

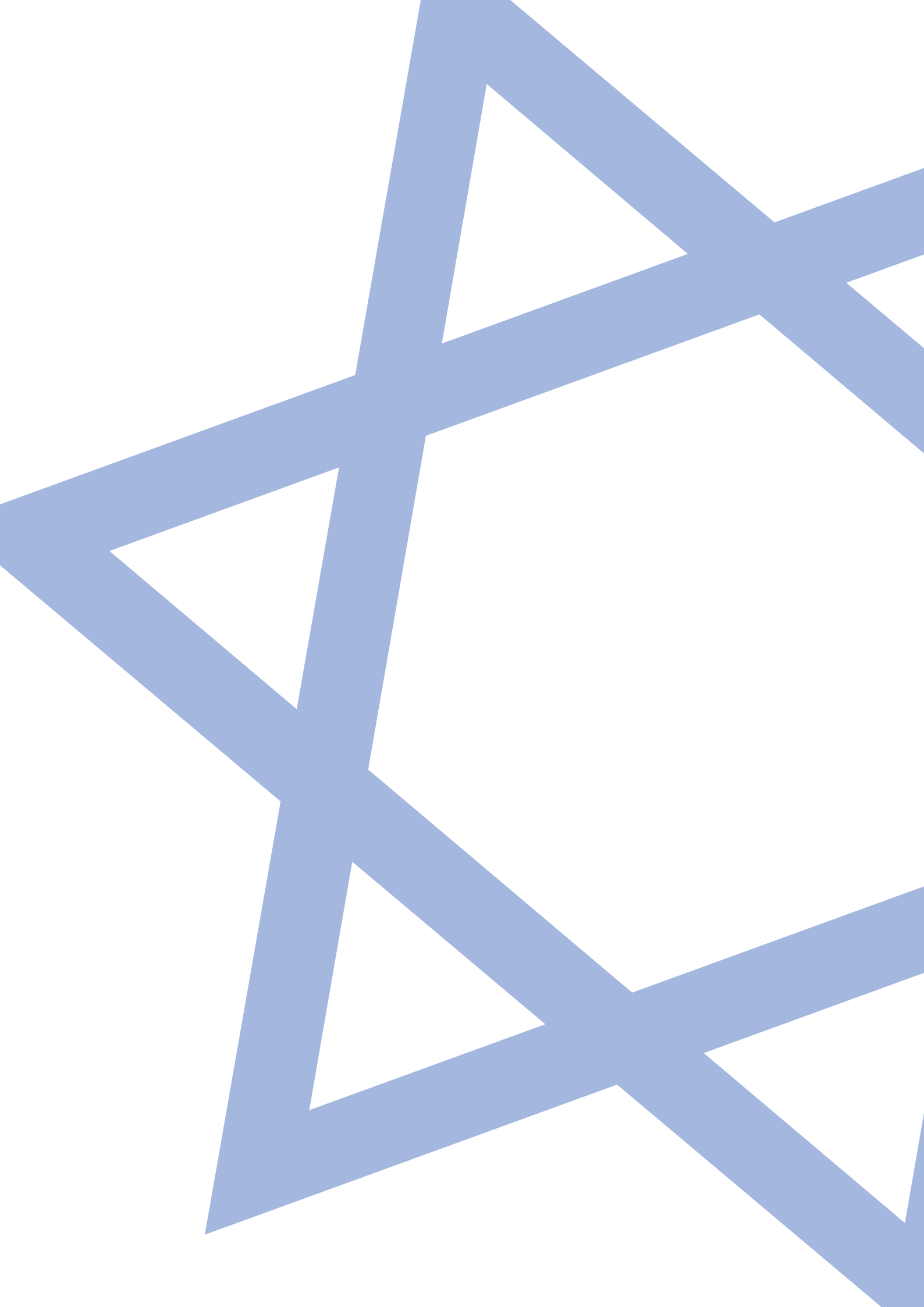
FEDERAZIONE DELLE ASSOCIAZIONI ITALIA-ISRAELE
FONDAZIONE CAMIS DE FONSECA
INFORMAZIONE CORRETTA

BOYCOTT
DIVESTEMENT
SANCTIONS

HOW MUCH DOES IT COST TO DELEGITIMIZE ISRAEL?

