualty lists), and selective coverage of violations against Israelis. These problematic methodologies reinforce the Palestinian narrative of victimization and portray Israel as the sole impediment to peace.

FUNDED BY: NDC, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, EU

### **Center for Human Rights and Democracy Participation (SHAMS)**

SHAMS appears to deal solely with internal Palestinian issues and does not make claims about Israeli actions.  
FUNDED BY: NDC

### **DanChurchAid (DCA)**

DCA, a major Danish humanitarian NGO “rooted in the Danish National Evangelical Lutheran Church,” aims to “assist the poorest of the poor.” DCA works multilaterally; with close ties to the World Council of Churches (WCC), a major supporter and leader of the anti-Israel BDS campaign, it is active in efforts to condemn Israel at the UN, and funds the Ecumenical Accompaniment Programme in Palestine and Israel (EAPPI). EAPPI has demonstrated an anti-Israel agenda, especially in publications such as “40

Years of Occupation” with an article advocating illegal and inflammatory activities to “end the occupation” – including hacking government websites, commemorating “Naqba,” and recognizing the “right of return.” DCA partners include some of the most politicized NGOs working in Israel and the Palestinian Authority, such as Badil and the Palestinian Center for Human Rights (PCHR).

FUNDED BY: Denmark

### Defense for Children International-Palestine

#### Section

DCI-PS regularly exploits the rhetoric of children’s rights, manipulates international law, and campaigns against Israel in the UN and other international frameworks. DCI-PS has falsely accused Israel of “deliberate targeting of civilians” in Lebanon, “terrorizing the civilian population” in Gaza, and “collective punishment.” DCI-PS refers to Israeli “racism,” and promotes the Palestinian narrative of “nakba” and the “right of return” as “a natural and legal right.” DCI-PS referred to the Gaza conflict as Israel’s “illegal act of aggression.”

FUNDED BY: NDC, Sweden

### Delta Internasjonalt (KFUK-KFUM)

Delta Internasjonalt KFUK-KFUM is listed as member of the Norwegian “Riv Muren kampanjen” (“Tear-Down the Wall campaign”).

FUNDED BY: Norway

### Diakonia

A self-described “Christian development organization” and Sweden’s largest humanitarian NGO, Diakonia oversees four projects in “Israel/Palestine.” Two of its programs, the Children’s Literature Programme (SEK 18 million from 2005–2007) and the Rehabilitation Programme (SEK 25 million from 2008–2009), appear to be genuine humanitarian projects. The bulk of Diakonia’s funding from SIDA, however, is spent on Civil Society Organizations (13.5 million SEK from 2008–2010) and the International Humanitarian Law (IHL) (SEK 46.4 million from 2006–2009) programs (figures provided by Diakonia). The IHL program was created to influence public opinion, and presents a distorted and misleading interpretation of international law that promotes Palestinian political goals, such as “lawfare” against Israeli officials and foreign corporations doing business with Israel. This project primarily disseminates the Palestinian narrative.

FUNDED BY: Sweden

### Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Network (EMHRN)

EMHRN encompasses more than 80 NGOs, to ostensibly strengthen “synergies between regional and local human rights work, the human rights instruments of the Barcelona process as well as the wider Arab world.” EMHRN funds are allocated to conferences, research, and educational materials produced for its member NGOs. EMHRN members from Israel and the PA consist exclusively of NGOs active in advancing Arab and Palestinian political goals and promoting BDS (see *Europe’s Hidden Hand*). At the beginning of the Gaza conflict, EMHRN released a joint statement claiming that Israel had “directly targeted the civilian Palestinian population” and accused Israel of enacting “collective punishment.”

FUNDED BY: Sweden, Denmark

### Gisha

Gisha is an Israeli NGO that issues pseudo-legal briefs to attack Israeli policies. In December 2008, Gisha issued a 12-page “position paper,” “Gaza Closure Defined: Collective Punishment, Position Paper on the International Law Definition of Israeli Restrictions.” It promotes the false claims that Israel is responsible for “occupied” Gaza under international law, and that Israel is under a legal obligation to grant “freedom of movement” to Gaza residents. The NGO also claims that responses to Hamas attacks aimed at civilians lack a “concrete military objective,” while discounting the tons of humanitarian aid provided by Israel to Gaza and ignoring Israel’s legal obligations under international anti-terror treaties. A report issued by Israeli lawyers Justus Reid Weiner and Avi Bell details some of the fallacies in Gisha’s legal arguments.

