

April 2008

EUROPE'S HIDDEN HAND

**EU Funding for Political NGOs
in the Arab-Israeli Conflict:**
Analyzing Processes and Impact

Gerald M. Steinberg

NGO MONITOR

NGO Monitor Monograph Series



The author wishes to thank Daniel Fink for assisting with the extensive research for this publication, as well as the other members of the NGO Monitor staff.

*13, Tel Hai St. Jerusalem 92107 Israel
Tel. +972-2-566-1020 Fax. +972-2-561-9112
www.ngo-monitor.org*

NGO Monitor was founded jointly with the Wechsler Family Foundation

Executive Summary

B

etween 2005 and 2007, the European Union provided tens of million Euros from public funds to numerous non-governmental organizations (NGOs), many of which are politically active in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

In addition to offering services, their reports are perceived as providing expert information to policy makers, journalists and others, and their campaigns have significant political impacts. These activities however, are often inconsistent with the stated objectives of both the NGOs and EU frameworks under which they are funded, including the use of funds ostensibly designated to promote peace, for pursuing political objectives which undermine the protection of human rights.

This detailed research documents the degree to which EU-funded NGOs exacerbate conflict and advance particular political agendas. Many of these groups participated in the NGO Forum of the 2001 Durban conference, and their reports and campaigns repeatedly refer to Israel as a “colonial entity”, and “racist and apartheid state”, while promoting boycotts, divestment and sanctions (BDS). Some EU-funded NGOs also consistently advocate a rejectionist Palestinian narrative of the conflict, erase the context of Palestinian terrorism, falsely accuse Israel of “war crimes” and seek to undermine Israel’s Jewish identity. Although EU funding formally goes to projects and not to the NGOs per se, this distinction is artificial. “Project funding” can be used for general NGO activities, campaigns, travel and publicity, all of which help promote the ideologies and interests of NGO officials. EU logos appear regularly on anti-Israel publications issued by these NGOs, providing the image of legitimacy.

This report also examines the limited transparency and accountability in EU funding for NGOs. Despite the tens of millions of Euros provided by taxpayers, there is no uniform framework or central database for obtaining information regarding which NGOs the European Commission¹ funds. Moreover, much of this funding information is unavailable or hidden beneath numerous bureaucratic layers. The various EC offices that do provide some information on NGO funding use different systems to display this data, making comparison and analysis particularly difficult. Although some EC officials cooperated in providing funding information to NGO

Monitor, the difficulty in obtaining this data reflects the lack of transparency. Some requests for specific funding information went unheeded.

In addition, the official guidelines by which the NGOs are selected to receive public funds are very vague, allowing for a high degree of individual preference and bias on the part of EC officials. These (often) anonymous officials and outside experts decide on the allocation of millions of Euros to highly political NGOs, yet are not subject to any external process of accountability. The absence of specific performance indicators to evaluate the impact of EU-funded NGO projects adds to the accountability deficit.

These conclusions are illustrated in detailed analyses of EU funding frameworks and processes, including EIDHR, PFP, and ECHO. Case studies of recipients -- Adalah, the Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Network (EMHRN), the Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions (ICAHN), the Applied Research Institute-Jerusalem (ARIJ) and Christian Aid -- explore the divergence between their activities and official EU guidelines.

The report concludes with recommendations on steps to improve the transparency and accountability of European Union funding for NGOs. These include creating a searchable database of NGO recipients with a standard format for viewing detailed funding information. We also recommend measures to evaluate biases and external factors which affect decision-making on NGO applications.

The need for transparency in NGO funding is particularly salient in the context of the preparations for the United Nations “Durban Review” conference scheduled for 2009. To avoid a repetition of the disastrous 2001 experience, particularly in the NGO Forum, the EC should adopt and implement clear guidelines precluding EU-funded NGOs from participating in activities that promote conflict, including calls for the destruction of a state or its national identity; support for divestment, boycotts and sanctions against Israel; advocacy of a “one state solution”, meaning the destruction of Israel, and other rhetoric which inflames hostilities.

¹ The European Commission (EC) is the executive body of the European Union. Its four main roles entail proposing legislation, managing and implementing EU policies and budget, enforcing European law and representing the European Union on the international stage. This report will refer to the EC regarding the decision-making apparatus of the EU. “European Union Institutions and other bodies: European Commission.” Europa. Accessed 6 February 2008.
http://europa.eu/institutions/inst/comm/index_en.htm

Table of Contents

| | |
|--|-----------|
| Introduction | 3 |
| The Political Power of NGOs in the European Political Space | 4 |
| EU Institutions that Fund Israeli and Palestinian NGOs | 7 |
| Table A: EU Offices Responsible for Disbursing Funding to NGOs Operating in the Arab-Israeli Conflict | 8 |
| EIDHR | 10 |
| The EMP (Partnership for Peace) | 10 |
| Directorate-General for Humanitarian Aid (ECHO) | 12 |
| Chart A: EU External Aid Structure to NGOs operating in Israel and the PA | 13 |
| The Illusion of Transparency in EU Funding for NGOs | 14 |
| The Formal Processes | 14 |
| The Informal Process | 14 |
| Funding Political NGOs: “Project” versus “Organization” | 16 |
| Absence of Evaluations | 18 |
| Case Studies on the Impact of EU Funding for Israeli and Palestinian NGOs | 19 |
| Adalah | 22 |
| Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Network (EMHRN) | 23 |
| Israeli Coalition Against House Demolitions (ICAHD) | 25 |
| Applied Research Institute-Jerusalem (ARIJ) | 26 |
| Christian Aid | 27 |
| Conclusions and Recommendations | 29 |
| Transparency – Creating a Comprehensive EU Database on NGO Funding | 29 |
| Re-Granting | 30 |
| Evaluation Indicators | 30 |
| Examining the NGO’s complete agenda | 30 |
| Red-lines for NGO Funding – Durban Review Conference 2009 | 30 |
| Appendix | 31 |

Introduction

EU Funding for Political NGOs in the Arab-Israeli Conflict: Analyzing Processes and Impact

The European Union, its twenty-seven member states, as well as Switzerland and Norway, are among the main supporters of dozens of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) involved in the intense political battles that accompany ongoing violence in the Arab-Israeli conflict. Millions of Euros (as well as British pounds and other currencies) are allocated every year to NGOs based in the Palestinian Authority (PA), Israel and Europe. These organizations, and the European government offices that work closely with them, proclaim goals related to advancing human rights, humanitarian assistance, peace, democracy, and development in the region. However, in many cases, NGO activities go far beyond these services, and contradict their mission statements, use the rhetoric of demonization that exacerbates conflict, and fail to advance prospects for peace, as shown in NGO Monitor's detailed analyses. EU-funded NGOs involved in these campaigns include Adalah, Mossawa, the Israel Committee Against House Demolitions (ICAHD), Christian Aid, Applied Research Institute Jerusalem (ARIJ), Euro Mediterranean Human Rights Network (EMHRN), and Miftah. The activities of some of these NGOs are examined in the case studies included in this report.

Despite the significant impact of these political NGOs on the conflict, there has been little systematic analysis of the extent and impact of EU funding in the region. This can be attributed to the major "transparency deficit" in EU funding mechanisms. It is very difficult to obtain comprehensive and up-to date information on which groups are funded by the EU, how decisions are made on the numerous applications for support, and which individuals are responsible for selecting NGOs. There is also little discussion of the accountability instruments (if any) used to evaluate the performance of EU-financed NGOs and programs.

This study will demonstrate that behind official administrative procedures, a small number of unnamed officials, outside advisors and experts working in diverse EC offices are often the central decision makers. With minimal accountability, they allocate large amounts of taxpayer funds to NGOs involved in promoting political campaigns that make fallacious claims against Israel and act contrary to donor governments' policies.

The analysis begins with a brief examination of the political power of NGOs, and Europe's conceptual framework that gives primacy to government support for civil society organizations (CSOs). The focus shifts to specific examples of EU funding for NGOs that operate in the Arab-Israeli conflict and proclaim human rights, development and conflict resolution objectives. After describing the funding and decision making processes, and examining the activities (as distinct from the claims) of the EU-sponsored NGOs as well as their impact on the conflict, we will present recommendations for European Union policy on these important issues.



The Political Power of NGOs in the European Political Space

N

GOs have become very important political actors worldwide, taking advantage of global communications and the growing acceptance of non-state and trans-state actors.² "Soft Power", in the form of large budgets, financed by government and private

sources and access to the media, propels their statements, reports, and campaigns which often set public agendas and influence policy.³ This is very apparent in the Arab-Israeli theatre (as NGO Monitor analyses clearly demonstrate). NGOs such as Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, FIDH (France), and International Commission of Jurists (Geneva), as well as networks such as EMHRN, also exert significant political influence in the conflicts in Sri Lanka, Colombia, Afghanistan, Iraq, and other regions.⁴

Europe has played a central role in supporting the growth, power and influence of NGOs and CSOs, which some analysts explain as a response to a history of state-centered authoritarianism. Against the background of fascism and the two World Wars, NGOs are seen as important defenders of democracy, government transparency, minorities and human rights norms. NGOs are portrayed (and portray themselves) as defenders of the weak against powerful governments and business interests. Thus, civil society, as a bulwark against the unrestricted power of governments, is a central dimension of European political and social ideology.⁵

However, with massive state funding and expansive self-defined mandates, which lack the checks and balances that limit state power, NGOs in Europe have become very powerful political actors, campaigning on environmental issues, globalization, and in particular, areas such as human rights, humanitarian assistance and international conflict.⁶ However, in contrast to the language of universal norms, these activities often promote private ideologies and narrow agendas, as will be demonstrated in detail below.

NGO officials use access and money to lobby and campaign for their agendas in the media, in parliaments (including the European Parliament), academic institutions, and other frameworks. Exemplifying the central role of "soft power", issues that NGO officials choose to emphasize in their public relations and advocacy campaigns receive significant attention in the European media, which translates into debates in international organizations such as the United Nations, on university campuses, and similar venues.⁷

In Europe, officials of powerful NGOs are also generally given the status of experts, given their perceived and often illusory "on the ground" experience. The website of the European Commission's Delegation to Israel declares, "The [European] Union values both the expertise which many organizations working to implement human rights possess, as well as their visibly high impact in the field of human rights."⁸ Positions taken by NGOs and their officials often reinforce each other and increase their collective

² Mathews, Jessica T. "Power Shift." *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 76 No.1 (1997): 50-66.

³ Nye Jr., Joseph S. *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. NY: Public Affairs, 2004.

⁴ Keck, Margaret and Kathryn Sikkink. *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. New York: Cornell University Press, 41. Ballesteros, Andres and Jorge A. Restrepo, Michael Spagat and Juan F. Vargas. "The Work of Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch: Evidence from Colombia." *Conflict Analysis Resource Center*. No. 4 (2007). Accessed 14 February 2008 www.cerac.org.co/pdf/CERAC_WP_4.pdf

⁵ "The NGO Discussion Paper: The Commission and NGOs: Building a Stronger Partnership." *European Commission*. 18 January 2000. Accessed 10 February 2008 http://ec.europa.eu/civil_society/ngo/index_en.htm

⁶ Slim, Hugo. "By What Authority? The Legitimacy and Accountability of Non-governmental Organizations." *International Council on Human Rights Policy* Jan 2002. Accessed 16 December 2007 <http://www.jha.ac/articles/a082.htm>

⁷ Steinberg, Gerald, "Civil Society, Intercultural Dialogue and Political Activism: Rethinking EMP Policies." *Intercultural Dialogue and Civilization: Translating Values into Actions*. Ed. Leonce Bekemans et al. Venice: Marsilio, 2007.

⁸ "European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights." *European Commission Delegation to Israel*. Accessed 6 February 2008 http://www.delisr.ec.europa.eu/english/content/cooperation_and_funding/4.asp

influence. And with little critical review, they are assumed to be credible sources for journalists, diplomats and policy makers in the UN, US, EU and other Western democracies. According to John Boli and George Thomas, NGOs act:

*as if they were authorized in the strongest possible terms. They make rules and expect them to be followed; they plead their views with states. . .and express moral condemnation when their pleas go unheeded; they formulate codes of ethics and endow them with sufficient legitimacy to ensure that flagrant violators will lose standing in the relevant community.*⁹

Their perceived expertise notwithstanding, the methodology that these “experts” use, both to obtain information and to apply it to promote specific agendas, is rarely examined. As Robert Blitt observes in his analysis of NGOs, “HROs [Human Rights Organizations] deal in a unique commodity—“human rights”—which elicits instinctive support amongst the general public, yet is also easily subject to manipulation.”¹⁰ Although the documentation of human rights abuses should result from sophisticated and difficult research work, Blitt concludes that, “the collection at one central office of information from many disparate sources, ‘including families and friends of human rights victims. . .political parties, released prisoners, and other repressed groups’ means that ‘sources of raw data [may be] of extremely diverse reliability.’”¹¹ As will be demonstrated below, major

international human rights organizations often have very small research staffs,¹² and instead rely on local NGOs and uncorroborated “eyewitness accounts”. These observers often take partisan positions in the conflict, and promote their views and ideology by removing context, including the use of unverifiable and even false claims.¹³

While many of these shortcomings can be applied generally to EU-funded NGOs active in the political sphere, the effect is particularly pronounced in the framework of the Arab-Israeli conflict.¹⁴ Ideologically, NGO officials are at the forefront of the European intellectual emphasis on the transcendence of the nation state, which reinforces the dominant post-colonialist ideology in delegitimizing Israel, Zionism and the Jewish right to self-determination. Josef Joffe describes this phenomenon as follows:

*To regain moral stature, Europeans have turned anti-fascism into a doctrine of worldly transcendence, with a secular decalogue that reads, in part: thou shalt not pray to the discredited gods of nationalism; thou shalt not practice power politics; thou shalt relinquish sovereignty and rejoice in cooperation. From this moral stand it is but a short, tricky step to redemption's darker side. Do not the Israelis, of all people, behave in the evil ways we have transcended? Well, then, are we not better than those who so gratefully remind us of our unworthy past?*¹⁵

⁹ Boli, John and George Thomas. “INGOs and the Organization of World Culture.” *Constructing World Culture*. Ed. J. Boli and G. Thomas. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999.
<http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article.php?id=805>

¹⁰ Blitt, Robert Charles. “Who Will Watch the Watchdogs? Human Rights Non-Governmental Organizations and the Case for Regulation.” *Buffalo Human Rights Law Review* Vol. 10 (2004).

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ehrlich, Michael. “Amnesty International -- Do Your Homework.” *Jerusalem Post* 2 June 2005. Accessed 10 February 2008
<http://www.jpost.com/servlet/Satellite?pagename=JPost/JPArticle/Printer&cid=1117594048704&p=1006953079865>

¹³ For information on NGO reporting and uncorroborated eye-witness accounts see http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/_ngo_campaigns_in_the_lebanon_war; and Ballesteros, Andres and Jorge A. Restrepo, Michael Spagat and Juan F. Vargas. “The Work of Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch: Evidence from Colombia.” *Conflict Analysis Resource Center*. No. 4 (2007). Accessed 14 February 2008
www.cerac.org.co/pdf/CERAC_WP_4.pdf

¹⁴ This trend is not limited to Europe -- the United States Department of State regularly relies on information provided by NGOs in “Country Reports on Human Rights Practices.” See “Appendix A: Notes on Preparation of the Country Reports and Explanatory Notes.” *United States Department of State*. 6 March 2007 Accessed 21 February 2008.
<http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2006/78910.htm>; and

“Comparative Analysis of the US Department of State’s Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for the years 2004 and 2005.” *NGO Monitor*. 21 April 2006. Accessed 12 February 2008.

<http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article.php?id=805>

¹⁵ Joffe, Josef, “The Demons of Europe.” *Commentary* January 2004.

As a result, the EU has provided support for many NGOs that campaign in favor of the so-called “one-state solution” (or a bi-national state) that seeks to erode the legitimacy of Israel as a Jewish state. Examples from ICAHD, Mossawa and Adalah can be found in the case studies below. These themes were also central in the NGO Forum of the 2001 UN World Conference Against Racism and Xenophobia, known as the Durban Conference. At Durban, at least 4000 representatives from an estimated 1500 organizations, many of which received European funding, adopted a final statement that declared Israel to be a “racist” and “apartheid” state, and created the foundation for the campaign of boycotts, divestment, and sanctions (BDS), designed to delegitimize the Jewish state, largely using the language of human rights and international law.¹⁶ As Alvin Rosenfeld has noted, “to accuse [Israel] of fostering South African-style apartheid rule or engaging in ethnic cleansing or wholesale genocide goes well beyond legitimate criticism.”¹⁷ Robert Wistrich charges that those who repeat the mantra “that brands Zionism as a racist, apartheid, colonialist, and imperialist movement, [are] reviving a stigma that has anti-Semitic echoes on a European continent still grappling with the guilt of its genocidal and colonial past.”¹⁸ And a detailed empirical study by Edward Kaplan and Charles Small demonstrates that extreme criticism of Israel, and use of terms like “apartheid”, is correlated with and often “a mask for underlying anti-Semitism.”¹⁹

Similarly, in the “Working Definition of Antisemitism”, the EU’s Monitoring Center on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) states that “Denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination (e.g. by claiming that the existence of a State of Israel is a racist endeavor); and applying double standards by requiring of it a behavior not expected or demanded of any other democratic nation” are “examples of the ways in which anti-Semitism manifests itself with regard to the state of Israel taking into account the overall context”.²⁰

Thus, the application of double standards by EU-funded NGOs towards Israel by ignoring the responsibility of Palestinians and their leadership has negative implications. In the *Journal of Human Rights*, Don Habibi concludes, “The claim of holding Israel to a higher standard...insinuates that its adversaries are less developed politically and morally, as if this excuses their transgressions on human rights. It implies that Arabs and Muslims are not accountable to the same universal principles—that they are not equals. It suggests that they are either backwards, immature, or uncivilized—and thus not responsible for their actions.”²¹

Palestinian analysts have also been critical of extensive funding for NGOs, albeit for its negative implications in non-democratic societies. Amaney Jamal’s book, “Barriers to Democracy”, exposes the “corruption, patronage, and clientalism”, that resulted from NGO funding and the policies by which the Fatah faction and Palestinian Authority sought to control NGO activities, particularly under Arafat. He notes that the powerful “professional, Western-funded organizations” linked to this power-elite received funding for activities, and that “once its specific program was executed, such an organization most likely never saw its workshop participants again.”²² Western (and European) funded-NGOs that pursued some independence were accused by Palestinian Authority officials of “complicity with the West”.²³

In the following section, we examine EU funding for NGOs that pursue highly political activities that stand in opposition to both the promotion of human rights, and to the EU’s official external policy objectives. This analysis includes the complex and opaque grant-making process, as well as the implications of the large scale EU funding for these political NGOs within the context of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

¹⁶ Steinberg, Gerald M. “Soft Powers Play Hardball: NGOs Wage War against Israel.” *Israel Affairs* October 2006: 748-768.