EDITED BY GIOVANNI QUER

**REPORT ON PUBLIC
FUNDING OF ITALIAN
NGOS THAT DELEGITIMIZE
ISRAEL**





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ITALIA-ISRAELE FONDAZIONE CAMIS DE
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INTRODUCTION TO REPORT ON ITALIAN GOVERNMENT FUNDING FOR NGOS INVOLVED IN DEMONIZATION CAMPAIGNS

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For more than ten years, the Italian government and local authorities have provided taxpayer funds to a number of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that are centrally involved in anti-peace and anti-Israel political advocacy. Like many other Western European governments, the flow of millions of Euros annually from the Italian budget to a number of radical political advocacy groups has been largely hidden from public view. There have been no government documents detailing how the recipients are chosen; listing the amounts and recipients in a comprehensive framework; or evaluating what, if anything useful has been accomplished. Clearly, this money has not led to breakthroughs in the Arab-Israeli peace efforts, or helped the Palestinian population under the control of Hamas become economically independent and democratic.

Similarly, the Italian parliament has not debated the justification of these policies, or examined the outcomes by asking whether these tens of millions are being spent wisely, or are actually counterproductive to stated policy goals of promoting peace, democracy, and human rights. In parallel, the otherwise active Italian journalists have allowed the NGO “halo effect” to prevent any serious independent investigations.

Given this history of failure, the following report, based on systematic, detailed and fully sourced research, marks an extremely important contribution to understanding the Italian government’s annual budgetary allocation to a small group of political advocacy

NGOs operating in the Middle East. For the first time, the evidence is presented both to the Italian public and the citizens in the region (particularly Israelis).

The analysis clearly demonstrates that, at the very least, millions of Euros in Italian taxpayer funds are being wasted every year on a small group of favored political NGOs that accomplish nothing of significance.

In a more disturbing analysis, this money is used for immoral objectives related to political warfare against Israel, singling out the Jewish state in a racist manner and exploiting the language of human rights to destroy these very principles. Since the notorious NGO Forum at the 2001 UN Durban conference adopted a strategy for the elimination of Israel based on false allegations of “apartheid” and “war crimes”, these radical NGOs have received European government funding, including from Italy. There is no moral justification for government support of these anti-human rights, anti-peace, and anti-Israel organizations. While many use the language of human rights, humanitarian aid, and peace, their agendas are not consistent with any of these moral objectives.

The publication of this independent research report should not mark the end of this project, but rather, the beginning. On this basis, government ministries and officials have been put on notice -- the era of secret and immoral NGO funding is over. Parliamentary committees can begin investigations of the responsible officials and branches, while journalists now have a document that details this funding and the counterproductive NGO activities that result. In this way, Italy can join the UK and Canada, whose governments have begun to stop such wasteful and immoral NGO funding.

INTRODUCTION

DELEGITIMIZATION, NGOs AND PUBLIC FUNDING

The delegitimization of Israel is a form of diplomatic war based on demonization, historical distortion, and boycotts. These campaigns portray Israel as a pariah state, deny its right to exist, and consequently, its right to self-defense. The diplomatic war against Israel began during the Cold War, and includes the adoption of the 1975 UN General Assembly resolution equating Zionism with racism. From the 1970s through the 1990s, the delegitimization of Israel was part of Cold War history and ideology; currently, it is part of an international context defined by human rights and third-worldism, or post-colonialism. This ideology views political relations between developed and developing countries through the theories of Antonio Gramsci, an influential Italian Marxist, and an overarching ideological frame of neo-colonial hegemony and exploitation. This was reflected in structures such as the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), which sought to constitute an alternative power to the then polarized world.¹

Post-colonialism tends to focus primarily, if not exclusively, on criticism toward the West or toward those states perceived as hegemonic, and thus perceived as imperialist.² This worldview is reflected in the political analyses of the Arab-Israeli conflict, where Israel, considered the hegemonic power, features as the colonialist power over the Palestinians, the colonized people.³

Post-colonial images of Middle East in general, and of the Arab-Israeli conflict specifically, portray Israel as the major cause of Palestinian suffering. This biased approach to the Arab-Israeli conflict and antipathy toward Israel are accepted as part of an ideological interpretation of history and politics.

1 On the development of third-worldism from Marxist to post-colonial theories in the realm of international political economy and political theory, see Neil Lazarus, *The Postcolonial Unconscious*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

2 Pascal Bruckner, *The Tears of the White Man: Compassion as Contempt*, (New York: Free Press, 1986).

3 Pascal Bruckner, *The Tyranny of Guilt*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), pp. 64-71.

NGOs (non-governmental organizations), the leading non-state actors in the post-modern international arena and active proponents of third-worldism, are a major component of the efforts to delegitimize Israel. In this process, public funding is provided to NGOs, through grants from national and local governments.