FUNDED BY: Norway, EU

### HaMoked

HaMoked accuses Israel of “war crimes” with only a token reference to Hamas’ “sporadic” rocket fire against Israel civilians. In 2006, Israel’s State Prosecutor asserted that HaMoked’s “self-presentation as ‘a human rights organization’ has no basis in reality and is designed to mislead.” HaMoked called the Gaza war a “punitive operation” and promoted the unverified claim that “[m]any prisoners ... were held in pits in the ground ... apparently dug by the army.” During the Gaza war, HaMoked distorted international law to criminalize Israeli actions, falsely claiming that “phosphorous and cluster bombs” are “illegal weapons prohibited by International Humanitarian Law.” HaMoked has also compared Israel

to “totalitarian countries.”

FUNDED BY: NDC, Sweden, Norway, Finland, EU

### **Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC)**

NRC programs include a response to the “humanitarian disaster” in Gaza, which involves pressuring the international community to help stop the “war and the atrocities.” In 2008, the IDMC apparently received and executed projects for UNRWA in the West Bank and in Gaza. IDMC regularly ignores Israel’s right to security in its human-rights analyses, as is the case with a news alert on the Gaza operation, where the context of Hamas’ rocket firing into Israeli territory was completely ignored. In 2006, IDMC, together with NRC and Badil, co-published a study on the security barrier, “Displaced by the Wall: Pilot Study on Forced Displacement Caused by the Construction of the West Bank Wall and its Associated Regimes in the Occupied Palestinian Territories.”

FUNDED BY: Norway

### **International Federation of Human Rights (FIDH)**

Paris-based FIDH received \$813,747 from SIDA for a project in the “human rights” sector completed in August 2009. Details about the project’s connection to the Middle East are unavailable, but it should be noted that FIDH official Raji Sourani is also director of PCHR (also funded by Sweden, see above). During the Gaza war, FIDH claimed that “[t]he operations of the Israeli Army constitute at the least war crimes, if not crimes against humanity.” FIDH has also joined calls for the freezing of the EU-Israel Association agreement due to Israeli “violations of human rights and IHL” and accused Israel of “collective punishment against civilians in Gaza.” FIDH published “A Step by Step Approach to the Use of Universal Jurisdiction in Western European States,” a guide for promoting “lawfare” – the use of democratic courts to bring “war crimes” cases against Israeli officials. Indeed, as noted, FIDH member PCHR is a leader in the “lawfare” movement.

FUNDED BY: Sweden

### **Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions (ICAHD)**

ICAHD is a radical NGO which utilizes “apartheid” and “ethnic cleansing” rhetoric and supports the BDS movement. ICAHD head Jeff Halper regularly refers to the Israeli “matrix of control,” claiming that a bi-national state is the only remaining option resulting from Israel’s “futile attempt to impose an apartheid regime.” ICAHD’s

website promotes a “campaign against apartheid,” and accuses Israel of “state terrorism.” Halper has claimed that Israel “wants to enclose [the Palestinians] in a little Bantustan-type state.” ICAHD refers to the demolition of illegally built houses as “discriminatory discourse” and “racist measures.”

FUNDED BY: NDC, EU

### **Jerusalem Center for Social and Economic Rights (JCSER)**

JCSER’s rhetoric includes references to the “systematic, programmed campaign of Israel’s Judaization of Jerusalem,” the “Apartheid Wall,” “ethnic cleansing,” and Israeli “[r]acial [i]ncitement.”

FUNDED BY: Finland

### **Jerusalem Center for Women (JCW)**

JCW claims “to stand against to the unjust occupation, oppression, war, apartheid, humiliation, and poverty affecting Palestinian women.” A “fact sheet” refers to the “Annexation wall” and “illegal[] evict[ion]” of Palestinian families “so that settlers can take up residency.” JCW designed posters with provocative slogans, such as “Ethnic Cleansing in East Jerusalem,” “Stop the Apartheid Wall,” and “Stop the Judaization of Jerusalem.”

FUNDED BY: NDC, Sweden

### **Jerusalem Legal Aid and Human Rights Centre**

JLAC claims to “[d]efend[] the Palestinian victims of human rights violations; with accordance to the Palestinian laws and the international law ... via legal aid and legal representation.” JLAC published a report, “Rats in the Maze: Freedom of Movement in the OPT,” which refers to Israeli “crimes,” “apartheid,” and “collective punishment.” JLAC also issued a 34-page report calling on the United States to freeze military aid to Israel, claiming that Israel aims to “destroy all manifestations of Palestinian nationalism and culture.”