¹⁷ Rosenfeld, Alvin H. “Progressive” Jewish Thought and the New Anti-Semitism.” American Jewish Committee, New York, 2006; see also the “Report of the All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism,” UK All-Party Parliamentary Group Against Antisemitism, Westminster, September 2006.

¹⁸ Wistrich, Robert. “Anti-Zionism and Anti-Semitism.” *Jewish Political Studies Review* Vol. 16 (2004).

¹⁹ Kaplan, Edward H. and Charles A. Small. “Anti-Israel Sentiment Predicts Anti-Semitism in Europe.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. Vol. 50 No. 4 (2006).

²⁰ <http://eumc.europa.eu/eumc/material/pub/AS/AS-WorkingDefinition-draft.pdf>

²¹ Habibi, Don. “Human Rights and Politicized Human Rights: A Utilitarian Critique.” *Journal of Human Rights* Vol. 6 (2007).

²² Jamal, Amaney A. *Barriers to Democracy: The Other Side of Social Capital in Palestine and the Arab World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007.

²³ Ibid.

EU Institutions that Fund Israeli and Palestinian NGOs

F

or the European Union, the Middle East (or Southern Mediterranean)²⁴ has been a central foreign policy focus for many years. A major effort has been made to coordinate policy-making among the members, and to speak with one voice on critical issues, particularly with respect to the Arab-Israeli conflict and efforts to reach a peaceful and stable settlement.²⁵ As a result of this focus, the EU has been the single largest financier of the Palestinian Authority (PA) since it was created under the “Oslo Peace Process” in 1993, providing over €2.3 billion by the end of 2005.²⁶ Beyond the direct budgetary support for the PA, the European Commission allocates funds to UNWRA and the Temporary International Mechanism (TIM), established in 2006, in the aftermath of Hamas’ victory in the Palestinian elections.²⁷

The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP), also known as the Barcelona Process, is another manifestation of the EU’s emphasis on this region. Participating states outside the EU extend from North Africa to Egypt, Israel, Jordan and Syria. The EMP was conceived as a “wide framework of political, economic and social relations between the Member States of the European Union and Partners of the Southern Mediterranean.”²⁸ Created in 1995, the EMP’s mandate encourages “rapprochement between peoples” through “exchanges between civil society.” The result is large scale EU funding of numerous NGOs operating in the Middle East, via a number of mechanisms, as seen in Table A:

²⁴ The definitions of the areas involved depend on the specific EU program and objectives, and often vary in order to encompass some member states while omitting others.

²⁵ Calleya, Stephen. *Evaluating Euro-Mediterranean Relations*. London: Routledge, 2005.

²⁶ “Overview of EU Relations with the Palestinians.” *European Commission Technical Assistance Office West Bank/Gaza*. Accessed 10 February 2008
http://www.delwbg.ec.europa.eu/en/eu_and_palestine/overview.htm

²⁷ “Temporary International Mechanism.” *European Commission Technical Assistance Office for the West Bank and Gaza Strip*. Accessed 21 February 2007
http://www.delwbg.ec.europa.eu/en/tim/tim_in.htm

²⁸ “Euro-Mediterranean Partnership/Barcelona Process.” *The European Commission*. Accessed 10 February 2008
http://ec.europa.eu/external_relations/euomed/

table A:

EU Offices Responsible for Disbursing Funding to NGOs Operating in the Arab-Israeli Conflict

| EU office | Type of grants | Example NGO recipients | Location of funding decisions, and grant management |
|---|---|---|---|
| The European Commission's Humanitarian Office (ECHO) | Humanitarian aid (30-40% of aid directed via NGOs) | 2007 recipient NGOs include Oxfam (UK), Medical Aid for Palestinians (UK) and Medicine du Monde (France). | Local officials review applications which are sent to Brussels for selection and management. |
| The European Commission's Europe Aid Co-Operation Office (DG AIDCO) | Development Grants given to NGOs via the European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR), the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership for Peace (PfP), and Co-Financing | PfP recipients include ICAHD, ARIJ, Machsom Watch. EIDHR recipients include Adalah, HaMoked, Mossawa, New Israel Fund (NIF). Co-financing recipients include Christian Aid and CARE International (UK). | Macro-Projects (over €100,000) selected by a committee in Brussels, and managed by local delegation. Micro-Projects, selected and managed separately by local EC delegations (either the EC Delegation to Israel, or the EC Technical Assistance Office (ECTAO) for the West Bank and Gaza) |

For more on ECHO recipients see:

"Medecins du Monde." *NGO Monitor*. 9 July 2007. Accessed 10 February 2008

http://www.ngomonitor.org/article/french_government_funding_of_political_ngos; and

"Medical Aid for Palestinians (MAP) – An EU-funded Political NGO" *NGO Monitor*. 22 May 2004.

Accessed 10 February 2008

http://www.ngomonitor.org/article/medical_aid_for_palestinians_map_an_eu_funded_politicalngo

The EU's interaction with NGOs occurs through a number of separate institutions located in different parts of the world. The European Commission's Humanitarian Office (ECHO) is based in Brussels; the European Commission's Delegation to Israel, which manages EU grants to Israeli NGOs, is in Tel Aviv; and the European Commission Technical Assistance Office (ECTAO) for the West Bank and Gaza distributes funds to Palestinian NGOs and is based in Jerusalem. The European Commission office in Amman manages funding for Palestinian NGOs operating in Jordan (see section on the Partnership for Peace program, page 10). Each office has its own staff and budget, and the processes and instruments by which NGOs are selected and funded are similar (despite important differences in Israeli and Palestinian political and social frameworks).

A significant portion of EU funding for NGOs is disbursed through the European Commission's Europe Aid Co-Operation Office (DG AIDCO),²⁹ AIDCO's grants are officially designed to promote democracy, development, forums and exchanges for mutual trust, as well as more specific peacemaking initiatives. The website of the EC Delegation to Israel states, "The budget for human rights and democratization activities of the European Union is aimed mainly at NGOs."³⁰ This approach reflects a widespread European belief that support for NGOs is important in advancing these goals, and which does not distinguish between democratic and non-democratic societies.

Under this framework, NGOs active in the Arab-Israeli conflict region receive grants through the European

Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR), and the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership for Peace (PfP). Until 2008, grants were also distributed to NGOs with headquarters in the European Union under a framework known as "co-financing". These grants (see table 8, page 45), in amounts between €500,000 and €1 million, were advertised through periodic calls for proposals (CfPs) focusing on the objective of poverty reduction.³¹ The process of selecting NGOs for co-financing is not included in the purview of this report, as it has been replaced by a new thematic program called "Non-state actors and local authorities in development", which seeks to reduce poverty in the context of sustainable development, including the pursuit of the UN's Millennium Development Goals.³² (Some NGOs are also supported through the EMP's Cultural Activities program, but their focus is not human rights or humanitarian aid, and they are not included in this report.)

Supplemental European National Funding for NGOs

In addition to EU funding, many individual European countries provide separate support, often to the same NGOs, through their national development agencies, such as the Department for International Development³³ (UK), Ministry for Foreign Affairs Development Cooperation³⁴ (Finland), Swiss Agency for Development & Cooperation³⁵ (Switzerland), Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD-Norway)³⁶, and Development Cooperation Directorate (Ireland)³⁷. [The examination of the processes and political impacts of these sources of NGO funding is also beyond the scope of this study, but can be found in reports on the NGO Monitor website.]

²⁹ "Supporting Civil Society and Local Authorities." European Union External Cooperation Programmes. Accessed 10 February 2008 http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/where/worldwide/index_en.htm

³⁰ "European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights." European Commission Delegation to Israel. Accessed 10 February 2008 http://www.delisr.ec.europa.eu/english/content/cooperation_and_funding/4.asp

³¹ Conversation with ECTAO official, 17 December 2007.

³² "Non state actors and local authorities-at the grassroots." European Commission External Cooperation Programmes. Accessed 10 February 2008 http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/where/worldwide/civil-society/index_en.htm

³³ "DFID." NGO Monitor. Accessed 10 February 2008 http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/uk_department_for_international_development_dfid_

³⁴ "Finland - Ministry for Foreign Affairs Development Cooperation (FDC)." NGO Monitor. Accessed 10 February 2008 http://www.ngomonitor.org/article/finland_ministry_for_foreign_affairs_development_cooperation_fdc_

³⁵ "Switzerland." NGO Monitor. Accessed 10 February 2008 http://www.ngomonitor.org/article/switzerland_swiss_agency_for_development_cooperation_sdc

³⁶ "Norway - Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation- Norwegian Representative Office to the PA and the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs." NGO Monitor. Accessed 10 February 2008 http://www.ngomonitor.org/article/norway_norwegian_agency_for_development_cooperation_norwegian_representative_office_to_the_pa_and_the_norwegian_ministry_of_foreign_affairs

³⁷ "Ireland." NGO Monitor. Accessed 10 February 2008 <http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/ireland>

EIDHR

The European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (formerly, the EU Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights) is the main global framework under which the European Commission disperses funds “to promote human rights, democracy and conflict prevention in third countries by providing financial assistance for activities supporting these goals.”³⁸ EIDHR’s annual budget is approximately €120 million.³⁹ Funding for local (non-European) NGOs is a central component of EIDHR strategy, and in 2006, sixty one percent of EIDHR allocations went to NGOs.⁴⁰ Unlike other European Commission aid and development programs, EIDHR funds can be provided without a host government’s consent, including in the case of democratic societies such as Israel (see discussion on foreign funding for NGOs in democratic societies on page 11).

EIDHR funds “macro-projects” and “micro-projects”, which are awarded on the basis of applications submitted in response to periodic Calls for Proposals. Awards for micro-projects are generally under €100,000, while macro projects allocations can reach €1 million.⁴¹ Macro-projects are initially evaluated and selected by a committee in Brussels, but are managed by the delegation in whose territory the project is undertaken. Micro-projects, in contrast, are selected and managed separately by local EU delegations.

While public accounting of EIDHR NGO allocations is confusing and inconsistent (published figures often cover

different time periods – see the tables in this report, page 32 onwards), according to the data available, over €4 million was disbursed to thirty-four Israeli and Palestinian NGO projects between September 2005 and October 2006.⁴² Of this total, Palestinian NGOs received €1.2 million for micro-projects from the 2005 budget (see Table 1, page 32).⁴³ In December 2007, €701,661 was allocated to Palestinian NGOs under EIDHR micro-projects.⁴⁴ Macro EIDHR grants to NGOs executing projects in the PA totaled €3,053,249 between 2004 and 2006.⁴⁵

The EMP Partnership for Peace (PfP)

The second main EU instrument for funding NGOs, is the Partnership for Peace (PfP), which operates under the framework of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership, also known as the “Barcelona Process”. The PfP awards contracts to Israeli, Palestinian and Jordanian NGOs, in a process that is jointly decided and managed by EC offices in Tel Aviv, Amman, and Jerusalem.⁴⁶ Unlike EIDHR, which awards funds to Palestinian and Israeli NGOs separately and through the respective delegations, the PfP operates through a unified framework, with an annual budget between €5 and 10 million.⁴⁷ According to European Commission data, €8.5 million was disbursed to twenty-eight NGOs in July 2006 (under the 2005 budget).⁴⁸ In 2005, €7.4 million was disbursed to twenty-one NGOs (under the 2004 budget).⁴⁹ Project allocations varied from €60,000 to €500,000. (As of January 2008, the 2006 budget year allocations had not been completed.)

³⁸ “European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights.” [European Commission Delegation to Israel](http://www.delisr.ec.europa.eu/english/content/cooperation_and_funding/4.asp). Accessed 10 February 2008

³⁹ “Press Release: Benita Ferrero-Waldner European Commissioner for External Relations and European Neighbourhood Policy Remarks on Democracy Promotion: The European Way.” [European Union](http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=SPEECH/06/790&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN), 7 December 2006. Accessed 10 February 2008

⁴⁰ PowerPoint presentation - “EU Human Rights Policy and Instruments: From Policy to Assistance.” [European Commission Technical Assistance Delegation](http://www.delwbg.cec.eu.int/en/cooperatio_development/docs/from_policy_assistance.ppt). Veronique Heckmann and Yasmine Rockenfeller. Location and date unavailable

⁴¹ Correspondence with EU official, 11 December 2007.

⁴² This sum includes NGOs operating in Israel that received contracts for macro and micro projects and NGOs operating in the PA that received contract for micro projects.

“European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights.” [European Commission’s Delegation to Israel](http://www.delisr.ec.europa.eu/english/content/cooperation_and_funding/4.asp). Accessed 10 February 2008

⁴³ Given the lengthy selection and evaluation process, contracts are often signed with NGOs after the end of the budget year.

⁴⁴ “Grant Contracts.” [European Commission’s Technical Assistance Delegation](http://www.delwbg.cec.europa.eu/en/funding/grant.htm). Accessed 10 February 2008

⁴⁵ Amounts are based on data published EIDHR website
“Democracy and Human Rights: Projects.” [European External Relations Programs](http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/where/worldwide/eidhr/projects_en.htm). Accessed 18 February 2008

⁴⁶ “EU Partnership for Peace Programme.” [European Commission Delegation to Israel](http://www.delisr.ec.europa.eu/english/content/cooperation_and_funding/3.asp). Accessed 10 February 2008

⁴⁷ “EU Partnership for Peace Programme.” [European Commission Delegation to Israel](http://www.delisr.ec.europa.eu/english/content/cooperation_and_funding/3.asp). Accessed 18 February 2008

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

Repeating the European faith in the power of NGOs, European Commissioner for External Relations (AIDCO head) Benita Ferrero-Waldner declared that the overall objective of the PfP is to

*provide a solid foundation at civil society level for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East by strengthening and increasing direct civil society relationships and cooperation based on equality and reciprocity between Palestinians/Arabs and Israelis, including Arab Palestinian minority in Israel.*⁵⁰

The Problems of Foreign Funding for NGOs in Democratic Societies

EU policies for funding political NGOs under the EMP do not distinguish between Israel as a democracy and the very different Palestinian political system. NGOs are not accountable to the electorate, and in cases of thriving participatory democracies such as Israel, foreign funding of politically active NGOs can be seen as an attempt to manipulate the internal democratic process.⁵¹ The problem is recognized in the academic literature on the politics of civil society. For example, Michael Barnett and Martha Finnemore point out that, “In a representative democracy, laws should be made by consensus, with reference to the people. These groups [NGOs] use participation as a non-consensual means to regulate the activities of citizens and business.”⁵²

The EU, in contrast, makes no such distinction. For example, the PfP funds the H.L. Education for Peace Ltd, an NGO that was created explicitly to market the so-called “Geneva Initiative”.⁵³ Headed by former Meretz Party leader Yosi Beilin, this group seeks to “encourage the Israeli public and policy environment to support a negotiated permanent status agreement ... in the new political context of a Hamas majority in the Palestinian Parliament.”⁵⁴ EU intervention in the highly disputed issue of negotiations with Hamas raises serious questions regarding foreign influence in internal democratic processes. If this NGO was to become a vocal force in Israeli politics, politicians would be held informally accountable to the EU, rather than to the Israeli public.

Furthermore, Ferrero-Waldner’s emphasis on supporting NGOs from the “Arab Palestinian minority in Israel” is reflected in EU funding for groups such as Adalah and Mossawa. As shown in the case studies that follow, these NGOs support a Palestinian political agenda, including the “one state solution”, meaning the abolition of the State of Israel as a Jewish state. Such funding for distinctly partisan and political causes represents a misunderstanding of Israeli democracy and is inconsistent with the claim of supporting peace, “equality and reciprocity”.

However, many of the NGOs funded under the PfP program are also involved in political campaigning that is inconsistent with these lofty objectives. For example, in a September 2005 publication headlined

⁵⁰ “Parliamentary Questions.” European Parliament. 13 October 2006. Accessed 6 February 2006
http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sidesSearch/sipadeMapUrl.do?PROG=QP&SORT_ORDER=DA&S_REF_QP=%25&S_RANK=%25&F_MI_TEXT=paul+van+buitenen&ML_TEXT=paul+van+buitenen&LEG_ID=6&L=EN

⁵¹ Barnett, Michael N. and Martha Finnemore. “The Politics, Power and Pathologies of International Organization.” International Organization Vol. 53. No. 4 (1999): 699-732.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ “Accord Principles.” The Geneva Accord. Accessed 14 February 2008
<http://www.geneva-accord.org/HomePage.aspx?FolderID=11&lang=en>

⁵⁴ The NGO funded to execute this project is “H.L. Education for Peace Ltd.,” which received €278,877, under a PfP contract in 2006.

“Apartheid is alive: The confinement of ‘Anata and Shu’ufat refugee camp in an enclave”, ARIJ, an EU Pfp-funded Palestinian NGO focused on the Israeli separation barrier, which, it claims “constitutes a crime of Apartheid, were (sic) ‘apartheid is a crime against humanity and that inhuman acts resulting from the policies and practices of apartheid and similar policies and practices of racial segregation and discrimination...constit[ute] a serious threat to international peace and security.”⁵⁵ As will be shown in the case studies below, there are many additional examples.