Government funding for NGOs reflects tacit ideological consent, lending a stamp of state approval to NGO activity and, at times, to an overall ideology. This implied approval is also noteworthy in cases of funding for individual projects. By selecting a specific project, the funding body legitimizes the NGO analysis as well as its joint activities with local partners, at times extending to links with terror organizations, as will be shown in the report.

In the case of Italian funding of NGOs, this ideological consent for anti-Israel forces clashes with Italy's official foreign policy and creates an inconsistent relationship with Israel; on the one hand, the official foreign policy is based on friendly relations, shared values, and mutual respect; on the other, an unofficial tacit state policy of condemnation, stigmatization, and demonization.

This report examines public funding for those NGOs that operate in Israel/ the Palestinian Authority. Three major problems arise in the process of data collection:

- **Lack of transparency**
- **Incomplete information**
- **Post-colonialist rhetoric**

Full data on grants to political NGOs is not available on local authorities' web sites, where, in some cases, information on the previous five years is published. In many cases, the amounts of specific grants to NGOs, as well as the percentage of the total project budget, are not reported. The composition of the evaluation committee that selects a project is never reported. Furthermore, different local authorities may fund the same project: either through the same organization via duplicate submissions, or through multiple contributions to the same project by numerous local authorities.

This report aims to critically analyze Italian public funding to NGOs that delegitimize Israel through ideology, activities, and reporting. Specifically, this study questions the efficiency of interna-

tional aid when dealing with large funds, without proper oversight. Furthermore, the report investigates the legitimacy of NGO funding under Italian constitutional law, in light of local authorities' responsibilities and potential inconsistency with official foreign policy. According to the principle of transparency, cooperation activities, which receive public funding, should be subject to public scrutiny.

By critically reviewing foreign aid policies, it is possible to pursue humanitarian aims for the Palestinian people, and to simultaneously avoid the delegitimization of Israel and cooperation with terrorist groups, as this report will show. Moreover, public scrutiny will counterbalance the spread of anti-Israel, third-worldist ideologies, which are not conducive to conflict-resolution, or to the economic development of Palestinian society.

In this respect, the NGO silence during the Second Intifada, the spreading of anti-Israel and anti-Semitic hate speech in the media and schools, and the atrocities of the Hamas regime, all shows a mystified interpretation of history⁴, conflicting with justice and freedom, and a harmful acquiescence to a political ideology that denies Israel's right to exist.

4 Mystification, in Marxist terms, is the misinterpretation of historical facts according to the needs and interests of the ruling economic class. In constructivist-Gramscian terms (referring to the theories of Antonio Gramsci, by considering the world as a composition of discourses and of hegemonic elites that impose a certain narrative), mystification becomes the misinterpretation or rewriting of history according to a dominant narrative. In this sense, mystification has two elements: distortion of historical facts and willful reconstruction of historical sequences or fabrication of historical myths, for the interests of a dominant group and its narrative.

CHAPTER 1

THE DELEGITIMIZATION OF ISRAEL

Ideologies, actors and modalities

The delegitimization of Israel is a form of diplomatic war,⁵ fought by international non-State and State actors, which adopts the Palestinian historical and social narrative, exploiting the logic of international cooperation and the discourse of human rights in order to deny Israel's right to exist and to self-defense.

Historical insights

The delegitimization of Israel started long before the foundation of the Jewish State – indeed, diplomatic efforts were made by Arab movements refusing Jewish colonization even in Mandate Palestine. An European-like anti-Semitism inspired these movements, comprised of nationalists, pan-Arabists, and Islamists, including the translation into Arabic of typically anti-Semitic texts, such as the Protocols of the Elders of Zion.⁶

During the 1930s and 1940s, the anti-Jewish and anti-Semitic propaganda increasingly borrowed from Nazi propaganda, also as a result of the alliance between Nazi Germany and Hajj Amin al-Husayni, the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem expelled from Palestine by the British in 1939, who eventually found shelter in Berlin in 1941.⁷ Nazi literature still remains largely diffused in the Muslim world, with the Arabic translation of “Mein Kampf” in the best-seller circulation list.