FUNDED BY: NDC

### **Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF)**

According to Gunvor W. Skancke, assistant director of the Civil Society Department in NORAD, MFA funding for MSF’s Palestinian operations was only in place until 2005. This is a welcome development, as while MSF is active in the Palestinian Authority and works with children affected by traumatic stress, the organization sometimes departs from its humanitarian aid mandate. For example, in a press release titled “Temporary halt to Gaza bombing

a paltry response as extreme violence victimizes civilians” of January 7, 2009, MSF makes no mention of Hamas’ role in the conflict whatsoever. Instead, it focuses on condemning Israel’s operation against Hamas as “affecting civilians indiscriminately” and its toll as “indicative of extreme violence indiscriminately affecting civilians.”

FORMERLY FUNDED BY: Norway

#### Miftah

Miftah has described Israel as an apartheid state, has referred to suicide bombers as “resistance fighters,” and was active in the 2001 Durban Conference. During the Gaza war, Miftah made false claims of an Israeli “massacre,” invoking the strategy used in Jenin in 2002.

FUNDED BY: Norway

#### Mossawa

Mossawa engages in political and legal campaigns that delegitimize Israel as a Jewish state with charges of “racism” and other pejoratives. Mossawa is influential in international forums, and uses “lawfare” and the legal process to silence independent analysis and criticism of its activities, libeling its critics as “racists.” This strategy is akin to that used by many politicized NGOs “**whereby Zionist organizations, foreign companies and governments that collaborate with Israel’s regime can be held accountable in court.**” Although the claims in such cases are without foundation, the primary goals are to deter analysis and divert the limited resources of critics into costly legal processes.

FUNDED BY: Sweden (Diakonia)

#### Musawa

While the majority of Musawa’s activities appear to focus on securing “the independence of the Judiciary and the legal profession,” in December 2008 Musawa publicized an NGO statement referring to the “Israeli occupying forces” and its “malicious intent to inflict as many casualties as possible.” Musawa’s executive director wrote a letter to Mahmoud Abbas asking him to support the “prosecution of Israel’s leaders for war crimes in the international courts” to “bring[] Israeli leaders and army officials to justice.”

FUNDED BY: NDC

#### Norwegian Aid Committee (NORWAC)

Ostensibly, NORWAC provides health-care services in partnership with the Palestinian Ministry of Health. However, since arriving in Gaza, NORWAC representative Dr. Mads Gilbert has repeatedly and falsely accused

Israel of deliberately targeting civilians and invoked a comparison with the 1982 events in Sabra and Shatila. Another NORWAC representative publicly voiced his suspicion that Israel used white phosphorous illegally and DIME weaponry in Gaza and claimed “the war launched by Israel has been targeting civilians in particular.” NORWAC Director-General Erik Fosse endorsed the “Gaza Freedom March” coordinated by the “International Coalition to End the Illegal Siege of Gaza,” which claims that the march is “part of a broader strategy to end the Israeli occupation by targeting nonviolently its flagrant violations of international law from the house demolitions and settlements to the curfews and torture.”

FUNDED BY: Norway

#### Norwegian Church Aid (NCA)

Following Hamas’ takeover of Gaza in 2006, NCA, along with NRC (see below) and NPA (see below), criticized the Norwegian government for “withdrawing economic support” to the “ Hamas government.” These groups claimed that “[i]t is difficult to see that Hamas in government position has acted in a way that should lead to the economic sanctions against the Palestinian government that these cuts in reality are.” The Stop the Wall Campaign in Norway lists NCA as one of its most important affiliates in the country. NCA partners with numerous politicized NGOs in Norway, Israel, and the Palestinian Authority.

FUNDED BY: Norway

#### Norwegian Confederation of Trade Unions (LO)

is listed as an affiliate of the Norwegian Stop the Wall Campaign. On January 8, 2009, LO condemned Israel’s “rocket attacks on Gaza and its invasion by land forces” and stated that “[a]ssaults and the killing of civilians cannot be defended.”