Directorate-General for Humanitarian Aid (ECHO)

Established in 1992, the Directorate-General for Humanitarian Aid (DG ECHO) is the European Commission’s primary instrument for funding large-scale humanitarian aid projects covering healthcare, psycho-social support, clean water, sanitation, shelter rehabilitation and protection, as well as measures to boost employment and self-sufficiency. Unlike Pfp and EIDHR, ECHO only supports projects executed by UN agencies, the Red Cross/Crescent framework, and NGOs based in Europe that have signed the EC Framework Partnership Agreement.⁵⁶ According to ECHO’s Annual Review entitled “Meeting Vital Needs”, in 2006 the EC allocated €50 million to ECHO projects executed in the PA.⁵⁷ In July, an additional €34 million was allocated to the “Palestinian Population”. The published information does not specify the percentage given to Palestinians living in the PA, or the names of partner NGOs operating in the PA.⁵⁸ (The EC would only provide NGO Monitor with the names of European NGOs funded under ECHO).

In 2007, ECHO distributed €43 million⁵⁹ to twenty-two European NGOs (see Table 9, page 46) including Oxfam (based in the UK); Medical Aid for Palestinians⁶⁰ (also based

in the UK); and Medicine du Monde⁶¹ (France).⁶² Although some of these ECHO-funded NGOs provide important humanitarian services in the PA, their highly partisan political activities undermine the EU’s stated objectives in the region. In their reports, advertisements, websites, and in other ways, these NGOs often articulate highly biased versions of events, and ignore violence against Israel. As will be documented below, these NGOs use some of their funding, (including EU money to support NGOs that are centrally involved in the political conflict between Israel and the Palestinians) under the guise of international development.

ECHO disburses funds annually, (although ad hoc allocations are made to NGOs in the event of emergency humanitarian situations.) The funding process for Palestinian activities begins with annual “sector reviews” involving NGOs active in the areas of health care, sanitation, food security, and other dimensions of humanitarian aid. Following this review, NGOs can submit concept papers describing projects they propose to undertake in a specific sector. These proposals are initially evaluated by ECHO officials in the local delegation (the Tel Aviv office and ECTAO) and are then forwarded to ECHO headquarters in Brussels. Officials from ECHO A2, the unit responsible for the Middle East and Caucasus, review the proposal a second time.

According to EU officials contacted for this report, decisions to fund specific projects are made by this office “collectively”, but requests for specific information and guidelines were not answered.⁶³ Therefore, there is no way to assess the merits of the process, and the degree to which non-professional and political factors might influence the decisions of these individuals. This is an example of the absence of transparency and accountability in EU funding mechanisms for NGOs active in the Arab-Israeli conflict zone.

⁵⁵ “Apartheid is alive: The confinement of ‘Anata and Shu’ufat refugee camp in an enclave.” *Monitoring Israeli Colonization Activities in the Palestinian Territories: ARIJ and Land Resource Center*. 8 September 2005. Accessed 11 February 2008.

http://www.poica.org/editor/case_studies/view.php?recordID=661

⁵⁶ The FPA defines the roles and responsibilities in the implementation of humanitarian operations financed by the European Community. Signatories can be accessed at:

http://ec.europa.eu/echo/pdf_files/fpa_partners.pdf

⁵⁷ “Annual Review 2006, Meeting Vital Needs.” *ECHO*. 2006. Accessed 13 February 2008

ec.europa.eu/echo/pdf_files/annual_reviews/2006_en.pdf

⁵⁸ The initial contract was signed for €32.164.600

⁵⁹ “How is the European Commission responding to the needs of the Palestinians.” *European Union Press Release*. 17 December 2007. Accessed 21 February 2008

<http://www.europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=MEMO/07/589&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

⁶⁰ “MAP” *NGO Monitor*. 22 May 2004. Accessed 18 February 2008

http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/medical_aid_for_palestinians_uk

⁶¹ “Medecins du Monde.” *NGO Monitor*. 9 July 2007. Accessed 18 February 2008

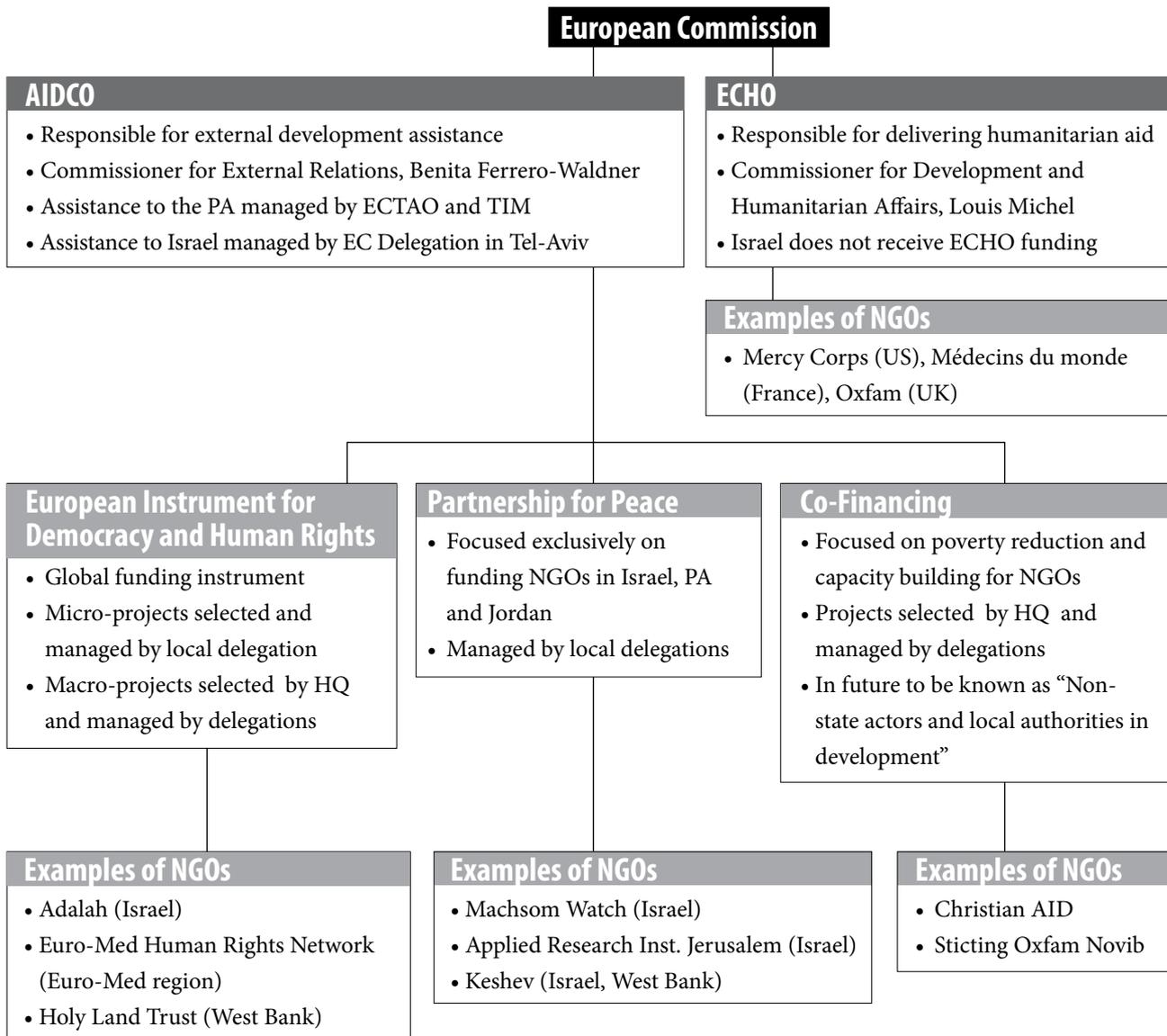
http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/french_government_funding_of_political_ngos

⁶² This list of NGOs funded under ECHO was provided in communication from an EC official. E-mail to the author. 11 January 2008.

⁶³ Limited information regarding the process by which ECHO selects and funds NGOs was provided in an email exchange with an ECHO official in ECTAO, 11 January 2007.

Chart A:

EU External Aid Structure to NGOs operating in Israel and the PA



The Illusion of Transparency in EU Funding for NGOs

T

The Formal Processes

The formal EIDHR and PfP procedures for funding NGOs are very similar. The annual cycle begins with the publication of broad “Calls for Proposals” (CfP) on the websites of the European Commission’s offices in Tel-Aviv and Jerusalem. They are also distributed through personal contacts between NGO leaders and EU officials working in this area.⁶⁴ NGOs submit detailed applications, describing the specific project and how it will address the goals and objectives of the CfP. Applications require a synopsis of the project’s objectives, the duration of the program, and the project’s relevance to the CfP. In general, for each cycle of applications, the EC receives up to 200 proposals.

The PfP proposals are evaluated by EC officials in their regional offices in Tel Aviv, Jerusalem or Amman. For EIDHR macro-project applications, the evaluation and selection is made by EC officials in Brussels. After a technical review of an NGO’s administrative status (confirmation that the application is received before the deadline and that all necessary information is included), the evaluation committee reviews its “concept note”, which summarizes the NGO’s project. At this stage, the project’s relevance, methodology and sustainability, as well as the applicant’s expertise and operational capacity are formally considered. Under the PfP, the concept note is evaluated by a committee comprised of a non-voting EC official, a secretary, and three voting members representing the regional offices, which give each project a specific score. Provisionally selected applicants are then asked to submit additional legal documents pertaining to their budgets and registration. Officials examine the project proposal in isolation, and explicitly exclude any information related to the other political activities in which the NGO is engaged. The final stage of the evaluation process is undertaken by the authorizing officer, a local EC delegation official

responsible for signing the contract with an NGO on behalf of the Commission. In the case of EIDHR macro-projects, the decision to award a contract is made by an authorizing officer in Brussels, and the contract is then signed by a local authorizing officer in Israel or the PA.

The Informal Process

Because funding decisions for NGOs are made by a small group of individuals in the EU bureaucracy, (as is often the case in complex structures), transparency is affected.⁶⁵ Decision-makers are generally anonymous, and much of the process of distinguishing among and prioritizing the 200 applications is hidden. There are no mechanisms for the public (European, Israeli, or Palestinian) to follow or understand the process, applications are not available for the public’s review, and no external party has access to the information necessary to challenge the EU’s judgment. As a result, the rationale for awarding large grants to some groups that pursue partisan political goals that are inconsistent with stated EU objectives and universal human rights, such as Adalah, Mossawa, ICAHD, Christian AID and ARIJ, is unclear.

In this context, it should be noted that NGO officials and EC representatives responsible for funding are often in close social and professional contact. As international studies experts Leon Gordenker (Princeton) and Thomas Weiss (CUNY) write, “NGOs are based upon interpersonal ties and relationships among people with similar convictions, goals and interests. The result is a web of personal connections that do not fit within a formal, legal framework.”⁶⁶ Without transparency in the decision making, the influence of these personal, social, ideological or political ties in the decision-making process cannot be established. This lack of transparency and “the dearth of accountability” in the NGO funding process is a general condition,⁶⁷ and its application to European Union processes is difficult to discern. But the intense political environment

⁶⁴ CfP’s under the Partnership for Peace are published on the website of the EC Delegation to Jordan.

⁶⁵ Blau, Peter M. and Richard W. Scott. *Formal Organizations: A Comparative Approach*. Stanford: Stanford Business Books, 2003.

⁶⁶ L. Gordenker and T.G. Weiss. *Pluralizing Global Governance: Analytical Approaches and Dimensions in NGOs, The UN, And Global Governance*. Ed. T. G. Weiss and L. Gordenker. 1996.

⁶⁷ Blitt, Robert Charles. “Who Will Watch the Watchdogs? Human Rights Non-Governmental Organizations and the Case for Regulation.” *Buffalo Human Rights Law Review* Vol. 10 (2004).

of the Arab-Israeli conflict and significant EU funding for political NGOs highlights these dimensions.

Until 2005, funding from the European Union for Israeli and Palestinian NGOs was not readily accessible.⁶⁸ This serious transparency deficit has been partially remedied through the publication of the names of Israeli NGOs that receive allocations under Pfp and EIDHR on EC delegation websites. Some information regarding EU co-financing grants is also available, but remains difficult to obtain.

In addition, information regarding NGO “re-granting” is also unavailable. Under the Pfp, NGOs are able to re-grant a portion of the funds they receive to other civil society organizations, yet NGO candidates are not required to identify the names of potential re-grant recipients when they submit their application. For example, in 2006 Miftah, which was active in the 2001 Durban conference, received funds from Keshev, an EU grantee (see case studies below), in the amount of €165,000. And the Peres Center for Peace, which received €485,000 under Pfp in 2005, runs a number of projects that involve funding for other NGOs. The EC does not publish this information, despite its considerable support for these secondary recipients.

Members of European Parliament have protested the lack of public information on EU funding decisions. In May 2006, MEP Paul van Buitenen submitted a series of questions to the European Parliament on the issue of transparency regarding EC funding for Israeli and Palestinian NGOs.⁶⁹ Van Buitenen asked why the names of certain NGO recipients were not made public and how the EC evaluated NGO performance. An official response was submitted on October 13, 2006 under the name of EC Commissioner for External Relations Benita Ferrero-Waldner. Her response restated EC policy without providing additional information or resolving the apparent discrepancies between declaratory policy and practice. On

the issue of secrecy, she claimed that some Palestinian NGOs that received funding under the Pfp “requested the non-disclosure of their details in order to protect them from possible pressure or threats from Palestinian extremist factions.”⁷⁰

⁶⁸ In a meeting held in May 2003 between members of the European Parliament and Gerald Steinberg of NGO Monitor in which this issue was discussed, a former EU Ambassador and head of the EU Delegation office in Tel Aviv, expressed dismay when the recipients were discussed.

⁶⁹ “Parliamentary Questions.” [European Parliament](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sidesSearch/sipadeMapUrl.do?PROG=QP&SORT_ORDER=DA&S_REF_QP=%25&S_RANK=%25&F_MI_TEXT=paul+van+buitenen&ML_TEXT=paul+van+buitenen&LEG_ID=6&L=EN). May 19, 2006. Accessed 6 February 2008

⁷⁰ “Parliamentary Questions.” [European Parliament](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sidesSearch/sipadeMapUrl.do?PROG=QP&SORT_ORDER=DA&S_REF_QP=%25&S_RANK=%25&F_MI_TEXT=paul+van+buitenen&ML_TEXT=paul+van+buitenen&LEG_ID=6&L=EN). October 13, 2006. Accessed 6 February 2006

Funding Political NGOs: “Project” versus “Organization”



ormally, each of these European Union funding instruments provides grants for specific projects and not the NGOs that operate them. However, this is a misleading distinction, as project funding inevitably helps to promote the overall objectives of the NGOs and

their officials.⁷¹ This point was underscored in December 2006, when MEP van Buitenen posed a question in the European Parliament regarding the politics of NGO allocations, asking whether the EC viewed “the Palestinian Centre for Human Rights [which has] accused Israel of ‘ethnic cleansing’, denounced Israeli policy as ‘apartheid’ and ‘extreme racism’ and called for a total boycott of Israel...as ‘reinforcing the engagement of civil society in conflict prevention and resolution?’”⁷² The response, submitted under the name of Commissioner Ferrero-Waldner, repeated the standard EC formula that “the Commission cannot be held responsible for statements made by these NGOs under their own name, nor can the Commission oblige them to refrain from comments which are not necessarily in line with the EU Middle East Policy”, and that “the Commission does not provide global funding to NGOs, but supports specific projects and well-defined actions which are carried out by NGOs in full compliance with EC rules and procedures in the management of the activities.”⁷³

In marked contrast to this formal policy, many NGOs that receive EU funding use the EU symbol on many of their publications and hand-outs to bolster their legitimacy, even if the publication itself was not a part of the EU-funded project. Groups such as ICAHD and ARIJ, which participate in campaigns supporting boycotts, divestment

and sanctions from Israel, use this symbol on many of their reports. And because money is fungible, EU funding ostensibly allocated to specific projects also supports the NGO’s infrastructure.⁷⁴ It pays for staff, equipment, office space, publicity for the organization and its campaigns, and allows officials of these NGOs to travel and promote their ideological and political agendas around the world.

EU funding for projects therefore also supports the political activities and campaigns of the NGOs, including boycotts, demonization, and delegitimization of Israel. As will be shown in detail below, these activities often include promotion of conflict, false claims against Israel, and opposition to stated goals of EU funding instruments.

EC officials interviewed for this study noted that although the Authorizing Officer may unofficially consider an NGO’s political stance, s/he is not authorized to withhold funding on this basis. An NGO is technically barred from receiving funding only if they have been found to be financially unaccountable, convicted of an offense, engaged in professional misconduct, are subject to a conflict of interests, or advocate the use of violence.

The direct result of this policy can be seen in funding from the Pfp framework, whose guidelines claim to “promote communication and understanding by demonstrating the advantages of working together for mutual benefit and tangible results.”⁷⁵ However, a number of NGOs that receive allocations from the Pfp are engaged in the promotion of boycotts, manipulating human rights and articulating false and incendiary claims that delegitimize one side in the conflict (see case studies below). On this basis, MEP van Buitenen’s questions to European Parliament included

⁷¹ An EC document from 2005 states that “less politicized, more practical actions,” have priority for funding under Pfp. European Union, ‘EU Partnership for Peace Guidelines for Grant Applicants responding to the call for proposals for 2005, November 2005’. However, the “guideline” document published in 2007 omits the term “less politicized”.
[EU Partnership for Peace Guidelines for Grant Applicants responding to the call for proposals for 2007 Open Call for Proposals](#). Israel: European Union, 2007.

⁷² “Parliamentary Questions.” [European Parliament](#). December 14, 2006. Accessed February 6, 2008
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+WQ+E-2006-5488+0+DOC+XML+V0//EN&language=EN>

⁷³ “Parliamentary Questions.” [European Parliament](#). February 19, 2007. Accessed February 6, 2008
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getAllAnswers.do?reference=E-2006-5488&language=EN>.