The foundation of the State of Israel provided the Arabs with an opportunity to formalize an armed struggle against Jewish settle-

5 Michael Oren, *What Happened to Israel's Reputation?* <<Wall Street Journal>>, 15 Maggio 2012, <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052702304203604577398062563880178.html> .

6 See, Michel Abitbol, *Juifs et Arabes au XXème Siècle*, (Paris: Perrin, 2007); Emmanuel Sivan, “A Resurgence of Arab Anti-Semitism?” In: Frankel, William (ed.), *Survey of Jewish Affairs 1988*, (Cranbury: Associated University Press, 1989), pp. 78-95.

7 See, Jeffrey Herf, *Nazi Propaganda for the Arab World*, (New Heaven: Yale University Press, 2010); Bernard Lewis, *Semites and Anti-Semites: An Inquiry into Conflict and Prejudices*, (New York: Norton, 1999).

ment that had been ongoing throughout the 1920s. Arab politics in the 1930s can be described as being based on:

- **Refusal to dialogue with the Jews;**
- **Opposition to Jewish immigration into Palestine, even for humanitarian reasons; and**
- **Boycott against Jewish institutions.**

Consequently, the War of Independence (1948-1949), the Six Day War (1967), and the Yom Kippur War (1976), were all attempts to annihilate the nascent Jewish State. Since armed struggle proved unsuccessful, diplomacy was chosen as an alternative way to fight against Israel, while violent strategies, specifically terrorism, were adopted by the PLO since its founding in 1964.

The Cold War

The diplomatic war against Israel is intended to destroy Israel, by refusing to recognize its existence or to establish diplomatic ties, and by espousing an anti-Zionist narrative.⁸

November 10th, 1975 can be considered the start of the campaign for Israel's delegitimization; the UN General Assembly adopted resolution 3379 (XXX), equating Zionism with racism and racial discrimination.⁹

An analysis of the resolution's votes reflects Arab politics during the Cold War: Arab-Islamic, Soviet blocs, and non-aligned States voted in favor; Western (except Portugal and Greece), and several American and Africa States voted against. The union between Arab-Islamic and pro-Soviet States shows that the dynamics of the Cold War flourished alongside an anti-Zionist ideology.

The equation of Zionism to racism was also contained in the Declaration of Mexico at the World Conference for the International Year of the Woman in 1975, which states in paragraph 8, that "*women share the painful experience of receiving or having received*

⁸ Gerald Steinberg and Yitzhak Sentis, "The Campaign to Destroy Israel" The Coordination Forum for Countering Antisemitism, 7 August 2012, available at <http://antisemitism.org.il/article/73921/campaign-destroy-israel>

⁹ *Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. A/RES/30/3379* (United Nations General Assembly, 10 November 1975).

unequal treatment, and that as their awareness of this phenomenon increases they will become natural allies in the struggle against any form of oppression, such as is practiced under colonialism, neo-colonialism, Zionism, racial discrimination and apartheid”.¹⁰ This was the first document that condemned Zionism as one of the ideological foundations detracting from global peace and equality.

As a result of the Six Day War, during the Cold War period, Israel was considered an imperialist-colonialist enemy of the Palestinian people and then of the entire developing world; therefore, its founding ideology, Zionism, was interpreted as a form of racism, and the development of the State of Israel became a form of racial discrimination.

Cooperation and Human Rights

After the Cold War, Arab-Islamic States lost the cooperation of Soviet and non-aligned States, and consequently could not count on automatic majority votes to use against Israel. Resolution 3379 was then repealed by the adoption of Resolution 86 (XLVI) on December 16, 1991.¹¹ However, the equation of Zionism to racism has once more been advanced in the discourse of human rights and international aid.

By the end of the Cold War, activities of economic and political assistance to developing States followed those once aimed at newly independent States during decolonization. The language of human rights recreated the equation of Zionism equals racism as a result of the ideological interpretation of the Arab-Israeli conflict.¹² If Israel was once considered an imperialist and colonizing State, it was now considered a racist State guilty of violating international law,

¹⁰ *Declaration of Mexico on the Equality of Women and Their Contribution to Development and Peace*. E/CONF.66/34 (World Conference of the International Women's Year, 2 July 1975).

¹¹ *Elimination of Racism and Racial Discrimination*. A/RES/46/86 (Assemblea generale dell'ONU, 16 December 1991). This resolution abrogated but did not annul the 1975 one. By abrogating, the resolution equating Zionism to racism has been substituted by another resolution, which repeals the former, but its content has not been subject to scrutiny.