FUNDED BY: Norway

#### Norwegian People’s Aid

NPA is funded by both the Norwegian MFA and by NORAD; however, the organization claims that its work in “Palestine” is financed mainly by NORAD. In an e-mail, NORAD official Gunvor W. Skancke explained that MFA funding is intended for emergency operations and NORAD support is for long-term development work with Palestinian partners. In 2007, NPA received NOK 122,290,000 from NORAD for its global work. Skancke claimed that in 2007 NORAD provided NOK 20 million for Palestinian projects.

FUNDED BY: Norway

### Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC)

The Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) describes itself as “an independent humanitarian organization whose task is to assist and protect people who have been forced to flee their countries, or their homes within their country, due to war or conflict.” NRC “has been active in the Palestinian Territories since 2006,” “providing protection and humanitarian assistance to refugees and internally displaced persons.” Together with 28 other AIDA members, NRC was a signatory to a statement (date not specified), which “urge[s] all responsible parties including the State of Israel which remains the occupying power with ‘effective control’ of Gaza, to refrain from actions that collectively punish civilians.”

FUNDED BY: Norway

### Olof Palme International Center (OPC)

The Palme Center, established in 1992 by the Swedish Social Democratic Party and trade unions, promotes an overwhelmingly Palestinian narrative of the conflict. The Palme Center makes the absurd statement accusing Israel of “provok[ing] the al-Aqsa rising and the “Second Intifada,” “contribut[ing] to a chaotic security situation” in Gaza following the disengagement, and “disproportionate violence against civilians, unlawful executions and torture.” Only “Israeli attacks” are mentioned; Palestinian violence, including thousands of rocket attacks and internal violence, is ignored and accepted. The fighting in Gaza is also blamed on “the provocative Israeli occupation” alone.

FUNDED BY: Sweden

### Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs (PASSIA)

PASSIA claims to be an “Arab non-profit institution located in Jerusalem/Al-Quds with a financially and legally independent status.” Its website features a page entitled “SELECTED LINKS-Israel’s Apartheid Separation Wall,” and the organization has claimed that “successive Israeli governments have zealously and incessantly pursued ... the ‘Judaization’ of East Jerusalem... . They have shared their pursuit of this goal with various settler groups ... their motivation being both messianic and nationalistic in nature.” PASSIA is a member of the Palestinian NGO Network (PNGO), a leader of the “National Committee for the BDS Campaign.”

FUNDED BY: Finland

### Palestinian Centre for Human Rights (PCHR)

PCHR regularly refers to rocket attacks on Israeli civilians as “resistance.” PCHR is a leader in the “lawfare” strategy of exploiting universal jurisdiction statutes to bring cases against Israeli political and military officials for “war crimes” and “crimes against humanity.” PCHR alleged that almost 70 percent of all casualties in the Gaza war were civilian, including two senior Hamas military leaders, an unsubstantiated claim that was repeated in the media and in the Goldstone Report. PCHR’s figures have been independently disproven by several sources.

FUNDED BY: NDC, Denmark, Norway, EU

### Palestinian Medical Relief Society (PMRS)

PMRS uses loaded language to delegitimize Israel and perpetuate distrust. The president of the PMRS, Dr. Mustafa Barghouthi, referred to the Gaza conflict as a “horrendous massacre,” and used terms like “ghetto” and “apartheid” on a radio program. PMRS refers to the security barrier as the “apartheid Wall,” and claims that Israel employs a “racist ideology” and inflicts “collective punishment” on the Palestinians. All of these activities in support of the Palestinian position are inconsistent with the foundations of compromise and peace.

FUNDED BY: Sweden (Swedish Mission Council)

### Palestinian NGO Network (PNGO)

During the Gaza war, PNGO alleged that Israel’s goal was to “eras[e] the memory of resistance and struggle ... so Israel would be free to impose its goals, and instill a culture of obedience, and compliance with the occupying power.” PNGO called for a “war tribunal” and “reparations.” PNGO is a leader of the “National Committee for the BDS Campaign” and participates in “holding conferences,” “international advocacy,” and “media advocacy” in support of BDS.

FUNDED BY: NDC

### Palestinian Working Women Society for Development (PWWSO)

PWWSO “is engaged in resisting the Israeli occupation and all other forms of oppression and discrimination.” In an article entitled, “Avouch Your Legal and Human Responsibilities Towards Victimized Gaza,” PWWSO refers to “Israeli aggression” and “war crimes.”