⁷⁴ Guidelines for EIDHR’s micro-projects program for 2006 implemented by ECTAO WB/GS notes, “A lump sum not exceeding 7% of the total amount of eligible costs of the Action may be claimed as indirect costs to cover the administrative overheads incurred by the Beneficiary for the Action.”

⁷⁵ “EU Partnership for Peace Program.” [European Commission’s Delegation to Israel](#). Accessed 6 February 2008
http://www.delisr.ec.europa.eu/english/content/cooperation_and_funding/3.asp

calling attention to the contradiction between funding an NGO that “describes suicide bombings against civilians as resistance”⁷⁶ and the EC’s commitment to “build a solid foundation for a just and lasting peace.” Commissioner Ferrero-Waldner response was technical and avoided this central issue: “[T]he Commission is respectful of freedom of expression as a key feature of a democratic society. An open debate over political issues is indispensable on the way towards better mutual understanding.”⁷⁷

⁷⁶ On Dec. 14, 2006 van Buitenen submitted the following question: “Miftah wrote in an op-ed on the Miftah website on 2 August 2006, that Israel was deliberately targeting Lebanese civilians. It also describes suicide bombings against civilians as resistance. Do these statements build a solid foundation for a just and lasting peace, as is one of the Commission’s objectives?”

<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+WQ+E-2006-5488+0+DOC+XML+V0//EN&language=EN>

⁷⁷ “Parliamentary Questions.” *European Parliament*. Feb. 19, 2007. Accessed February 6, 2008

<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getAllAnswers.do?reference=E-2006-5488&language=EN>

Absence of Evaluations

The only way for an institution or organization to evaluate the impact of its activities, including its success or failures, is through the use of consistent and professional criteria for its evaluations. In the case of EU funding for NGOs, without such evaluations there is no way of knowing whether these programs contribute to their objectives, such as democracy, development, peace and human rights, or are counterproductive, and make the existing situation worse.

The criteria used by the EC to assess the impact of NGO funding under the PfP and EIDHR frameworks are unclear. There are no publicly available evaluation reports on the EC Delegation websites. In his questions of May 19, 2006, MEP van Buitenen asked how the EC measured NGO performance impact and "in what concrete ways has EU funding for NGOs since 1993 had an impact on peace-making efforts between Israelis and Palestinians?"⁷⁸ Ferrero-Waldner's response on October 13, 2006 maintained that

the EC ensures "regular monitoring of [NGO] projects" through annual external monitoring performed by a "team mandated by Headquarters", and "ad hoc specific evaluations" that are contracted including "individual independent external evaluations."⁷⁹ She also noted that "NGOs provide interim reporting on operational issues and a final report at the end of the contract."⁸⁰ Ferrero-Waldner cited a January 2005 evaluation performed by "independent experts" which concluded that among the beneficiaries of the seventy PfP projects (formerly MEPP), "EU funding made a significant contribution to the search for peace and justice in the [Israeli-Palestinian] conflict."⁸¹ These claims were not backed by any public reports or information on the criteria or methodologies that were used.

In contrast, the evidence from NGO activities detailed in the following case studies demonstrates that a number of EU funded projects impede human rights and increase mutual distrust and conflict, rather than contribute to peace. These case studies are presented in the following section.

⁷⁸ Van Buitenen asked, "How is the performance of the recipient organizations evaluated? In what concrete ways has the funding provided by the EU as support for 'democratization and human rights' or 'economic development' within Palestinian civil society had an impact? In what concrete ways has EU funding for NGOs since 1993 had an impact on peace-making efforts between Israelis and Palestinians?"

<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=WQ&reference=E-2006-2209&language=EN>

⁷⁹ "Parliamentary Questions." *European Parliament*. June 29, 2006. Accessed 6 February 2008

<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+WQ+E-2006-5488+0+DOC+XML+V0//EN&language=EN>

⁸⁰ "Parliamentary Questions." *European Parliament*. May 19, 2006. Accessed 6 February 2008

http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sidesSearch/sipadeMapUrl.do?PROG=QP&SORT_ORDER=DA&S_REF_QP=%25&S_RANK=%25&F_MI_TEXT=paul+van+buitenen&MI_TEXT=paul+van+buitenen&LEG_ID=6&L=EN

⁸¹ "Parliamentary Questions." *European Parliament*. October 13, 2006. Accessed 6 February 2008

<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=WQ&reference=E-2006-2209&language=EN>

Case Studies on the Impact of EU Funding for Israeli and Palestinian NGOs



Christian Aid, Adalah and EMHRN will be explored in detail below. However, it is important to note briefly that many more NGO recipients that claim to promote human rights or humanitarian projects are actually involved in activities which exacerbate conflict. These include (in alphabetical order):⁸²

- **Arab Association for Human Rights (HRA)**, was awarded €95,532 in 2005 under PFP. Its stated goal is “the protection and promotion of international human-rights standards of the Palestinian Arab minority in Israel.” However, HRA often exceeds this mandate, engaging in political campaigns which extend beyond the scope of minority rights. HRA accused Israel of violating international law during the 2006 Lebanon War “by locating military installations in or close to civilian centers.”⁸³ HRA also condemned Israel’s seizure of Ahmed Saadat, the leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) who was accused of having ordered the assassination of Cabinet Minister Rehavam Zeevi in 2001, without mentioning the reasons for his imprisonment and related vital information.⁸⁴ These exclusions dramatically alter one’s understanding of the conflict and demonstrate that HRA uses its funds to promote the intense political conflict.

s noted, EIDHR, PFP, and ECHO each fund a number of Israeli, Palestinian and European-based NGOs that are active in the Arab-Israeli conflict zone. The cases of ICAHD, ARIJ,

- **Bimkom’s** mission is to “assert the right to equality and social justice in matters of planning”, yet its political advocacy raises normative questions on the policies of foreign governments designed to influence the internal decision making of Israel’s democratic society. In February 2007, the Israeli Foreign Ministry criticized UK government funding for Bimkom’s report on the Separation barrier, on the grounds that this amounted to “interfering in an internal Israeli manner.”⁸⁵ Bimkom was awarded €295,799 by EIDHR in 2005.

- **Gaza Community Mental Health Program**, received €42,902 in 2004 under EIDHR. Despite its formal goal of providing mental health services to the Gazan population, it is also important to note its political campaigning, such as support for economic and academic boycotts of Israel.⁸⁶ In its contributions to the campaign of condemnations following Israel’s reductions in supplies provided to Gaza, GCMHP makes no mention of the violent attacks against Israelis.⁸⁷

- **HaMoked**, which purports to help “victim[s] [of] acts of violence, abuse, or deprivation of basic rights by governmental authorities”, also engages in explicitly political activities and received €93,696 in 2005 under EIDHR. In May 2007, Hamoked published a report in conjunction with B’Tselem, which claimed that the Israel Security Agency tortures security detainees in violation of a 1999 High Court decision. The response from the Israel’s Ministry of Justice detailed the NGOs’ methodological failures, bias and lack of verifiable sources.⁸⁸

⁸² For more details see NGO Monitor “Information Files” on all these NGOs http://www.ngo-monitor.org/ngo_index.php?letter=A

⁸³ “HRA Releases a new report.” *Arab Association for Human Rights*. 11 December 2007. Accessed 26 February 2008 <http://www.arabhra.org/hra/SecondaryArticles/SecondaryArticlePage.aspx?SecondaryArticle=1582>

⁸⁴ “Arab Association for Human Rights (HRA).” *NGO Monitor*. Accessed 6 February 2008 http://ngo-monitor.org/article/arab_association_of_human_rights_hra_

⁸⁵ “Israeli Foreign Ministry protests UK Embassy funding of Israeli NGO study on the impact of the security barrier.” *NGO Monitor Digest* Vol. 5 No. 6 2007. http://www.ngo-monitor.org/digest_info.php?id=1324#1

⁸⁶ “Gaza Community Mental Health Programme (GCMHP).” *NGO Monitor*. Accessed 10 February 2008 http://www.ngomonitor.org/article/gaza_community_mental_health_programme_gcmhp_

⁸⁷ “Urgent Joint Appeal.” *Gaza Community Mental Health Programme*. 24 January 2008. Accessed 26 February 2008 http://www.gcmhp.net/File_files/press21Jan2k8.html

⁸⁸ State of Israel, Ministry of Justice, Department for International Agreements and International Litigation, “Letter to Mr. Yechezkel Lein: “Reference to “B’tselem” Draft Report “Torture and Abuse towards Palestinian Detainees” 28 April 2007, Accessed 21 February 2008 <http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article.php?id=1411>

- **Holy Land Trust** is a Bethlehem-based NGO claiming to “develop[e] nonviolent resistance”, which carries out political advocacy for the rejectionist Palestinian narrative on a national and international level. It has worked with radical NGOs that campaign against Israel, including the International Solidarity Movement, and signed a petition calling for the academic boycott of Israel. HLT received €156,543 in 2005 under Pfp and €99,657 from EIDHR in December 2007.⁸⁹
- **Machsom Watch** received €60,000 in 2005 and €251,650 in 2006, from Pfp. Its official mission is to monitor and disseminate reports on Israeli soldiers at checkpoints, with the ultimate aim of “ending the occupation.” In many cases, Machsom Watch’s allegations have been shown to be either inaccurate or unverifiable.⁹⁰ In addition, this NGO’s leaders and publications omit the context of terror and employ human rights terminology mixed with rhetoric that attributes racist motives to Israeli defense policy. A publication entitled “On Founding Machsom Watch” accuses Israeli officials, responsible for preventing terrorism, with “collective punishment, pure racism, violation of freedom of worship, and cruelty.”⁹¹
- **Medical Aid for Palestinians (MAP)** claims to be “non-political and non-partisan,” but its ideological agenda is demonstrated through a distorted historical background to the conflict and ongoing political advocacy. MAP was granted €460,556 for its Gaza operations, and €613,220 for its West Bank operations under a co-financing grant for “poverty reduction” in 2004-2006. In this regard, MAP’s humanitarian programs contribute to the pursuit of EU objectives, but significant “charitable” funds can be diverted to their political campaigns given the fungibility of donations. For example, in a full page advertisement (“Emergency Appeal for the People of Gaza”) published in *The Times* (UK) in January 2008, MAP promotes its political goals by criticizing Israeli policies in Gaza with no mention of Palestinian rocket attacks. The headline reads: “After two years of sanctions, the cutting-off of fuel supplies, repeated military incursions and the closure of its borders, Gaza is in the grip of a humanitarian crisis.”⁹² No context to the situation is provided.
- **Mossawa** is a political Israeli-Arab NGO that seeks to undermine Israel’s state sovereignty on the basis of charges of racism, as published in its “Future Vision of the Palestinian Arabs in Israel” (December 2006). Even sympathetic commentators recognized this document as a declaration of “war” on the “Jewish national state,” and its impact as “a deepening of the rift and a heightening of the hostility between Jews and Arabs in Israel.”⁹³ Mossawa received €650,000 in 2003 and €298,660 in 2005 under EIDHR.
- **Oxfam Novib**, a member of the “United Civilians for Peace” coalition whose anti-Israel bias was publicized in December 2006, claims it is “fighting for a just world without poverty.”⁹⁴ It was awarded €736,463 in 2005 through a co-financing grant. Although Oxfam Novib engages in substantive development work in the PA, such as job training and empowerment programs for women, and facilitating medical treatment to Palestinians, they also fund a highly partisan NGO that advances the Palestinian narrative and seeks to undermine Israel’s legitimacy. Oxfam Novib has given money to the Palestinian Center for Human Rights which accuses Israel of ethnic cleansing, war crimes and has asked the UN to commit to “the imposition of comprehensive arms, oil, economic and trade sanctions and embargoes (with the exception of medical food and other humanitarian supplies), the downgrading or suspension of diplomatic relations.” It has also asked the UN “to exclude Israel from all UN-sponsored conferences and organizations.”⁹⁵

⁸⁹ “Holy Land Trust gives Swiss Representative to PA a tour of Bethlehem.” *NGO Monitor Digest* Vol. 5 No. 2. 2006. Accessed 14 February 2008 <http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article.php?id=1117>

⁹⁰ “Report: Machsom Watch: Political Agenda in the Name of Human Rights.” *NGO Monitor*. 30 October 2007. Accessed 18 February 2008 http://www.ngomonitor.org/article/machsom_watch_political_agenda_in_the_name_of_human_rights

⁹¹ Yehudit Kirstein-Keshet, “On Founding Machsom Watch,” originally published in Isachar, Hedva. *Sisters in Peace, Feminist Voices of the Left*, Resling, 2003. Accessed 21 February 2008 <http://www.gilasvirsky.com/yehuditkeshet.html>

⁹² “Medical Aid for Palestinians.” *NGO Monitor*. Accessed 10 February 2008 http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/medical_aid_for_palestinians_uk_

⁹³ Tal, Avraham. “This means war.” *Haaretz* 11 December 2006. Accessed 18 February 2008 <http://www.haaretz.com/hasen/spages/798478.html>; and “Mossawa Conference Legal Paper undermines existence of Israel.” *NGO Monitor Digest* Vol. 5 No. 4. 2006. Accessed 18 February 2008 <http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article.php?id=1068>.

⁹⁴ “Dutch Protestant Aid Group leaves NGO coalition over bias against Israel.” *NGO Monitor Digest* Vol. 5 No. 2007 http://www.ngo-monitor.org/digest_info.php?id=1276#6

⁹⁵ “Report: Palestinian Center for Human Rights.” *NGO Monitor*. 11 September 2006. Accessed 18 February 2008 <http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article.php?id=522>

In this regard, Oxfam Novib facilitates an NGO whose activities are inconsistent with EU external policy.

- **Palestinian Center for Human Rights**, received €293,225 in 2005 under EIDHR. While PCHR reports on intra-Palestinian human rights abuses, it also supports political, economic, and academic boycotts against Israel.⁹⁶ In its public relations activities, PCHR has accused Israel of ethnic cleansing in its coverage of Israeli policy in Gaza and referred to the abduction of Gilad Shalit and attack against an IDF outpost at Kerem Shalom as “resistance”.⁹⁷
- **Physicians for Human Rights – Israel**, received €665,967 in May 2002 under EIDHR, and claims to be “dedicated to promoting and protecting the medical human rights of all residents of Israel and the Occupied Territories.” Although PHR-I does provide some important health care programs, its reports, advertisements and speeches of officials in conferences contain double standards in their use of human rights rhetoric. In comments on Gaza, for example, PHR-I condemned Israel repeatedly, while ignoring the rocket attacks against Sderot. As a result of its biased political agenda, the Israel Medical Association halted cooperative activities with this NGO.
- **The Public Committee against Torture in Israel** was granted €230,287 under EIDHR in 2005. This organization reflects a strong political agenda that extends beyond the specifics of its mission statement. Using EU funds, PCATI petitioned the Israeli High Court in December 2006 calling for the prohibition of targeted killings against mass terrorists. This petition was rejected by the court on the grounds that Israel has a right to legitimate self-defense against terror.⁹⁸

EIDHR has also funded a number of European NGOs active in the Arab-Israeli conflict (see Tables 5-8, pages 39-46). These include the Associazione Comunita Papa Giovani XXIII (the "International Lay Association of Pontifical Right Committed to Alleviating Poverty", based in Italy); the Salzburg Seminar Global Forum; the Oxford Research Group; Forum Ziviler Friedensdienst EV; the Georg Eckert Institute; Istituto per la Cooperazione Universitaria Onlus; the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (a major German foundation associated with the Christian Democrats, and funded by the state budget); and Christian Aid (based in the UK). Each of these organizations received contracts between €275,000 and €500,000 under the PFP in 2006 for activities related to the Arab-Israeli conflict.⁹⁹ Other recipients include DanChurchAid (based in Denmark), whose political partners include Palestinian Center for Human Rights (PCHR), B'tselem, Badil, Sabeel Liberation Theology Center, and the Alternative Information Center (AIC);¹⁰⁰ the Italian Consortium of Solidarity (claiming to protect victims of armed conflicts and international crisis); and Associazione Servizio Civile Internazionale (based in Italy).

EU FUNDING FOR NGOs BEYOND THE POLITICAL CONFLICT

Not all EU-funded NGOs focus primarily on political campaigning - some give priority to and implement the positive goals that they claim in their mission statements. The Arava Institute for Environmental Studies received €160,117 from PFP to fund a project entitled, “Peace and Environmental Partnership Project”, (see Table 6, page 43). The Arava Institute brings Jewish and Arab students together with the goal of building networks to tackle environmental challenges. Arava does not take explicit political stands on issues related to the Arab-Israeli conflict and abides by its non-partisan mandate. Similarly, EU-funded Bitterlemons.org, an Arab-Israeli internet dialogue forum, is not involved in partisan activities that increase the level of conflict. Internews Europe, which received a grant of €461,004 in 2003 and €86,891 in 2007 under

⁹⁶ Willig, Sarah. “Palestinian Center for Human Rights.” *NGO Monitor*. 11 September 2006. Accessed February 18 2008
http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/report_palestinian_center_for_human_rights

⁹⁷ “Israeli Occupation Forces (IOF) Reprisals against Palestinian Civilians in the Gaza Strip”, *Palestinian Center for Human Rights*. 28 June 2006. Accessed 10 February 2008
<http://www.pchrgaza.org/files/PressR/English/2006/62-2006.htm>

⁹⁸ “Israeli Supreme Court Endorses Killing Palestinian Militants in Airstrikes.” *International Herald Tribune* 14 December 2007.

⁹⁹ The Associazione Comunita Papa Giovani XXIII received €66,000. (see appendix)

¹⁰⁰ “Partners in Israel.” *DanChurchAid*. 6 October 2006. Accessed 6 February 2008
http://www.danchurchaid.org/sider_paa_hjemmesiden/where_we_work/middle_east/israel_palestine/read_more/partners_in_israel_palestine

EIDHR, has worked to strengthen the freedoms of expression and democracy in the PA through increasing the quality, diversity and professionalism of Palestinian local radio. Internews explicitly commits itself to “encourag[ing] good governance and creat[ing] peaceful debate to counteract political violence of all kinds.”