¹² Fiamma Nirenstein, *Israel Is Us—A Journalist's Odyssey in Understanding the Middle East*, (Jerusalem: Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, 2009).

blocking Palestinian self-determination, and enacting segregation, systematic discrimination and apartheid.

In this respect, two international documents reveal the legalist interpretation of Zionism as racism: the Arab Charter of Human Rights and the 2001 Durban Conference on Racism and Xenophobia NGOs Report.

The Arab Charter of Human Rights equates Zionism to racism in two areas: paragraph 5 of the Preamble states that the Arab nation “*reject racism and Zionism, both of which constitute a violation of human rights and a threat to world peace*”; article 2.3 of the Charter further states that: “*all forms of racism, Zionism, occupation and foreign domination pose a challenge to human dignity and constitute a fundamental obstacle to the realization of the basic rights of peoples. There is a need to condemn and endeavor to eliminate all such practices*”.¹³

With the same ideological background, the Report of the controversial NGOs Forum of the 2001 International Conference on Racism and Xenophobia, organized under the aegis of the UN in Durban (a.k.a. Durban I), reformulates the equation of Zionism to racism, accusing Israel of international crimes, including apartheid.

Art. 162 of the report, referring to the abrogated UN resolution 3379 (XXX), states: “*We declare Israel as a racist, apartheid state in which Israel’s brand of apartheid as a crime against humanity has been characterized by separation and segregation, dispossession, restricted land access, denationalization, “bantustanization” and inhumane acts.*” Articles 164-167 calls upon the international community to condemn Israel and inform citizens of the racist practices of the Jewish State by promoting an international movement to oppose Israel, which eventually developed into the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions movement: BDS.¹⁴

13 *Arab Charter on Human Rights*. (Arab League, 2004), online version available at: <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/publisher/LAS,,,3ae6b38540,0.html>

14 *NGO Forum Declaration*. Durban I (World Conference on Racism and Xenophobia, 3 Settembre 2001), on-line version available at: <http://academic.udayton.edu/race/06hrights/WCAR2001/NGOFORUM/>

Actors and Ideologies: NGOs

The use of human rights discourse against Israel is based on specific ideologies, including anti-Zionism and neo-colonialism, which inform the actors of Israel's delegitimization. Among the main actors are:

- **International organizations and States**, which fund delegitimizing activities;
- **Non-governmental organizations (NGOs)**, which define policies and activities of delegitimization;
- **Arab and Islamic States**, which develop the anti-Zionist historical narrative.

The Arab-Islamic bloc continues to pursue anti-Israeli objectives by acting unitarily in the international community. In the Council for Human Rights and in the UN General Assembly, the Arab-Islamic bloc can often count on majority quorum and therefore advances resolutions condemning Israel for violating international law, international human rights law, and international humanitarian law.¹⁵

The diplomatic war against Israel also detracts from Israel's commitment to international cooperation. For example, on December 1st, 2011 Israel advanced a proposal to facilitate developing countries' access to agricultural technologies; the proposal was eventually adopted, although Arab-Islamic States opposed it, accusing Israel of trying to divert world attention away from Palestinian oppression. The ideology that supports anti-Israel stances is often based on Islamic political anti-Semitism and revanchist sentiments against the Jewish State, portrayed as an extraneous entity in the historical and geo-political Arab-Islamic area.

NGOs are the main actors supporting this struggle in the international field, playing a significant role in the definition and execution of States' and international organizations' policies.

Due to increasing specialization as well as an increasing number of interventions, international organizations and States often task priva-

¹⁵ With the last decision in March 2012 on Israel, the Human Rights Council has established a Fact-Finding Commission mandated to investigate the violations of international law by Israeli settlements in Palestinian Territories. Besides the question of competence—the Human Rights Council should deal with human rights and not with international humanitarian law, and there is a question of priority, whereby Israel comes before the situation in Syria, for instance.

te organizations with the implementation of development projects, which, in turn, serve as their major source of information about a region. NGO ideology is based on third-worldist economic and social theories, whereby the precarious status of developing countries depends almost entirely on past colonial and neo-colonial relations. Israel, as a modern, technologic State, with a ‘colonizing’ presence in the Territories, is again considered an imperialist entity and the principal cause of Palestinian economic instability and social backwardness.¹⁶ Hence, NGOs advance an anti-Israel political agenda,¹⁷ based on a neo-colonial ideology and distorted historical interpretations of the conflict and its political consequences.