### Parents Circle - Families Forum (PCFF)

Parents Circle was granted DKK 600,000 from the Danish government in 2006 for a project called “Building Trust

and Hope,” which aimed to “introduce Palestinians and Israelis to the idea of reconciliation through meetings with a joint Israeli and Palestinian facilitator team.” While Parents Circle’s activities are generally unbiased, leaders use this platform to attack Israeli policies and sponsor anti-Israeli-policy events.

FUNDED BY: Denmark

#### **Physicians for Human Rights-Israel (PHR-I)**

In July 2009, PHR-I activists provided first aid training to violent protesters at the security barrier near Bil’in with the political aim of showing “solidarity with the people who fight against the occupation and the building of the wall.” PHR-I engages in political campaigns including attacks against Israel’s Law of Return and the publishing of an article equating Israeli “settlers” to “self-exploding terrorists.” During the Gaza war, PHR-I accused Israel of using “extreme and disproportionate force ... against the population of Gaza” and of “targeting [] medical teams and aid convoys.” Dr. Yoram Blachar, president of the World Medical Association, criticized PHR-I as “a radical political group disguised as a medical organization.”

FUNDED BY: NDC, Sweden, EU

#### **Public Committee Against Torture in Israel (PCATI)**

PCATI claims to fight against torture and for prisoner rights. While extensively criticizing alleged Israeli abuses, the group has done virtually no campaigning to uphold the rights of Gilad Shalit, held incommunicado by Hamas since June 25, 2006 in flagrant violation of the Geneva Conventions. PCATI often lobbies in international forums to promote its one-sided, politicized agenda. PCATI leaders testified in Geneva in front of the UN’s fact-finding mission on the Gaza war, where they referred to Israel’s “unacceptable collective punishment” and to Palestinian “martyrs.”

FUNDED BY: NDC, Sweden, Norway, Finland, EU

#### **Peres Center for Peace**

The Peres Center for Peace was awarded DKK 4,020,000 from the Danish Foreign Ministry in 2006 for medical staff training that “is not otherwise provided to the Palestinians.”

FUNDED BY: Denmark, Norway

#### **Ramallah Center for Human Rights Studies**

The Center for Human Rights Studies issued a press release claiming that the center “[s]trongly condemns Israel’s

massacre of the civilian population and the willful attacks on educational institutions in the Gaza Strip.” The center also published a report referencing Israeli “collective punishment policy” and “war crimes.”

FUNDED BY: NDC

#### **Sabeel**

One 2008 Sabeel project, “The Nakba Memory, Reality and Beyond,” used SIDA funding (SEK 540,000) “to commemorate the Nakba of 1948, examine the current struggles for freedom, equality, and identity, and confront the continuing problems of the 1948 refugees”; “create a better understanding of the history of 1948, the Palestinian Nakba (Catastrophe);” and “create a stronger civil society informed and concerned about the Nakba and who will work proactively inside Israel ... on ... the situation of second class citizenship for Palestinians.” This rhetoric supports Palestinian rejection of compromise, and works against the peace process that the Swedish government claims to support. Sabeel is a leader of the church divestment campaign, and director Naim Ateek employs antisemitic themes and imagery in sermons promoting his “Palestinian Liberation Theology.”

FUNDED BY: Sweden (Diakonia)

#### **Union of Education Norway**

Union of Education Norway is listed among member organizations of the Norwegian “Riv Muren kampanjen” (“Tear-Down the Wall campaign”).

FUNDED BY: Norway

#### **Women’s Affairs Center**

WAC claims to “promote women’s rights and gender equality within the Palestinian society through capacity building, media and communication, video documentation, research and developmental clinic programs.” WAC programs focus on “violence against women,” the “image of Palestinian women in the media,” and “[w]omen’s political participation.” In contrast, WAC was active in condemning Israel during the Gaza conflict. In a statement about the Gaza war, WAC claimed that the “war has affected everything without taking the lives of the civilians and their safety into consideration.” WAC alleged that it “witnessed the civilians when being killed by the Israeli army especially the women and children.” WAC calls the war “brutal” and demands “trying Israel in a military court to punish Israel for being war criminal [sic].”