Another more complex example is EU funding (€485,000 in 2006 through PFP) for Keshev’s, “Words Can Kill” project, which “encourages a public and media discourse free of incitement, prejudice and dehumanization of the other in Israel and Palestine, through monitoring, research, advocacy and lobbying activities.”¹⁰¹ Keshev re-granted EU funds to its Palestinian project partner--Miftah.¹⁰² Miftah’s implementation of this project is noteworthy. For example when reporting on Palestinian media coverage of the Eilat suicide bombing in January 2007, Miftah urges journalists to use “rational, realistic and professional language in the media discourse, and avoid language that may connote incitement or praise for killing civilians.”¹⁰³ However, despite claiming to be non-partisan, in other areas of its work Miftah has described Israel as an apartheid state and reflects an immoral equivalence in equating terrorist attacks and IDF operations against terrorists which accidentally harm civilians.¹⁰⁴ In addition, Miftah has referred to suicide bombers as “resistance fighters”.¹⁰⁵ Although Miftah’s media project reflects a more nuanced, less partisan approach to the conflict, it is difficult to know if they have reformed their overall approach.

Detailed Case Studies of EU-Funded NGOs in the Arab-Israeli Conflict Zone

1) Adalah

Adalah, an Israeli registered NGO with UN ECOSOC Special Consultative Status, defines itself as “an independent human rights organization” claiming to promote “equal individual and collective rights for the Arab minority in Israel in different fields including land rights; civil and political rights; cultural, social, and economic rights; religious rights; women’s rights; and prisoners’ rights.”¹⁰⁶ In 2005, Adalah received €513,684 for 36 months through EIDHR for a project entitled “Promoting Access to the Israeli Legal System for Arab Citizens of Israel” (see Table 2, page 34).¹⁰⁷

An overview of Adalah’s activities shows that some are consistent with its stated objectives. These include seeking “a more equitable distribution of funds in the budget of the Ministry of Religious Affairs”, and petitioning on behalf of women’s rights for Arab-Israelis.¹⁰⁸ However, Adalah also pursues campaigns that seek to undermine Israel’s sovereignty in international forums. A submission to the 2001 UN World Conference Against Racism (UN WCAR) denied the legitimacy of Israel’s existence as a Jewish state and falsely asserted that Israel’s Jewish identity is a fundamental obstacle to the protection of minority rights.¹⁰⁹ Adalah’s submission to the Amman NGO networking meeting for the UNWCAR claimed that in Israel, “Racism exists at almost every level of society.... A main reason

¹⁰¹ “EU Partnership for Peace Programme.” [European Commission Delegation to Israel](http://www.delisr.ec.europa.eu/english/content/cooperation_and_funding/3.asp). Accessed 14 February 2008

¹⁰² To read more about Miftah see NGO Monitor reports <http://ngo-monitor.org/article.php?id=135>

¹⁰³ “The Palestinian Media Coverage of the Eilat Suicide Operation.” [Miftah’s Media Monitoring Unit](http://www.miftah.org/display.cfm?DocId=13727&CategoryId=31). 31 May 2007. Accessed 14 February 2008

¹⁰⁴ “European Union Support for Extremist and Politicized NGOs.” [NGO Monitor](http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article.php?id=254). 24 October 2006. Accessed 14 February 2008

¹⁰⁵ In an article from July 5, 2006 Miftah’s Joharah Baker writes, “Palestinian women have also participated in the resistance. As the conflict grew more intense and young men were recruited to carry out military operations against Israeli targets, several young women also decided to join the ranks of the resistance movement. In January 2002, 28-year-old nurse Wafa Idrees, detonated a bomb in Jerusalem’s Jaffa Street, killing one Israeli and injuring 150 others. She was also killed in the blast.” Baker, Joharah. “Palestinian Women and the Intifada.” [MIFTAH](http://www.miftah.org/Display.cfm?DocId=10709&CategoryId=21). 5 July 2006. Accessed 26 February 2008

¹⁰⁶ “About Adalah.” [Adalah](http://www.adalah.org/eng/cerd.php). Accessed 21 February 2008

¹⁰⁷ “European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights.” [European Commission Delegation to Israel](http://www.delisr.ec.europa.eu/english/content/cooperation_and_funding/4.asp). Accessed 14 February 2008

¹⁰⁸ “Legal Advocacy.” [Adalah](http://www.adalah.org/eng/legaladvocacyreligious.php#240). Accessed 18 February 2008

¹⁰⁹ “Historical Background.” [Adalah](http://www.adalah.org/eng/backgroundlegalsystem.php). Accessed 6 February 2008

For more on the protection of minority rights within a Jewish State, see Gavison, Ruth. “The Jews Right to Statehood: A Defense.” [Azure](http://www.azure.org.il/magazine/magazine.asp?id=188) No. 15 (2003). Accessed 12 February 2008

for its prevalence is that these institutions, including the government, legislature, judiciary, army and religious bodies, consistently emphasize the State's national-religious character."¹¹⁰ Adalah's 2007 submission to the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) claimed that the Citizenship and Entry into Israel Law,¹¹¹ enacted in 2003, is "a racist, discriminatory law that denies a person's basic human rights on the basis of his or her national belonging."¹¹² This law was adopted in response to terror attacks carried out by Palestinians "who were granted legal status in Israel based on their marriage to an Israeli citizen, and took advantage of their Israeli ID to pass checkpoints and carry into Israel either suicide bombers or explosives."¹¹³ (According to Israel's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, twenty-three terrorist attacks between 2000 and 2005 were facilitated by individuals who were granted legal status in Israel based on marriages to Israeli citizens).¹¹⁴ However, Adalah strips this context from its analysis and uses EU funding to brand Israel as "racist" in public forums.

In March 2007, Adalah published a so-called "Democratic Constitution",¹¹⁵ which called for the end of Israel as a democratic society with a Jewish character. Adalah's campaign is inconsistent with EU policy, which recognizes and supports Israel as a Jewish state. Later in 2007, an Adalah publication articulated support for the "single-state approach", portrayed as a "supra-national" framework. This proposal is "geared toward the international community",

and the substance, "as it appears in the Vision Documents, threatens the Jewish character of Israel..."¹¹⁶

Adalah's campaign claiming that the protection of Arab minority rights necessitates a negation of Israel's Jewish character is a basic distortion of democratic principles. As professor Ruth Gavison notes, "it is the duty of every democracy to reflect the basic preferences of the majority, so long as they do not infringe on the rights of others. In Israel's case, this means preserving the Jewish character of the state....the sense of not being full partners in the national enterprise is the lot of national minorities in all nation states. This complaint should be distinguished from demands for civic and political non-discrimination for Arabs as individuals, and recognition of their collective culture, religious and national interests, which Israel should provide."¹¹⁷ In this regard, Adalah's constitution seeks to usurp power from the Israeli electorate and contradicts EIDHR's goals of pursuing democracy.

2) EMHRN

The Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Network encompasses over eighty NGOs operating in countries involved in the "Barcelona Process", which claim to promote human rights. It receives an annual budget of approximately €1 million via EIDHR (managed by Brussels), under the general framework of supporting "democracy, good governance and rule of law."¹¹⁸ EMHRN's official mandate is to develop "synergies between regional and local human

¹¹⁰ "Submission to Amman NGO networking meeting for the UN World Conference Against Racism." *Adalah*. 5 February 2001. Accessed 18 February 2008

<http://www.adalah.org/eng/intladvocacy/unwcar.htm>

¹¹¹ The Citizenship and Entry into Israel Law was upheld Israel's Supreme Court in 2006.

¹¹² "Special Report: ICERD." *Adalah*. 1 February 2007. Accessed 18 February 2008

<http://www.adalah.org/eng/intl07/adalah-cerd-feb07.pdf>

¹¹³ "The Citizenship and Entry Law (Temporary Order) 2003." *Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs*. 23 March 2005. Accessed 18 February 2008

<http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/Government/Law/Legal+Issues+and+Rulings/Citizenship%20and%20Entry%20Law%20-Temporary%20Order-%202003>

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ "The Democratic Constitution." *Adalah*. Accessed 14 February 2008

<http://www.adalah.org/eng/constitution.php>

¹¹⁶ Shayshon, Eran. "A Dramatic Shift." *Haaretz* 29 December 2007. Accessed 14 February 2008

<http://www.haaretz.com/hasen/spages/939196.html>

¹¹⁷ Gavison, Ruth. "The Jews Right to Statehood: A Defense." *Azure* No. 15 (2003). Accessed 12 February 2008

<http://www.azure.org.il/magazine/magazine.asp?id=188>

¹¹⁸ For EC documents related to EIDHR see: "Promoting Democracy and Human Rights." *European Commission External Relations Programmes*. Accessed 21 February 2008

http://ec.europa.eu/comm/europeaid/projects/eidhr/cfp_2004/region_meda_2004.pdf

rights work, the human rights instruments of the Barcelona process as well as the wider Arab world.”¹¹⁹

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 the NGOs it is affiliated with.¹²⁰

EMHRN members from Israel and the PA consist exclusively of NGOs that are active in advancing Arab and Palestinian political goals. These NGOs include Adalah, the Arab Association for Human Rights, the Public Committee Against Torture in Israel, Al-Mezan, Al-Haq, and the Palestinian Center for Human Rights.¹²¹ As shown in NGO Monitor’s detailed analyses, many of these NGOs are active in promoting the strategy of boycotts, divestment and sanctions based on the final declaration of the NGO Forum at the 2001 Durban Conference which uses the language of human rights to erode Israel’s legitimacy. There are many instances in which EMHRN reports contribute to this process, and thereby exacerbate how the conflict is perceived in countries that receive and publicize EMHRN publications, including in North Africa, Egypt, and Lebanon.

In August 2005, EMHRN published “Israel’s Human Rights Behaviour, 2004-2005.”¹²² This report condemned restrictions

on movement placed on Palestinians and repeated the Palestinian and Arab allegations regarding Israel’s security barrier, while removing the context of terror which justifies these responses. Instead of a factual analysis of the barrier’s implications, these NGOs approached the discourse in a highly partisan manner. The authors also sought to influence EU policy, proclaiming that “the provision and extension of economic privileges and trade agreements [between the EU and Israel] should be made dependent on Israel’s human rights behavior.”¹²³ EMHRN has also referred to Israel’s policies as a form of apartheid.¹²⁴

Similarly, an EMHRN press release issued on April 12, 2006 headlined, “Should the Palestinians be Punished?,” argues that the EU decision to freeze international aid to the Palestinian Authority after the elections brought Hamas to power, “displayed a permanent double reasoning as, at the same time, it tolerates the multiple violations of Human Rights which the Israeli government is guilty of committing.”¹²⁵ This statement, which strays far from human rights norms, implicitly equates terror attacks with Israeli self-defense, and does not call upon Hamas to adopt the demands of the Quartet including the renunciation of violence and recognition of Israel, but insists that the “European Union re-establish its financial aid” to the PA unconditionally.¹²⁶ EMHRN’s 2007 report reviewing human rights relations in the EU-Israel framework is entitled, “Accommodating to the special case of Israel.”¹²⁷ The authors entirely ignore the hundreds of rocket attacks

¹¹⁹ “EIDHR Projects 2004.” [European Union](http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/projects/eidhr/cfp_2004/region_meda_2004.pdf). Link no longer active. ec.europa.eu/europeaid/projects/eidhr/cfp_2004/region_meda_2004.pdf

¹²⁰ EMHRN also contributes to the information chain as a member of the EuroMed Non-Governmental Platform

¹²¹ “Members of EMHRN.” [EMHRN](http://www.euromedrights.net/pages/58). Accessed 18 February 2008 <http://www.euromedrights.net/pages/58>

¹²² “Publications: Israel’s Human Rights Behaviour July 2004-July 2005.” [EMHRN](http://www.emhrn.net/usr/00000021/00000799.pdf). October 2005. Accessed 14 February 2008 <http://www.emhrn.net/usr/00000021/00000799.pdf>

¹²³ Ibid

¹²⁴ “EMHRN/FIDH/ICJ-Sweden Mission to Israel and Palestine: statement following a mission to evaluate the current crisis in Israel and the Palestinian Territories.” [EMHRN](http://www.euromedrights.net/pages/309/news/focus/9189). 2000. Accessed 14 February 2008 <http://www.euromedrights.net/pages/309/news/focus/9189>

¹²⁵ “Should the Palestinians be Punished?” [EMHRN](http://www.euromedrights.net/pages/275/news/focus/9435). 12 April 2006. Accessed 14 February 2008 <http://www.euromedrights.net/pages/275/news/focus/9435>

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ “Third Annual Review on Human Rights in EU-Israel Relations: Accomodating (sic) to the ‘special’ case of Israel 2005-2006.” [EMHRN](http://www.euromedrights.net/usr/00000026/00000027/00000028/00001339.pdf). Accessed 18 February 2008 <http://www.euromedrights.net/usr/00000026/00000027/00000028/00001339.pdf>

launched from Gaza at Sderot and other Israel cities, and overlook Israel's humanitarian assistance to Palestinians.¹²⁸ Thus, instead of promoting understanding and compromise, EMHRN uses EU funds to advance specious Palestinian claims and campaigns against Israel, and erases the context of terror among its member NGOs and other participants in the Barcelona Process – both in Europe and in the Middle East.

3) ICAHD

The Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions (ICAHD) is a recipient of major European Union funding. In July 2005, under the Partnership for Peace program, ICAHD received a two-year grant of €473,000.¹²⁹ ICAHD defines itself as “a non-violent, direct-action group ... to oppose and resist Israeli demolition of Palestinian houses in the Occupied Territories.”¹³⁰ In these activities, ICAHD promotes a highly partisan narrative of the conflict that does not support understanding or compromise.

ICAHD's EU-funded project is entitled: “Re-Framing: Providing a Coherent Paradigm of Peace to the Israeli Public,”¹³¹ with the objective of “alter[ing] the dominant Israeli paradigms regarding peace with the Palestinians.”¹³² ICAHD (which is a very small and marginal group that is largely focused on influencing non-Israelis) makes the claim that “Israelis lack critical information about the occupation”, and that it can provide a “wider overview of the sources of the conflict, including access to Palestinian

points of view.”¹³³ This program mischaracterizes the robust and critical nature of the Israeli press and represents foreign influence in promoting inflammatory criticism of Israel.

An examination of ICAHD's Israel Paradigm project demonstrates this NGO's political agenda. In a photography exhibit entitled “Jerusalem Dispossessed”, a picture of the security barrier includes a caption that reads: “*The Jerusalem Envelope*’ is the official name given by Israel to the construction of the wall or ‘separation barrier’ in Jerusalem, disguising the reality it creates-ethnic separation between populations. Apartheid.”¹³⁴ (The use of the apartheid reference misrepresents history and is used to undermine the legitimacy of Israel by likening it to the racist South African regime.¹³⁵)

ICAHD is also an active participant in anti-Israel political events, including the conferences held by the UN Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People (CEIRPP). In 2006, ICAHD's representative spoke on a panel promoting “Campaigns targeting the occupation”. And in the 2007 conference, held in Brussels, Jennifer Loewenstein from ICAHD referred to “Israeli crimes, including its bloody and sadistic actions in Gaza and its atrocities....”¹³⁶ Executive Director Jeff Halper conducts regular speaking tours across the United States, Canada, the UK and Europe, calling for divestment from Israel.¹³⁷ Halper uses his status as an Israeli and Executive Director of this NGO to gain publicity and credibility, and

¹²⁸ “Over 50,000 tons of humanitarian goods transferred into the Gaza Strip since June 19” Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs Communiques. 7 August 2007. Accessed 14 February 2008

<http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/Government/Communiques/2007/Over%2050000%20tons%20of%20humanitarian%20goods%20transferred%20into%20the%20Gaza%20Strip%20since%20June%2019%202007-Aug-2007>

¹²⁹ “EU Partnership for Peace.” European Commission's Delegation to Israel. Accessed 14 February 2008

http://www.delisr.ec.europa.eu/english/content/cooperation_and_funding/3.asp

¹³⁰ “What is ICAHD?” ICAHD. Accessed 14 February 2008

<http://www.icahd.org/eng/about.asp?menu=2&submenu=1>

¹³¹ “EU Partnership for Peace.” European Commission's Delegation to Israel. 14 February 2008

http://www.delisr.ec.europa.eu/english/content/cooperation_and_funding/3.asp

¹³² “Israeli Paradigm Project.” ICAHD. Accessed 14 February 2008

<http://www.icahd.org/eng/projects.asp?menu=3&submenu=10>

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ See ICAHD's photo exhibit entitled “Jerusalem Dispossessed.” Accessed 14 February 2008

<http://www.icahd.org/eng/projects.asp?menu=3&submenu=5>

¹³⁵ For more on the discredited notion of apartheid in Israel see: Pogrund, Benjamin. “Why depict Israel as a chamber of horrors like no other in the world?” Guardian 8 February 2006; also Manfred Gerstenfeld, interview with Gideon Shimoni “Deconstructing Apartheid Accusations Against Israel,” (Jerusalem: JCPA) September 2007. Accessed 14 February 2008

http://www.jcpa.org/JCPA/Templates/ShowPage.asp?DRIT=3&DBID=1&LNGID=1&TMID=111&FID=253&PID=0&IID=1806&TTL=Deconstructing_Apartheid_Accusations_Against_Israel

¹³⁶ “United Nations International Civil Society Conference Ends with Call to Oppose Israeli Military Operations.” United Nations Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People (CEIRPP), General Assembly, GA/PAL/1062. Accessed 14 February 2008

<http://domino.un.org/unispal.nsf/4777fccc0019d8d285256a6a00691567/89ea706c718ae6c58525734f0050e442%21OpenDocument>

¹³⁷ “Jeff Halper on Tour.” ICAHD. Accessed 14 February 2008

<http://www.icahd.org/eng/articles.asp?menu=6&submenu=2&article=400>

often appears with Naim Ateek, the head of Sabeel, a radical Palestinian NGO. Ateek employs classical anti-Semitic imagery to describe Israel, has described Zionism as a “step backward in the development of Judaism”, and Zionists as “oppressors and war makers”.¹³⁸ Together, they capitalize on the EU’s endorsement (as reflected in PFP funding), and campaign in favor of a “bi-national state” (meaning the destruction of Israel), which is also inconsistent with EU support for the “two state solution”.¹³⁹ In a 2003 article written on the website “Counterpunch”, Halper advocated Arab majority control between the Jordan and Mediterranean.¹⁴⁰

In another example, ICAHD’s November 2007 Spanish-language booklet offers a highly biased interpretation of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The chapter entitled “A Brief History of Jewish Colonization of Now and Always” is historically inaccurate and highly inflammatory. In this publication, Halper writes, “the problem in the Middle East is not the Palestinian problem, not the Hamas, not the Arabs, not the Hezbollah or the Iranians, not the whole Moslem world. It is us, the Israelis.”¹⁴¹ This consistent attempt to remove all Palestinian responsibility for the conflict is patronizing and impedes steps towards reconciliation.