NGOs are the main source of information for the entities that fund them, including public authorities, which seldom fact-check with Israeli authorities, and for the management and implementation of development activities. Therefore, this fracture in the information system causes an inconsistency in States’ foreign policy with Israel: on the one hand, there is commercial, scientific, and technological cooperation, on the other, there is human rights-based stigmatization and isolation.

NGOs constitute a third power in the international arena, beyond States and international organizations, influencing States’ foreign policy and the definition of their national interest, as well as international organizations priorities and agendas.¹⁸ Democratic polities envisage a system of *check and balances*, in which powers and institutions crosscheck activities and priorities; however, in the international arena, there is still no comprehensive evaluation of NGO activity.

16 See, Pascal Bruckner, *The Tyranny of Guilt – Essays on Masochism of the West*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007).

17 Gerald Steinberg, “The Politics of NGOs, Human Rights and the Arab-Israeli Conflict,” *Israel Studies*, vol. 16, n. 2, 2011, pp. 24-54.

18 Gerald Steinberg, “The Centrality of NGOs in Promoting Anti-Israeli Boycotts and Sanctions,” *Jewish Political Studies Review*, vol. 21, n. 1-2, 2009, pp. 7-31. Online version available at: <http://jcpa.org/article/the-centrality-of-ngos-in-promoting-anti-israel-boycotts-and-sanctions/>

Modes of Delegitimization: the BDS Movement (Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions)

Instead of advancing the interests of the Palestinian people, NGOs coalesced in a movement antagonistic to Israel, called BDS: Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions. The boycott strategy was conceived in Durban in 2001 and came to fruition in 2005, through a common appeal signed by organizations of Palestinian Civil Society to boycott Israel until it “*meets its obligation to recognize the Palestinian people’s inalienable right to self-determination and fully complies with the precepts of international law*”.¹⁹

The BDS movement promotes anti-Israeli boycott in different sectors, including:

- **Economic,**
- **Cultural,**
- **Academic,**
- **Institutional, and**
- **Touristic**

These measures are adopted in order to isolate Israel within the international community.

Explicitly stated in the text of the appeal, the BDS movement stems from the sanctions adopted against apartheid South Africa, the racist regime to which Israel is currently compared. Moreover, it is important to note that the language used in the appeal is imbued with principles of international law.

This legalistic approach and the equation to South Africa, serve to obliterate historical complexities, depicting Israel as a systematically racist State. The first paragraph of the appeal claims that “*the state of Israel was built mainly on land ethnically cleansed of its Palestinian owners*”; the fourth paragraph refers to an alleged systematic “*oppression*”; while the ninth paragraph calls upon Israel to:

1. *End its occupation and colonization of all Arab lands and dismantling the Wall;*
2. *Recognize the fundamental rights of the Arab-Palestinian citizens of Israel to full equality; and*

¹⁹ «Palestinian Civil Society Call for BDS.» *BDS Movement Freedom Justice Equality*. 9 July 2005. www.bdsmovement.net

3. *Respect, protect and promote the rights of Palestinian refugees to return to their homes and properties as stipulated in UN resolution 194.*

The use of legal principles against Israel is twofold: Israel, on the one hand, allegedly violates international criminal law and, on the other, violates international human rights law, discriminating principally against its Arab citizens. These two accusations are mirrored in international relations with Israel.

Internationally, Israel has been repeatedly condemned for failing to conform to UN resolutions, while it has also been object of at least two fact-finding commissions (one for the 2006 War in Lebanon, a second for the 2009 War in Gaza), and a third to come for the settlements in the Disputed/Occupied Territories. In both cases, the fact-finding commissions concluded that Israel Defense Army's conduct in warfare was potentially relevant under international criminal law.

With respect to the Fact Finding Commission on Lebanon 2006, the investigations focused only on Israeli conduct in warfare, without analyzing the historical and military context, consequently basing conclusions on testimonies that the commissioners themselves defined as unreliable.²⁰ With respect to the 2009 Goldstone Report, the Commission based its considerations on the testimonies of anti-Israel organizations, ignoring acts committed by Hamas that were potentially relevant under international criminal law, specifically the use of civilians as human shields.²¹ After the debate within the UN, Justice Goldstone, heading the Commission on the 2009 Gaza War, declared: *"If had known then what I know now, the Goldstone report would have been a different document"*.²²

20 See the statement issued by UN Watch on the report of the UN Commission of Inquiry on Lebanon 2006, <http://www.unwatch.org/site/c.bdKKISNqEmG/b.1289203/apps/s/content.asp?ct=3264691> . A copy of the report is available at <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/pdfid/45c30b6e0.pdf>

21 Gerald Steinberg and Anne Herzberg, *The Goldstone Report Reconsidered: A Critical Analysis*, (Jerusalem: NGO Monitor, 2011).