FUNDED BY: NDC

**Women's Center for Legal Aid and Counseling (WCLAC)**

WCLAC's stated vision is to "[e]xpos[e], locally and internationally, the practices of Israeli occupation violations against women's rights." WCLAC's other objectives include "development of legislation ... which support women and their rights" and to "Eradicate Negative Social Attitudes/ Practices Against Women." WCLAC also claims to have taken "280 cases to court" in 2007. WCLAC director wrote that Israel "us[ed] the threadbare pretext of 'retaliation against rockets propelled out of Gaza' resulting in the illegal and unforgivable destruction of civilian life and infrastructure ... The world prefers to see us as 'terrorists,' thus justifying the unjustifiable ... ." WCLAC alleges that Israel "targeted" "civilians and civilian buildings."

FUNDED BY: NDC, EU

**Women's Affairs Technical Committee (WATC)**

WATC's stated ideology is that "the social struggle for the full emancipation of all members of the Palestinian society ... must go hand in hand with the national struggle for the liberation of Palestine." A WATC newsletter asserts that "[t]he Israeli occupation has continued building its wall of apartheid and segregation." In a letter entitled "Stop Israeli Massacres and the Zionist aggressions on the Gaza Strip immediately," WATC falsely labeled the Gaza conflict "a war of extermination."

FUNDED BY: NDC, Sweden (Diakonia), EU

**Women for Life**

Women for Life claims to have been "the first popular committee to begin organizing against the Apartheid Wall in Salfit." Fatima Khaldi, the founder and director of this NGO, has referred to the IDF as the "Israeli occupation forces" and condemns American aid for the "illegal and immoral Apartheid Wall." Khaldi also claims to "reject Israeli violence and racism."

FUNDED BY: NDC

## Appendix III: Correspondence with Norwegian Officials on This Report

### 1) Norwegian Church Aid, received February 8, 2010

To: Naftali Balanson  
Managing Editor  
NGO Monitor

Cc: Atle Sommerfelt

Dear Naftali Balanson,

NCA have received the draft of your study. Our General Secretary has read it. I have to apologize for late feedback. With regards to the section written about NCA we can confirm that NCA is partnering with local churches and their diaconal institutions in Israel and the Palestinian occupied area as listed. Your study lists correctly the organizations we cooperated with in 2009. The support implies mainly assistance to Christian hospitals and schools that have provided quality care and education for decades.

NCA is working with Israelis and maintain cooperation with the Israeli organizations; Rabbis for Human Rights, Bat Shalom and the Israeli-Palestinian organization Parent Circle. We do not share your view that Bat Shalom has an “anti-Israel” agenda. Neither does EAPPI of the World Council of Churches. Bat Shalom is an Israeli feminist organization that seek to defend women’s rights and this may include criticizing their own government.

Please also note that the footnote is not linked to the document referred to. NCA is also quoted without source.

Best regards,

Vh,

Gudrun Bertinussen  
Programkoordinator, Midtøsten

2) Norwegian Ambassador to Israel, received February 4, 2010



ROYAL NORWEGIAN EMBASSY

NGO Monitor  
Att: Prof. Steinberg

Your ref.:

Our ref.:

Date:

4 February 2010

Dear Prof. Steinberg

Reference is made to your letter of 13 December 2009 and your email of 14 January 2010, regarding information about non-governmental organisations (NGOs) receiving funding from Norway.

In 2009 the following NGOs in Israel received Norwegian financial assistance: Gisha, Ir Amim, Machsom Watch, The Peres Center, ACRI, Geneva Initiative, Yesh Din, Hamoked, B'tselem, Peace Now, and Emek Shaveh.

In 2009 the following NGOs in the Palestinian Territory received Norwegian financial assistance: Sabreen, Association of Women Committees for Social Work, WLAC - Women Legal Aid Center, AMAN Coalition, PFPPA - Palestinian Family Planning and Protection Association, Juzoor Foundation for Health and Social Development, Maan - Maan Development Centre, MIFTAH - Palestinian Initiative for Promotion of Global Dialogue & Democracy, Palestinian Centre for Human Rights, Al-Dameer Association For Human Rights, Central Election Commission, Tamer Institute for Community Education, Palestinian Council on Foreign Relations, Al Haq, Pal Trade, Welfare Association, Yabous Cultural center, and Gaza Community Mental Health Program.

You will also find useful information about Norwegian funding to NGOs and governments in more than 110 countries on the following websites:  
[www.regjeringen.no/mfa](http://www.regjeringen.no/mfa)

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[www.ceagrants.no](http://www.ceagrants.no)

Yours sincerely

Vebjørn Dysvik  
Minister Counsellor