Furthermore, issues like house demolitions are part of the wider conflict, and should be considered in this context. However, ICAHD uses this issue to advance a strong ideological agenda. ICAHD activities related to housing

demolition are based on gross distortions of Israeli policy and international law. Independent and carefully documented research conducted by Israeli attorney Justus Reid Weiner found that ICAHD’s accusations of “discrimination” and “racism” were without basis, and that the construction in question was consistently illegal.¹⁴²

ICAHD’s Israel Paradigm project as well as its other activities, clearly do not contribute to “mutual trust through reconciliation and building capacity for conflict resistance”, as stated in the PFP funding outline.¹⁴³ Such activities inflame hostilities and make it less likely that a negotiable peace can be achieved. EU funding for ICAHD, and its imprimatur on ICAHD’s campaigns (including the EU symbol on its publications), serves to maintain, if not exacerbate, the status quo.

4) ARIJ

In 2005, the EC allocated €500,000 to the Applied Research Institute-Jerusalem (ARIJ) under the Partnership for Peace program.¹⁴⁴ ARIJ, a Palestinian political organization is an active member of the “Stop the Apartheid Wall Campaign”, which promotes boycotts and sanctions, based on the Durban strategy.¹⁴⁵ Under the heading of “Monitoring Israeli Colonization Activities”,¹⁴⁶ ARIJ claims to implement its official mission of “monitoring the Israeli physical activities in the Occupied Palestinian Territory (OPT) and clarifying their impacts on issues of final status negotiations in relation to territorial viability, land related issues, borders

¹³⁸ Van Zile, Dexter. “Boston’s Old South Church Welcomes Sabeel.” *CAMERA*. 10 October 2007. Accessed 14 December 2008 http://www.camera.org/index.asp?x_context=8&x_nameinnews=193&x_article=1385

¹³⁹ “A Middle Eastern Confederation.” *ICAHD*. 31 December 2002. Accessed 14 February 2008 <http://www.icahd.org/eng/articles.asp?menu=6&submenu=2&article=104>

¹⁴⁰ In a September 19 2003 article entitled, “Pearting (sic) for the Struggle against Apartheid,” (<http://www.counterpunch.org/halper09192003.html>) Halper wrote, “If the vision of a single state is founded on the belief that Israeli Jews and Palestinians can live together in peace and mutual respect, then this concern could be addressed by an article in the new state’s constitution specifying that both Jews and Palestinians possess the right of return to the country, and that members of both peoples in need of refuge will be automatically accepted. ...A single state would give Palestinians access to the entire country and would resolve absolutely the issue of refugee return. Since the Palestinians will become the majority between the Jordan and the Mediterranean within a decade, they will exert a considerable measure of self-determination and will, to a large extent, set the tone for the country.”

¹⁴¹ Halper, Jeff and Meir Margalit. “En la lucha por la paz,” *Comite Israeli Contra Demoliciones De Casas*. November 2007.

¹⁴² Weiner, Justus Reid. “The Global Epidemic of Illegal Building and Demolitions: Implications for Jerusalem.” *Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs Policy Brief*. No. 498. 15 May 2003.

¹⁴³ “EU Partnership for Peace: Guidelines for grant applicants responding to the call for proposals for 2007 Open Call for Proposals.” *European Commission*. Accessed 14 February 2008 <http://www.delisr.ec.europa.eu/english/calls4props.asp?id=468>

¹⁴⁴ “EU Partnership for Peace Programme.” *European Commission Delegation to Israel*. Accessed 14 February 2008 http://www.delisr.ec.europa.eu/english/content/cooperation_and_funding/3.asp

¹⁴⁵ “The Campaign: Introduction.” *The Grassroots Palestinian Anti-Apartheid Wall Campaign*. Accessed 14 February 2008 <http://stopthewall.org/news/1.shtml>

¹⁴⁶ “EU Partnership for Peace Programme.” *European Commission Delegation to Israel*. Accessed 14 February 2008 http://www.delisr.ec.europa.eu/english/content/cooperation_and_funding/3.asp

Although ARIJ was funded to execute a project entitled “Monitoring the Israeli Settlements Activities in the OPT and Assessing their Impacts on the Viability of a Future Palestinian Statehood,” it uses the term “colonization” on its website.

and the contiguity of the future Palestinian state.”¹⁴⁷ As in many other cases, ARIJ’s publications are often cited by other NGOs and disseminated to Palestinian and European policy makers, thereby adding to the conflict, in contrast to the declared PfP objective of promoting “partnerships for peace”.

In a December 2007 report entitled “Israel, a Jewish State: a risky question”, ARIJ promotes the campaign attempting to brand Israel as an “apartheid” state.¹⁴⁸ ARIJ’s assertion that “it is unprecedented ...that religion identifies the nationality of a country’s citizenship”, is part of a campaign to single out Israel, and erases the fact that many states define themselves as Islamic or have an official established church, as in various European countries.¹⁴⁹ Although the report includes a sentence stating that “the views expressed herein are those of the beneficiary and therefore in no way reflect the official opinion of the Commission”, the presence of the EU symbol, and statement that the “text has been drafted with financial assistance from the Commission of the European Communities”, provides further legitimacy for ARIJ’s anti-Israel campaigning.

5) Christian Aid

Christian Aid (CA) is a powerful UK-based NGO with an annual budget of approximately £100 million with activities in many regions around the world. In 2004, CA received an award of €850,000 from the EU to provide mother and child health services in Gaza through a co-financing grant.¹⁵⁰ Christian Aid describes the project as “support[ing] local partners based in the Gaza Strip

working on health, education, children’s psychosocial therapy and human rights...helping to rehabilitate farmers who have lost their orchards, and giving children safe environments in which to play and express themselves.”¹⁵¹ (Other EU funding to NGOs for public health projects can be found in Tables 8 and 9, pages 45-46.) This project is consistent with Christian Aid’s stated goal of eradicating global poverty by “deliver[ing] real, practical benefits on the ground...”¹⁵²

However, in parallel to its charitable activities, Christian Aid consistently articulates the Palestinian narrative of the conflict and displays a partisan agenda.¹⁵³ In intense criticism of Israeli policy, CA absolves the Palestinians of responsibility for terrorism and the corruption of their leaders. Christian Aid also participates in frameworks that aim to delegitimize Israel by calling for boycotts, divestments and sanctions.¹⁵⁴ Officials defend these activities as part of CA’s mandate to “speak out where there is injustice” and “campaign for change”.¹⁵⁵ This version of justice is highly subjective.

For example, CA’s 2003 Christmas pack included a propaganda campaign under the banner of “Peace Under Siege”, using videos and other material to emphasize Palestinian suffering resulting from Israeli military operations. The rationale and necessity for these legitimate Israeli efforts to prevent further terror attacks was stripped from this material. In the twenty minute film presentation, massive Palestinian terror attacks, including bus and café bombings, were reduced to a four-second parenthetical comment.¹⁵⁶

¹⁴⁷ “ARIJ Annual Report 2005, English Version.” ARIJ. 20 June 2006. Accessed 14 February 2008

http://www.arij.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=139&Itemid=33&lang=en

¹⁴⁸ “Monitoring Israeli Colonization Activities in the Palestinian Territories: Israel, a Jewish State: a risky assertion.” ARIJ. 2 February 2007. Accessed 14 February 2008

http://www.poica.org/editor/case_studies/view.php?recordID=1223

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ A European Commission budget sheet online provided this information but was not linked to a specific website. Accessed 8 January 2008

www.ec.europa.eu/comm/europeaid/tender/data/d42/AOF61642.xls

¹⁵¹ “Gaza pushed to the limits.” Christian Aid. Accessed 14 February 2008

http://www.christianaid.org.uk/stoppoverty/conflict/stories/Gaza_limits.aspx

¹⁵² “Our Aims.” Christian Aid. Accessed 14 February 2008

http://www.christianaid.org.uk/aboutus/our_aims.aspx

¹⁵³ “Christian Aid’s annual report 2006/07.” Christian Aid. 29 November 2007. Accessed 14 February 2008

<http://www.christianaid.org.uk/aboutus/who/publications/annualreport07.aspx>

¹⁵⁴ For detailed assessments of Christian Aid’s political campaigning, see “Christian Aid UK.” NGO Monitor. Accessed 14 February 2008

http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/christian_aid_uk_

¹⁵⁵ “Our Aims.” Christian Aid. Accessed 14 February 2008

http://www.christianaid.org.uk/aboutus/our_aims.aspx

¹⁵⁶ “NGO Monitor Digest: Christian Aid’s Political Campaign Continues: ‘Peace Under Siege.’” NGO Monitor. Vol. 2. No. 3. October 2003. Accessed 14 February 2008

<http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article.php?id=895>

In addition, CA's 2004 Christmas campaign was headlined "Bethlehem's Child", and featured a story with photos about a seven-year old Palestinian girl living in Bethlehem who was "hit in the eye by shrapnel from a bullet fired by Israeli soldiers." Once again, the context of Palestinian terror attacks against Israeli civilians was erased, and Israeli defensive measures were delegitimized. Following intense protests that condemned this biased campaigning, and the disturbing addition of Christian theology through the use of the Bethlehem theme,¹⁵⁷ the leaders of CA pledged to prevent repetition of "past controversies" and avoid causing "offence to the Jewish community".¹⁵⁸

However, CA's campaigns to advance Palestinian political goals continue. In a section of its website entitled "End Palestinian Isolation", (accessed in January 2008), CA repeats biased claims that the humanitarian situation in Gaza is the result of the "siege-like conditions imposed by Israel", without any critical analysis of Palestinian accountability.¹⁵⁹ The report even alleges that the collapse of the Palestinian unity government and the fighting between Hamas and Fatah is the "predictable result of prolonged Israeli blockade and political isolation by the international community."¹⁶⁰ Hamas' radical ideology, internal Palestinian human rights abuses, corruption, and terror attacks against Israeli civilians are entirely missing.

CA also cooperates actively with many NGOs that were prominent in the 2001 Durban Conference, including the Palestinian Non-Governmental Organizations Network (PNGO) and Ittijah. Together with these NGOs, Christian Aid participated in a conference in 2007 held in Cyprus.¹⁶¹ The conference's final statement repeated support for "the boycott, divestment and sanctions campaign against Israel and its institutions."¹⁶² In this and other ways, CA's political campaigning fosters conflict, is inconsistent with EU policy, and amplifies the questions and criticism of EU funding for such organizations. There is no way of knowing how much of the €850,000 allocation to Christian Aid is diverted to such counterproductive activities.

¹⁵⁷ "Christian Aid's Campaign Sparks Anger." *Jewish Chronicle* 17 December 2004. Accessed 18 February 2008
<http://www.discoverthenetworks.org/Articles/Christian%20Aid%20Campaign%20Sparks%20Anger.htm>

¹⁵⁸ "NGO Monitor Digest: Christian Aid Update: NGO Monitor Reports Lead to Consultation Agreement." *NGO Monitor Digest*. Vol. 4 No. 4. 15 December 2005. Accessed 14 February 2008
<http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article.php?id=765>

¹⁵⁹ "End Palestinian Isolation." *Christian AID*. Accessed 6 January 2008
http://www.christianaid.org.uk/stoppoverty/conflict/stories/End_isolation.aspx

¹⁶⁰ "End Palestinian Isolation." *Christian AID*. Accessed 14 February 2008
http://www.christianaid.org.uk/stoppoverty/conflict/stories/End_isolation.aspx

¹⁶¹ To read more about this conference, see "October 2007 Digest." *NGO Monitor*. Vol. 6 No. 2. Accessed 14 February 2008
http://ngo-monitor.org/digest_info.php?id=1680

¹⁶² "October 2007 Digest." *NGO Monitor*. Vol. 6 No. 2. Accessed 14 February 2008
http://ngo-monitor.org/digest_info.php?id=1680

Conclusions and Recommendations

T

he detailed evidence presented in this analysis highlights the lack of real transparency and accountability in the funding provided by the European Union for NGOs active in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

In addition, EU grants provided through the Partnerships for Peace (PfP), EIDHR, and ECHO frameworks go to NGOs that are very active in the conflict, and which pursue objectives in direct opposition to the goals proclaimed by EU officials. Additionally, as noted in many examples, the EU's support of partisan and political groups in Israel that campaign to influence policy and public opinion, raises questions regarding the EU's interference in internal affairs of a democratic society. This research also demonstrates the absence of transparency and accountability in the disbursement of public funds by the EU.

On the basis of this analysis, a number of recommendations emerge for consideration, regarding transparency of information, selection processes, evaluation, accountability, and other dimensions central to EU funding policies.

Transparency – Creating a Comprehensive EU Database on NGO Funding

As the documentation, analysis, and NGO case studies in this report have demonstrated, information on the European Union's funding for NGOs is extremely difficult to obtain. Some data is withheld by EU officials (as reflected in the responses to requests made by the authors of this report). In other cases, the numerous bureaucratic layers involved in NGO funding (EMP, PfP, EIDHR, ECHO, AIDCO, EC Delegation offices in Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, Amman, etc.) make obtaining reliable information very difficult, as even MEPs interested in this issue have noted.

This is both a normative problem for the EU, which has emphasized the importance of transparency in government, and a practical issue that impedes oversight and an informed critical examination of policies and their impact.

To remedy this problem, it is important for the European Commission to create publicly available and readily obtainable sources that provide a comprehensive and reliable list of all NGO funding activity by region or country. Unlike the current limited and often hidden records, this database should include sections for each relevant funding instrument within the EU, as well as a standardized format with relevant details (recipient, contact information or link, amount, project name and description [only EIDHR projects include broad description of project], performance indicators, evaluation reports, time frame, etc). 2007 marked the first time that published data on contracts disbursed by EIDHR included the addresses and contact persons for each NGO recipient in the PA. This is a positive improvement in transparency and should be followed up with developments in other areas.

Transparency must also extend to the decision-making processes, so that the officials and "experts" involved in the prioritization and selection of NGOs that receive funding can be held accountable for their decisions. For each budget round in the different funding frameworks, the office involved should provide information on the number of applications that were submitted, how they were prioritized, as well as other aspects that ensure the overall transparency of the funding process. This would also address concerns regarding the role of individual political and ideological biases in EU funding decisions for NGOs in the Arab-Israeli conflict zone.

Re-granting

Re-granting, the transfer of EU funds from one set of NGOs to another, is apparently a common practice, but the extent is unknown, perhaps even within the European Commission itself. As a result, the Commission has no means of supervising the activities supported by its grant awards.

As a result, the EC should require NGO applicants and recipients to identify NGOs that receive funds through re-granting in advance, and this information should be included in the EU NGO funding database. The same standards used to select NGOs for grant proposals should be used to evaluate recipients via re-granting.

Evaluation Indicators

Basic principles of good governance and “best practices” require the application of clear performance indicators to evaluate the impact of public spending. This principle was applied belatedly to the evaluation of EU funding to the Palestinian Authority.¹⁶³

The need for professional and consistent impact evaluations is clearly important with regard to the EU funding of NGOs, and should specifically be applied to the considerable grants to NGOs active in the Arab-Israeli conflict zone, as examined in this report. The performance indicators should go beyond technical audits, and include standards by which to measure success or failure, according to the objectives stated in the EU’s guidelines and objectives. A “peace” program that increases conflict and distrust, for example, is clearly unsuccessful, as is the case for programs designed to strengthen democracy that are controlled by a non-democratic regime. As noted above, the broad description of EU goals that was provided in response to questions by MEP Van Buitenen regarding evaluations does not provide substantive information.¹⁶⁴ Indeed, such general statements highlight the need for professional evaluation mechanisms, including examining the impact of political campaigns by EU-funded NGOs.

Examining the NGO’s complete agenda

The evaluation of applications for funding, as well as impact assessments, must encompass the entire range of activities in which EU-funded NGOs are engaged. As noted in this study, money is fungible, and funds provided to a project are readily used for general NGO administrative costs, salaries, overhead, public relations, advertising, official travel and publicity, and other general items. Furthermore, in granting funds to an NGO, the EU is giving that organization a “stamp of approval” which is widely seen as applying to all of its activities. In the cases highlighted in this report, these include political campaigns that support the demonization of Israel which are antithetical to the claimed EU objectives in providing such funding. In this process, attention should also be given to the NGO’s affiliation with other NGOs, participation in explicitly anti-Israel/anti-Palestinian events, and the use of inflammatory language which fuels conflict.

Red-lines for NGO Funding – Durban Review Conference 2009

To ensure that EU funds for NGOs that are designated for promoting peace, human rights, democracy, and development are not misused in ways which promote conflict and demonize, it is necessary to define and implement “red lines” demarking the limits of acceptable behavior under these frameworks. To this end, the European Commission needs to write and adopt logical political “red lines” which prohibit funding for NGOs that violate them.