22 Richard Goldstone "Reconsidering the Goldstone Report on Israel and War Crimes," Washington Post, 2 April 2011, available at http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/reconsidering-the-goldstone-report-on-israel-and-war-crimes/2011/04/01/AFg111JC_story.html . See also, Ethan Bronner e Isabel Kershner, "Head of U.N. Panel Regrets Saying Israel Intentionally Killed Gazans," *New York Times*, 2 April 2011, A10, on-line: <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/04/03/world/middleeast/03goldstone.html> ; Yitzhak Benhorin, "Goldstone rethinks controversial report," Ynet, 2 April 2011, <http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0.7340.L-4050990.00.html> ; David Horovitz, "Goldstone the Belated Penitent," *Jerusalem Post*, 2 aprile 2011, <http://www.jpost.com/DiplomacyAndPolitics/Article.aspx?id=214866> .

As for human rights, the accusation of systematic discrimination delegitimizes the democratic structure of the State of Israel, interpreting the legislation on status of emergency—indeed composed of a few dispositions—as a deliberate deprivation of rights against the Palestinians. The accusation of racial segregation of Palestinian non-citizens of Israel and of internal discrimination of Arab-Israelis often leads to confusion in the use of the term “Palestinian,” used for both Arab-Israelis and Palestinians under jurisdiction of the Palestinian Authority. Consequently, it seems that the Israeli legal system discriminates against the Arabs, be they citizens or not, while instead Arab-Israelis are subject to Israeli law, which applies to all Israel’s citizens, and Palestinians residing in the Territories of the Palestinian Authority are subject to Israeli statutes applicable to foreigners, as well as security measures applicable to those territories of Judea and Samaria that fall under Israeli jurisdiction.

The legalist discourse limits the debate on the Arab-Israeli conflict, omitting the historical context and formulating powerful accusations based on the founding values of the international community: justice, equality, and liberty.

CHAPTER 2

THE DELEGITIMIZATION IN NUMBERS

Projects, regions and money

Given the role of NGOs that work on Israel/ the Palestinian Authority and Italian policy regarding international development cooperation, this report aims to analyze public funding to such NGOs, their ideological approach to the conflict, and their contribution to the delegitimization of Israel, in order to understand the amount of public spending allocated to delegitimizing activities.

For the sake of clarity, it is necessary to define several important concepts. International development cooperation is defined as activities that support developing countries, including humanitarian aid. International development originates from bi-lateral plans for the reconstruction of Europe, such as the Marshall Plan (1948), which subsequently turned into plans for multilateral cooperation during decolonization. During the 1970s, international cooperation became a form of volunteering and then a profession, depending mainly on private organizations that criticize institutions for pursuing non-humanitarian interests.

Specialization and professionalism of non-institutional humanitarian activists have consolidated NGOs reliability as international partners in development projects and programs. In the 1990s, international institutions openly recognized NGOs by providing them a voice in international conferences and decision-making procedures, and by contracting them as consultants and executors of policies. Major NGO donors remain international institutions and States, while other sources of funding have recently been active in development assistance, among them local authorities, which take part in so-called “decentralized cooperation.”

Activities of development cooperation aim to support those countries in need, in order to improve their infrastructure and fill the socio-cultural gap. The main areas of intervention are: human rights education, women’s empowerment, children’s protection, agriculture, health, microcredit, support of small enterprises, and environmental protection. An intervention is defined as a project comprised

of activities with an objective, targets, methodology, and reasons for intervening. Organizations propose projects, which receive funding on the basis of a selection procedure defined by the law. Each donor establishes its own requirements and priorities for projects, as well as its own rules for funding (funding percentages, maximum amount, etc.), usually defined by national legislation, in the case of funding by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, or by local legislation, in the case of funding by local authorities.