Such guidelines will require a coherent policy regarding EU funding for NGOs that pursue political objectives that are inconsistent with their stated goals. For example, the PfP framework declares that only “initiatives in areas which are likely to have an impact on people’s everyday lives and welfare, including practical activities which will promote communication and understanding by demonstrating the advantages of working together for mutual benefit and tangible results”, should be funded.¹⁶⁵ But in practice,

¹⁶³ “Olaf Investigation into EU Assistance to the Palestinian Authority Budget.” [European Anti-Fraud Office](http://ec.europa.eu/anti_fraud/press_room/pr/2005/03_en.html). 17 March 2005. Accessed 10 February 2008

¹⁶⁴ “Parliamentary Questions.” [European Parliament](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+WQ+E-2006-2209+0+DOC+XML+V0//EN&language=EN). 19 May 2006. Accessed 6 February 2008

<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+WQ+E-2006-2209+0+DOC+XML+V0//EN&language=EN>

as we have shown, the allocations under PfP, as well as EIDHR and ECHO, go to a number of NGOs that promote the “apartheid” campaign of delegitimization. Many participated in the 2001 Durban NGO Forum and are active in implementing the strategy of boycotts, divestment and sanctions against Israel. Clear red lines are needed to prevent NGOs from engaging in such destructive activity. The need for clear guidelines with respect to EU funding is highlighted in the context of the planned Durban review conference scheduled for 2009. Will the EU learn from the experience of 2001, and require NGOs that receive funding under one of the programs discussed in this analysis to forswear any involvement in the demonization of Israel? Other major NGO funders, have adopted such guidelines including the Ford Foundation which requires its recipients to ensure that “[their] organization will not promote or engage in violence, terrorism, bigotry or the destruction of any state, nor will it make sub-grants to any entity that engages in these activities.” Ford also clarified in this memo that “this prohibition applies to all of the organization’s funds, not just those provided through a grant from Ford.”¹⁶⁶

The EU should act in a similar manner to prevent NGOs from exploiting funds designated for peace, democracy, development and human rights for use in counterproductive and damaging activities.

Appendices

Table 1. Summary Table: EU Financing of NGOs operating in Israel and the Palestinian Authority: 2004-2007

Table 2. Israeli NGOs funded through the European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR): 2003-2006

Table 3. Palestinian NGOs funded through European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR) Micro-Projects: 2006

Table 4. Palestinian NGOs funded through the European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR): 2007

Table 5. Israeli and Palestinian NGOs funded through European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR) Micro-Projects and Macro-Projects: 2003-2005

Table 6. Israeli and Palestinian NGOs funded through Partnership for Peace (PfP): 2006 (2005 Budget)

Table 7. Israeli and Palestinian NGOs funded through Partnership for Peace (PfP): 2005 (2004 Budget)

Table 8. NGO Co-Financing Projects in the PA: 2004-2006

Table 9. List of partners funded by DG (European Commission Humanitarian Office) ECHO in the Palestinian Territories: 2007

¹⁶⁵ “EU Partnership for Peace Programme.” *The European Commission’s Delegation to Israel*. Accessed 6 February 2008

http://www.delisr.ec.europa.eu/english/content/cooperation_and_funding/3.asp

¹⁶⁶ “Ford Foundation: 2006 Update on Funding for Political NGOs active in the Palestinian Conflict.” *NGO Monitor*. 24 September 2007. Accessed 6 February 2008

http://www.ngomonitor.org/article/ford_foundation_update_on_funding_for_political_ngos_active_in_the_israeli_palestinian_conflict

Table 1:

EU Financing of NGOs operating in Israel and the Palestinian Authority: 2004-2007

This summary table of EU NGO funding is limited by different forms of data presentation, and by incomplete information in reports from ECHO, EIDHR and PfP. As a result, the amounts do not reflect the total EU funding to NGOs. (In addition, grants for projects related to culture, youth, migration and asylum, and energy management are not included)

| | 2007 (€) | 2006 (€) | 2005 (€) | 2004 (€) |
|-------------------|------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| EIDHR | | | | |
| <i>Micro</i> | | | | |
| Israel | Not available* | 830,846 | 414,774 | None |
| Palestinian | 701,661 | 1,265,620 | 315,205 | 444,448 |
| Regional | | | | |
| <i>Macro</i> | | | | |
| Israeli | Not available* | None | 886,215 | 1,014,142 |
| Palestinian | Not available* | 661,867 | 1,995,698 | 395,684 |
| Regional** | | | 1,000,000 | |
| ECHO*** | 13,000,000 | 25,200,000 | 10,800,000 | 11,205,000 |
| PfP | Not available* | 8,511,487 | 7,393,784 | None |
| Co-Finance | | | | |
| Palestinian | Not available* | 1,663,039 | 2,914,317 | 4,743,537 |
| Totals | < 13,701,661 | 38,132,859 | 25,719,993 | 17,802,811 |

* As of January 31, 2008, these allocations had not yet been made.

** Regional Grant was allocated to the Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Network, which includes NGOs in the PA, Israel, and from other Euro-Med members.

*** ECHO funds are allocated to NGOs, the UN and IRC and are designated for "Palestinian Populations" in the PA, Jordan, Syria or Lebanon. No information on the division between these areas is provided by ECHO. Given the absence of detailed information on funding, the amounts provided to NGOs must be estimated. Since support for NGOs comprises 30% to 40% of ECHO's annual budget, the amounts in this section are calculated at 30 percent of the annual total.

"West Bank and Gaza Strip." European Commission-Humanitarian AID. Accessed 14 February 2008
http://ec.europa.eu/echo/field/gaza/background_en.htm

Table 2:

Israeli NGOs funded through the European Instrument for Human Rights and Democracy (EIDHR): 2003-2006

| Micro-Projects Beneficiary | EC Contribution (€) | Start Date and Duration |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|
| Hamoked | 93,696 | Sep 2005 18 months |
| ACRI | 100,000 | Oct 2005 18 months |
| Arab Association for Human Rights | 95,532 | Oct 2005 18 months |
| College of Management | 42,400 | Oct 2005 18 months |
| KESHEV* | 96,211 | Jul 2006 12 months |
| B'Tselem | 100,000 | Jul 2006 12 months |
| Shatil | 97,578 | Sep 2006 18 months |
| Tel Aviv University | 87,763 | Oct 2006 12 months |
| CET | 96,135 | Aug 2006 24 months |
| Neighbours for Joint Development | 40,016 | Aug 2006 18 months |
| Abraham Fund | 89,617 | Jul 2006 12 months |
| Hotline for Migrant Workers | 86,134 | Jul 2006 12 months |
| Isha l'Isha | 94,674 | Oct 2006 12 months |
| Sikkuy | 42,718 | Oct 2006 24 months |
| Adva Centre | 83,977 | Dec 2005 15 months |

* According to Miftah's Financial statements from 2006, "The European Community through KESHEV", provided Miftah 165,028 euro.

For Miftah's financial statement see: <http://www.miftah.org/Programmes/FinancialStatements/fs-2006-final.pdf>

Source: "European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights." European Commission's Delegation to Israel. Accessed 14 February 2007

http://www.delisr.ec.europa.eu/english/content/cooperation_and_funding/4.asp

Table 2:

(cont.): Israeli NGOs funded through the European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR): 2003-2006

| Macro-Projects Beneficiary | EC Contribution (€) | Start Date and Duration |
|----------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|
| PLAM Media Center | 553,132 | Mar 2004 38 months |
| ACPP | 300,000 | Jan 2006 28 months |
| ICS | 357,268 | Dec 2005 36 months |
| Adalah | 513,684 | Jan 2006 36 months |
| Bimkom | 295,799 | Feb 2006 24 months |
| Mossawa | 298,660 | Dec 2005 24 months |
| PCATI | 230,287 | Dec 2005 24 months |
| PHR | 665,967 | May 2002 45 months |
| SHATIL | 784,377 | Dec 2002 36 months |
| SHATIL | 659,460 | Apr 2003 36 months |
| MADA Arab Centre | 897,937 | May 2003 36 months |
| Mossawa | 650,000 | May 2003 30 months |
| Community Advocacy | 300,360 | May 2003 36 months |
| B'TSELEM and HaMoked | 745,000 | Jul 2003 36 months |
| Women Against Violence | 461,010 | Apr 2004 22 months |

Table 3:

Palestinian NGOs Funded through European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR) Micro-Projects: 2006

| Beneficiary: Name & Address | Action title | Action location | Action duration (Months) | Grant amount (EUR) | Percentage of total eligible action costs (%) |
|---|---|--------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| International Peace And Cooperation Center Association | Journalist Engaging for Democracy | Jerusalem & West Bank | 12 M | 87,041.14 | 84% |
| International Palestinian Youth League IPYL | Civil Society and Media: Democracy in Action | Hebron- West Bank | 10 M | 82,982.90 | 84.50% |
| Teacher Creativity Center Association | Promoting Participation of Teachers in the Empowerment of Labour Unions | West Bank | 12 M | 70,245.00 | 85% |
| Old City Youth Association | Right Place for All - Promoting Democratic Values by Practice | Jerusalem | 18 M | 63,136.08 | 84% |
| Juhoud for Community And Rural Development Association | Reinvigorating the Youth Cadres Toward the Developing of the Electoral Processes in Palestine | West Bank | 18 M | 99,988.00 | 80% |

Source: "Grant Awards." European Commission Technical Assistance Office for the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Accessed 14 February 2008

<http://www.delwbg.ec.europa.eu/en/funding/grant.htm>

Table 3:

(cont.): Palestinian NGOs Funded through European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights Micro-Projects: 2006

| Beneficiary: Name & Address | Action title | Action location | Action duration (Months) | Grant amount (EUR) | Percentage of total eligible action costs (%) |
|---|--|---------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| Bethlehem Arab Society For Rehabilitation Association Bethlehem-West Bank | Global Support for Children Effected by Violence in the Bethlehem District | Bethlehem- West Bank | 12 M | 99,423.88 | 60.50% |
| Early Childhood Resource Center Limited Jerusalem | Mobilizing Community Towards Children's Rights | Jerusalem & West Bank | 12 M | 99,979.00 | 85% |
| Democracy And Workers Rights Center Association Ramallah-West Bank | Advancing Gender Equality at Work and in the Labor Market | West Bank & Gaza Strip | 12 M | 97,138.00 | 85% |
| Sawa All The Women Together Today & Tomorrow Association Jerusalem | Rights, Prevention Education and Support Against Sexual and Domestic Violence | Jerusalem & West Bank | 12 M | 98,140.80 | 80% |
| Palestinian Center For Democracy And Conflict Resolution Ltd Gaza-Gaza Strip | Women Protection Team | West Bank | 12 M | 94,253.10 | 81% |

Source: "Grant Awards." European Commission Technical Assistance Office for the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Accessed 14 February 2008

<http://www.delwbg.ec.europa.eu/en/funding/grant.htm>

Table 3:

(cont.): Palestinian NGOs Funded through European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR) Micro-Projects: 2006

| Beneficiary: Name & Address | Action title | Action location | Action duration (Months) | Grant amount (EUR) | Percentage of total eligible action costs (%) |
|---|---|--|--------------------------|--------------------|---|
| The Culture And Free Thought Association Gaza- Gaza Strip | Preventing and Reducing the Occurrence of Gender Based Violence (GBV) in the Gaza Strip Through an Innovative Methodology and an Integrated Approach. | Buriej Camp- Gaza Strip | 12 M | 90,000.00 | 74.27% |
| Al-Quds University Jerusalem | Promoting Palestinian Rights Through Modern Media | Jerusalem & West Bank | 14 M | 95,561.36 | 84.60% |
| Sharek Youth Forum Association Ramallah-West Bank | Dynamic Human Rights Unit | West Bank & Gaza Strip | 12 M | 87,730.37 | 85% |
| Society Of Remedial Education Center Association Gaza-Gaza Strip | Promotion of the Rights of Marginalized Street Children in the Northern Part of the Gaza Strip | Gaza, Jabalia and Beit Lahia -Gaza Strip | 12 M | 100,000.00 | 73.33% |

Source: "Grant Awards." European Commission Technical Assistance Office for the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Accessed 14 February 2008

<http://www.delwbg.ec.europa.eu/en/funding/grant.htm>

Table 4:

Palestinian NGOs funded through the European Instrument for Human Rights and Democracy (EIDHR): 2007

| Beneficiary: Name & Address | Action title | Action location | Action duration (Months) | Grant amount (EUR) | Percentage of total eligible action costs (%) |
|---|---|-----------------|--------------------------|--------------------|---|
| Al Quds Educational Tv / Institute of Modern Media, Ms. Dalia Othman, P.O. Box 3523, Al Bireh, Ramallah, College of Health Professional Building, Ramallah, Tel 295 9274, Fax 295 9275 | Peace Education through Modern Media | West Bank | 12 | 96,286 | 90% |
| The Palestinian Center for the Independence of the Judiciary and the Legal Profession - Musawa, Mr. Ibrahim Al-Barghouthi, Al-Bireh, Al- Balo'a, the Courts Street, Ramallah, P.O.Box 1226, Tel. 240 4870, fax 240 4866 | The Enhancement of Democratic Principles in Palestinian Through the Enhancement and Development of Electoral Processes. | West Bank | 15 | 81,162.90 | 90% |
| Teacher Creativity Center, Mr. Refaat Sabbah, General Director, Abu Saquer Building, 2nd floor, Haret El-Jadwal, Ein Musbah, P.O.Box 1948, Ramallah, Tel 295 9960, fax 296 6481 | Activation and Empowerment of Parents Councils in Palestinian Schools | West Bank | 12 | 79,611 | 90% |
| Holy Land Trust, Mr. Sami Awad, Executive Director, 529 Manger Street, P.O.Box 737, Bethlehem, Tel 276 5930, Fax 276 5931 | A Palestinian Radio Series for Children by Children and for Women by Women | West Bank | 12 | 99,657.27 | 80% |
| Young Artists Forum, Mr. Fady Atta, green tower Building, floor 3, Al-Nuzha Street, P.O.Box 4436, Ramallah, Tel 296 7654, Fax 296 7654 | Promoting the Democratic Concepts and Human Rights for the Youth Through Arts. | West Bank | 14 | 80,674.36 | 90% |
| Internews Middle East, Mr. Khader Abu Aker, 56 Assafa St., East Jerusalem, Tel, 626 0766, Fax 626 1443 | Have Your Say- Promoting Democracy Through Local Radio | West Bank | 12 | 86,891.14 | 87%) |
| Society of remedial Education Center, Mr. Hussam S.A. Hamdouna, Jabalia, Gaza, Tel 08-245 7785, fax 08-245 0930 | Promotion of the Democratic Process and Active Participation Among Young Population in Gaza Strip | Gaza | 12 | 91,496.04 | 73%) |
| Fekra Arts Institute, Mr. Iyas Nser, Lala'a St. - Salama Bsaiso Building, Gaza, Tel 08- 284 6722, fax 08- 284 6722 | Promoting the Democratic Process for the Youth of the Gaza Strip Through Drama | Gaza | 7 | 88.689.39 | 89% |
| Society Voice Association for Community and Civil Work, Mr. Ibrahim Natil, Nusseirat, Main Street, Nabil Hamad Building, Gaza, Tel 08- 286 0405, Fax 08- 286 0405 | Empower Women Participation in the Democratic Process with Emphasis on "Free of Expression and Stop Honour Killings." | Gaza | 18 | 85,882.00 | 79% |

Source: "Grant Awards." European Commission Technical Assistance Office for the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Accessed 14 February 2008

<http://www.delwbg.ec.europa.eu/en/funding/grant.htm>

Table 5:

Israeli and Palestinian NGOs funded through European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR) Micro-Projects and Macro-Projects: 2003-2005

| Budget year | Contract year | Title | Organization | EIDHR grant (€) | Total Project Budget | Location |
|-------------|---------------|--|--|-----------------|----------------------|------------------|
| 2003 | 2003 | Radio networking for democracy in Palestine | Internews Europe Association | 461,004 | 576,254 | West Bank / Gaza |
| 2002 | 2003 | Post-trauma Rehabilitation of Palestinians Physically Disabled due to Torture | Folkekirkens Nodhjaelp | 649,329 | 949,329 | West Bank / Gaza |
| 2002 | 2003 | The Treatment and Rehabilitation Center for Victims of Torture (TRC), Ramallah -Palestine | Treatment & Rehabilitation Center For Victims Of Torture | 361,326 | 516,180 | West Bank / Gaza |
| 2002 | 2003 | Combating Torture of Palestinians | B' Tselem -- The Israeli Information Center For Human Rights In The Administered Territories Association | 745,000 | 931,516 | Israel |
| 2002 | 2003 | Bedouin Citizens for Equal Rights | Community Advocacy | 279,583 | 367,872 | Israel |
| 2002 | 2003 | Campaign against Racism | Mossawa Center The Advocacy Center for Arab Citizens Of Israel | 650,000 | 816,640 | Israel |
| 2002 | 2003 | Increasing Presence, Monitoring Absence: Combating Discrimination Against Palestinian Citizens of Israel | Association For Applied Social Research | 897,937 | 897,937 | Israel |
| 2002 | 2003 | Bedouin Education: Mobilizing Community Activism for Equal Access to Education | The New Israel Fund-Shatil | 659,460 | 924,032 | Israel |
| 2003 | 2004 | Democratisation from the grass-roots : Media and Networking as a tool for community development | Associazione Servizio Civile Internazionale | 395,684 | 497,716 | West Bank / Gaza |
| 2003 | 2004 | Supporting Women Seeking to Run in Local Council Elections | Civic Forum Institute Association Cfi | 97,162 | 115,669 | West Bank / Gaza |

*Includes non-Israel and Palestinian NGO which were awarded contracts to work in Israel and the PA

Source: "Democracy and Human Rights Projects." [European Commission](#).

Accessed 10 February 2008

http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/where/worldwide/eidhr/projects_en.htm

Table 5:

(cont.): Israeli and Palestinian* NGOs funded through European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR) Micro-Projects and Macro-Projects: 2003-2005

| Budget year | Contract year | Title | Organization | EIDHR grant (€) | Total Project Budget | Location |
|-------------|---------------|--|---|-----------------|----------------------|------------------|
| 2003 | 2004 | Theatre of the Oppressed Highlighting Gender Inequalities and Advocating Legal Reform in Promotion of Democracy and Human Rights | The Jerusalem Ashtar Theatre Association | 96,590 | 136,330 | West Bank / Gaza |
| 2003 | 2004 | Training Women Leadership | The Psycho Social Counseling Center For Women Association Psc | 69,142 | 81,448 | West Bank / Gaza |
| 2003 | 2004 | Towards Palestinian Rural Youth Effective Participation in Democracy Making Process | Agricultural Development Association | 58,487 | 73,109 | West Bank / Gaza |
| 2003 | 2004 | Decreasing Women's Political illiteracy in the Marginalized Areas of the Gaza Strip | Gaza Community Mental Health Programme | 42,902 | 77,597 | West Bank / Gaza |
| 2003 | 2004 | Empower Women Political and Social Participation | Association Of Society Voice For Social And Developing Work | 80,165 | 98,362 | West Bank / Gaza |
| 2003 | 2004 | Responsible and Professional Media Project (RPMP, to be used in the remainder of the document) | E'alam | 548,884 | 685,822 | Israel |
| 2003 | 2004 | Campaign to Raise Awareness of Women's Rights & Services Within the Palestinian Community in Israel | Women Against Violence | 461,010 | 461,010 | Israel |
| 2004 | 2005 | Promoting Access to the Israeli Legal System for Arab Citizens of Israel | Adalah-The Legal Center For Arab Minority Rights In Israel | 513,684 | 642,105 | Israel |
| 2004 | 2005 | Public Outreach and Advocacy Campaign to strengthen the rights of minorities in the field of spatial planning | Bimkom - Planners For Planning Rights | 295,799 | 405,204 | Israel |

Table 5:

(cont.): Israeli and Palestinian* NGOs funded through European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR) Micro-Projects and Macro-Projects: 2003-2005

| Budget year | Contract year | Title | Organization | EIDHR grant (€) | Total Project Budget | Location |
|-------------|---------------|---|---|-----------------|----------------------|------------------|
| 2004 | 2005 | Capacity building project to combat the legitimization of torture in Israel | The Public Committee Against Torture In Israel Association | 230,287 | 460,574 | Israel |
| 2004 | 2005 | Coalition Against Torture - Preventing Torture in Israel and the Occupied Territories | Consorzio Italiano Di Solidarieta | 357,268 | 446,585 | Israel |
| 2004 | 2005 | Combating Racism by implementing the program "I spy with my little eye" in Israel | Asociacion Asamblea De Cooperacionpor La Paz | 300,000 | 375,000 | Israel |
| 2004 | 2005 | Combating Racism and Conflict Transformation in Israel | Mossawa Center The Advocacy Centerfor Arab Citizens Of Israel | 298,660 | 409,123 | Israel |
| 2004 | 2005 | Hamoked Centre for the Defence of the Individual | Hamoked Center For The Defence Of The Individual | 93,696 | 156,160 | Israel |
| 2004 | 2005 | Adva Center | Adva Center Amutah | 83,977 | 93,307 | Israel |
| 2004 | 2005 | Arab Association for Human Rights | The Arab Association For Human Rights | 95,532 | 136,474 | Israel |
| 2004 | 2005 | The College of Management - The Concord Research Centre for the Interplay Between Israeli Law and International Norms | The College Of Management Academic Studies | 42,400 | 53,000 | Israel |
| 2004 | 2005 | The Association for Civil Rights in Israel (ACRI) | The Association For Civil Rights In Israel | 99,169 | 127,266 | Israel |
| 2004 | 2005 | Strengthening civil society through enhancing the accountability and good governance in the NGO sector | Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung Ev | 320,000 | 400,000 | West Bank / Gaza |
| 2004 | 2005 | Promoting good governance among Palestinian civil society organizations | Democracy And Workers Rights Center Association | 217,298 | 271,622 | West Bank / Gaza |
| 2004 | 2005 | Prisoner Rights and Democratic Development. | Palestinian Center For Human Rights | 293,225 | 412,993 | West Bank / Gaza |

Table 5:

(cont.): Israeli and Palestinian NGOs funded through European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR) Micro-Projects and Macro-Projects: 2003-2005

| Budget year | Contract year | Title | Organization | EIDHR grant (€) | Total Project Budget | Location |
|-------------|---------------|---|--|-----------------|----------------------|------------------|
| (2004 | 2005 | Awareness raising and lobbying against the Death Penalty in the occupied Palestinian Territory (oPT) | Stichting Oxfam Novib | 298,339 | 374,046 | West Bank / Gaza |
| 2004 | 2005 | Strengthening of Rehabilitation Services to Victims of Torture in the North and South of the West Bank | Treatment & Rehabilitation Center For Victims Of Torture | 966,701 | 1,288,935 | West Bank / Gaza |
| 2005 | 2005 | EU EOM to West Bank and Gaza, Legislative Elections 25/01/2006 | International Organization For Migration | 2,403,320 | 2,403,320 | West Bank / Gaza |
| 2004 | 2005 | Awareness Raising Campaigns on the Dangers of Early Marriage and the Rights of the Female Child | Women's Studies Center Association | 68,656 | 80,771 | West Bank / Gaza |
| 2004 | 2005 | Increase Citizen Participation in the Municipal Decision Making Process | Palestinian Center For Democracy And Conflict Resolution Ltd | 78,254 | 97,977 | West Bank / Gaza |
| 2004 | 2005 | Building a Ground for Democratisation, Civil Society Empowerment and Participation Culture and Good Governance in 18 Remote Villages of the West Bank | Palestinian Youth Union Association | 84,648 | 99,586 | West Bank / Gaza |
| 2004 | 2005 | Advocacy and Training on Children's Rights | Early Childhood Resource Center Limited | 83,379 | 98,093 | West Bank / Gaza |

Table 6:

Israeli and Palestinian* NGOs funded through Partnership for Peace (PfP): 2006 (2005 Budget)

| Beneficiary: | Location | Months | Euros (€) |
|---|----------------------------|--------|-----------|
| The Centre for Conflict Resolution and Reconciliation | West Bank | 24 | 125200 |
| Palestinian Peace Coalition Association | West Bank | 24 | 411859 |
| Institute for International Assistance and Solidarity | West Bank | 15 | 269791 |
| Associazione Comunita Papa Giovanni XXIII | West Bank | 12 | 66000 |
| All for Peace Radio | Israel, West Bank | 12 | 232633 |
| Salzburg Seminar Global Forum | West bank, Austria | 30 | 277797 |
| Al Quds University | West Bank, Israel, Jordan | 24 | 374073 |
| Psycho Social Counselling Center for Women | West Bank | 12 | 108873 |
| Palestinian Youth Association: PYALARA | West Bank, Gaza | 24 | 259776 |
| Oxford Research Group** | Israel, West Bank | 24 | 500000 |
| Forum Ziviler Friedensdienst EV | West Bank, Israel, Jordan | 26 | 213110 |
| Community Radio Station in Birzeit Area | West Bank | 36 | 339699 |
| Georg Eckert Institut Fur Internationale Schulbuchforschung | West Bank, Israel, Germany | 24 | 298370 |
| Agenda - The Israeli Center for Strategic Communication | Israel | 24 | 172407 |
| Arava Institute for Environmental Studies | Israel, West Bank, Jordan | 12 | 160117 |
| Coalition of Women for Peace | Israel | 24 | 247954 |
| Galilee Society | Israel | 24 | 188735 |
| H.L. Education for Peace Ltd. | Israel | 12 | 278877 |
| KESHEV | Israel, West Bank, Italy | 24 | 484957 |
| Machsom Watch | Israel, West Bank | 36 | 251650 |
| Bitterlemons.org | Israel, West Bank | 36 | 368280 |
| Save A Child's Heart | Israel, West Bank and Gaza | 12 | 500000 |
| Windows – Channels for Communications | Israel, West Bank | 24 | 300000 |
| Neve Shalom/Wahat Al Salaam School for Peace | Israel, West Bank, Gaza | 28 | 385665 |
| Sarah Herzog – Ezrath Nashim Memorial Hospital | Israel, West Bank and Gaza | 18 | 278327 |
| Agan Beit Natufa | Israel, West Bank | 36 | 477211 |
| Istituto per la Cooperazione Universitaria Onlus | Jordan, Israel | 36 | 440580 |
| Konrad Adenauer Stiftung | Israel, West Bank, Jordan | 24 | 499545 |

Source: "EU Partnership for Peace Programme." [European Commission's Delegation to Israel](http://www.delisr.ec.europa.eu/english/content/cooperation_and_funding/3.asp). Accessed 14 December 2008
http://www.delisr.ec.europa.eu/english/content/cooperation_and_funding/3.asp

*Includes non-Israel and Palestinian NGO which were awarded contracts to work in Israel and the PA

**The Oxford Research Group also operates in Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Turkey and EU

Table 7:

Israeli and Palestinian* NGOs funded through Partnership for Peace (PfP): 2005 (2004 Budget)

| Beneficiary | Location | Months | Euros (€) |
|--|---------------------------------|--------|------------|
| Regione Toscana | West Bank Israel | 24 | 320,000 |
| Palestinian Centre for Peace and Democracy | West Bank | 36 | 271,470 |
| Associazione "ORLANDO" | West Bank | 36 | 300,000 |
| Holy Land Trust Palestine | West Bank | 15 | 156,543 |
| Middle East Publications/ Palestine-Israel Journal | West Bank Israel | 24 | 499,853 |
| Panorama- | West Bank, Gaza, Israel | 24 | 500,000 |
| Al- Lod Charitable Society | West Bank | 18 | 103,500 |
| Applied Research Institute- Jerusalem ARIJ | West Bank, Gaza | 32 | 499,584 |
| The Royal Institute of International Affairs** | West Bank/Gaza, Israel, | 36 | 497,022 |
| Save a Child's Heart | West Bank, Gaza, Israel | 12 | 499,039.00 |
| Machsom Watch | Israel, West Bank | 12 | 60,000 |
| Commitment to Peace and Social Justice | Israel | 24 | 179,335 |
| Machon Mifne | Israel | 12 | 296,000 |
| H.L. Education for Peace Ltd. | Israel | 12 | 220,000 |
| EcoPeace/Friends of the Earth Middle East | Israel, West Bank, Gaza, Jordan | 24 | 500,000 |
| The Peres Center for Peace | Israel | 24 | 483,940 |
| Parents Circle-Families Forum | Israel, West Bank and Gaza | 24 | 500,000 |
| Ir Amim (A.R.) | Israel | 36 | 475,160 |
| ICAHD | Israel, West Bank | 24 | 472,786 |

Source: "EU Partnership for Peace Programme." European Commission's Delegation to Israel.

Accessed 14 February 2008

http://www.delisr.ec.europa.eu/english/content/cooperation_and_funding/3.asp

* Includes non-Israel and Palestinian NGO which were awarded contracts to work in Israel, the PA and Jordan

**The Royal Institute of International Affairs also operates in Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Cyprus, United Kingdom, Belgium

Table 8: NGO Co-Financing Projects in the PA: 2004-2006

| Year | Beneficiary | Location | Grant (euro) |
|------|--|----------|--------------|
| 2004 | Y Care International | WB | 499,292 |
| 2004 | Save The Children (UK) | WB/GS | 514,194 |
| 2004 | Movimiento Por La Paz | WB | 295986 |
| 2004 | Medical Aid for Palestinians | GS | 460556 |
| 2004 | Christoffel Blindemission Deutschland | GS | 750,000 |
| 2004 | Cruz Roja Espanola | WB/GS | 652,868 |
| 2004 | Asamblea de Cooperacion Por La Paz | GS | 720,640 |
| 2004 | Christian Aid | GS | 850,000 |
| 2005 | Association Planet Finance | WB/GS | 749,867 |
| 2005 | Medical Aid for Palestinians | WB | 613,220 |
| 2005 | Sticting Oxfam Novib | WB | 736,463 |
| 2005 | Associazone Para La Cooperacion Con El Sur La Segovias (ACSUR) * | | 814,766.48 |
| 2006 | German Red Cross | WB/GS | 984,657 |
| 2006 | Care International UK | GS | 678,381 |

*In 2005, ACSUR received a block grant. Published information does not specify the action title for which it was funded.

Source : "Block Grants." European Commission Technical Assistance Office for the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Accessed 14 February 2008

<http://www.delwbg.ec.europa.eu/en/funding/grant.htm> Table 9. List of partners funded by DG

Table 9:

List of partners funded by DG ECHO (European Commission Humanitarian Office) in the Palestinian Territories: 2007

| NGOs | UN Agencies |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| ACPP (Spain) | OCHA |
| ACH (Spain) | WFP |
| Care (Austria) | UNRWA |
| Care (France) | UNICEF |
| CRIC (Italy) | WHO |
| CISP (Italy) | |
| Die Johaniter (Germany) | International Organizations |
| EEDA (Greece) | ICRC |
| GVC (Italy) | |
| Handicap International (France) | |
| Mercy Corps (US) | |
| Médecins du monde (France) | |
| Medico (Germany) | |
| Merlin (UK) | |
| MAP (UK) | |
| Oxfam (GB) | |
| Première Urgence (France) | |
| Red Cross (Denmark) | |
| Red Cross (France) | |
| Save the Children (Netherlands) | |
| Terre des Hommes (Italy) | |
| Terre des Hommes (Switzerland) | |

Source: This list of NGOs funded under ECHO was provided in Email communication from an EC official, 11 January, 2008.

Bibliography

Arato, A. and J. Cohen. Civil Society and Political Theory. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992.

Ballesteros, Andres and Jorge A. Restrepo, Michael Spagat and Juan F. Vargas. "The Work of Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch: Evidence from Colombia," Conflict Analysis Resource Center No. 4 (2007). Accessed 10 February 2008
www.cerac.org.co/pdf/CERAC_WP_4.pdf

Blitt, Robert Charles. "Who Will Watch the Watchdogs? Human Rights Non-Governmental Organizations and the Case for Regulation." Buffalo Human Rights Law Review Vol. 10 (2004).

Cotler, Irwin, "Durban's Troubling Legacy One Year Later: Twisting the Cause of International Human Rights Against the Jewish People," Jerusalem Issue Brief, Institute for Contemporary Affairs/Jerusalem Centre for Public Affairs, Vol. 2, No. 5, (2002). Accessed 10 February 2008
www.jcpa.org/-brief/brief2-5.htm

Davenport, David. "The New Diplomacy." Hoover Policy Review No. 116 (2003). Accessed 10 February 2008
<http://www.hoover.org/publications/policyreview/3413436.html>

Ehrlich, Michael. "Amnesty International-- Do Your Homework." Jerusalem Post 2 June 2005. Accessed 10 February 2008
<http://www.jpost.com/servlet/Satellite?pagename=JPost/JParticle/Printer&cid=1117594048704&p=1006953079865>

Gavison, Ruth. "The Jews Right to Statehood: A Defense." Azure No. 15 (2003).

Manfred Gerstenfeld, interview with Gideon Shimoni, "Deconstructing Apartheid: Accusations Against Israel," (Jerusalem: JCPA) September 2007.

Habibi, Don. "Human Rights and Politicized Human Rights: A Utilitarian Critique." Journal of Human Rights Vol. 6 (2007).

Halevi, Ran. "Frontier State." Azure No. 23 (2006). Accessed 10 February 2008
<http://www.azure.org.il/magazine/magazine.asp?id=286>

Hartwick, Jeffrey Andrew. "Non-governmental organizations at United Nations-sponsored world conferences: a framework for participation reform" Loyola of Los Angeles International & Comparative Law Review Vol.26 No.2 (2003):217-280.

Jamal, Amaney A. Barriers to Democracy: The Other Side of Social Capital in Palestine and the Arab World. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007.

Joffe, Josef, "The Demons of Europe." Commentary (2004).

Lehr-Lehnardt, Rana, "NGO Legitimacy: Reassessing Democracy, Accountability and Transparency." Presented at the 2nd annual LL.M. Conference at Cornell Law School on April 16, 2005. Accessed 10 February 2008
<http://lsr.nellco.org/cornell/lps/clacp/6/>

Keck, Margaret and Kathryn Sikkink. Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics. New York: Cornell University Press, 41.

Mathews, Jessica T. "Power Shift." Foreign Affairs Vol. 76 No.1 (1997): 50-66.

Moisi, Dominique, "Reinventing the West." Foreign Affairs Vol. 82 No.6 (2003).

Niggli, Peter and Andre Rothenbuhler. "Do the NGOs Have a Problem of Legitimacy?" (Global Policy Forum), December 2003. Accessed 10 February 2008
<http://www.globalpolicy.org/ngos/credib/2003/1203problem.htm>

Nye Jr., Joseph S. Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics. NY: Public Affairs, 2004.

Nye Jr., Joseph S. "The Decline of America's Soft Power." Foreign Affairs Vol.83 No. 3 (2004).

Oesterle, Dale. "A Clear-Headed Look at NGOs." Colorado Journal of International Environmental Law and Policy Vol.13 (2002): 129.

Putnam, Robert. Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.

Rosenfeld, Alvin H. "Progressive' Jewish Thought and the New Anti-Semitism." (American Jewish Committee), New York, 2006.

Slim, Hugo. "By What Authority? The Legitimacy and Accountability of Non-Governmental Organizations." Presented at International Meeting on Global Trends and Human Rights Before and After September 11. (Geneva, International Council on Human Rights Policy), January 2002.

Small, Edward H. and Charles A. Small. "Anti-Israel Sentiment Predicts Anti-Semitism in Europe." Journal of Conflict Resolution Vol. 50 No. 4 (2006).

Steinberg, Gerald. "Civil Society, Intercultural Dialogue and Political Activism: Rethinking EMP Policies." Intercultural Dialogue and Civilization: Translating Values into Actions. Ed. Leonce Bekemans et al.: Venice: Marsilio, 2007.

Steinberg, Gerald M., "Soft Powers Play Hardball: NGOs Wage War against Israel." Israel Affairs 2006: 748-768.

Steinberg, Gerald M. "The UN, the ICJ and the Separation Barrier: War by Other Means." Israel Law Review 2005: 1-2.