Ideology as limiting NGOs

The selection procedure focuses not only on the content of the project, but also on its “justification,” which consists of the historical-political background for why the project is necessary. Consequently, by selecting a project, the donor implicitly shares the political-historical analysis put forth by the applicant NGO. Funding a project can therefore also indicate approval for an organization’s ideological framework. Hence, the direct connection between public funding and ideology justifies a critical examination of public funding to NGOs that work in Israel/ the Palestinian Authority and delegitimize Israel.

Public funding

The following paragraphs analyze the data regarding Italian public funding by the State, regions, provinces, and municipalities, to NGOs that work in Israel/ the Palestinian Authority. Data concerns include:

- **The amount of funding allocated to organizations,**
- **Identity of NGOs and their ideological framework,**
- **NGOs contribution to delegitimization,**
- **NGOs promoting boycott of Israel, and**
- **NGOs link with Palestinian terrorism.**

Data is often difficult to track down for several reasons: sometimes information is hidden within the websites and, when data is published, specifically with regard to amounts allocated by donors, only partial data is available. Available data is sufficient, however, to establish a general framework of Italian cooperation and its approach against Israel, funded by public institutions, as part of public spending.

The Donors: Regions, Local Authorities, and “Cooperazione Italiana”

The major donors funding Italian NGOs in Israel/ the Palestinian Authority are:

- The Department of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs for International Development Cooperation, “Cooperazione Italiana.”
- Italian Regions.

Funding may be direct or indirect. Direct funding is allocated to a local Palestinian beneficiary, including PA institutions, local authorities, ministries, and universities. Indirect funding is allocated by Italian NGOs on the basis of organizations responding to a call for proposals.

Italian regions may also contribute to funding a project selected by the “Cooperazione Italiana” under one of its specific programs. Similarly, other local authorities, such as provinces and municipalities, can contribute to the funding of a project selected by one region, or to the implementation of the project, by funding activities that are designated as “national targets” (*i.e.*, those activities to be implemented in Italy), usually aimed at raising awareness among the public, as the coming pages will demonstrate.

The Regions

Among Italy’s 20 regions, 13 make data on public funding of NGOs active in Israel/ the PA available:

- Friuli Venezia-Giulia,
- Veneto,
- Trentino Alto-Adige/Südtirol,
- Lombardia,
- Liguria,
- Toscana,
- Emilia-Romagna,
- Marche,
- Abruzzo
- Lazio,
- Umbria,
- Puglia,
- Sardegna.

Each region has a law regulating international aid, defining the allocation of direct or indirect funds, as well as geographic and thematic priorities.

Regarding the other seven regions:

- Valle d' Aosta/Vallé d' Aoste,
- Piemonte,
- Molise,
- Campania,
- Basilicata,
- Calabria,
- Sicilia,

Although they have legislation on international aid, data on public funding to NGOs is not available. Data analyzed is comprised of information available between 1995 and 2011.

It has not been possible to access all data for each region; those published often refer to a shortened time range (two or three years), with information missing from certain years.

Accessing information is difficult for three reasons:

- Not all data is published;
- Published data is partial;
- Often incomplete information is integrated with data published on NGO websites.

The “Centro Interuniversitario di Ricerca sulla Pace la Ricerca e l'Analisi dei Conflitti” (CIRPAC), a research institution of the Universities of Siena, Pisa, Firenze, Scuola Superiore di Sant'Anna Pisa and Perugia, published a study in 2011 that mapped aid activities in Israel/ The Palestinian Authority.²³ This study has been largely used for this report, and it confirms that the data published by individual Regions is incomplete.

189 projects were analyzed, of which some are projects of long-term duration with annual funding, and others directly allocate funds to Palestinian associations and institutions.

Projects are classifiable in nine thematic areas:

- *Health*: includes activities supporting health institutions or

23 CIRPAC. «Cooperazione Internazionale - Report di Area.» *Mediterraneo e Medio Oriente*. 2011. <http://www.cirpac.it/category/cooperazione-internazionale/mediterraneo-e-mediioriente/>

- supporting the indigent population;
- *Governance*: includes activities supporting public institutions;
 - *Childhood*: includes projects of so-called psychosocial rehabilitation of minors affected by the conflict, education, recreational projects, and sports.
 - *Women*: includes projects aimed at reinforcing women's social status.
 - *Economic*: includes projects of microcredit in support of local artisans and rural activities.
 - *Cultural*: includes projects for universities, cultural centers, and training institutions.
 - *Services supply*: direct supply of goods or services to public institutions or private organizations;
 - *Professional training*: includes activities for both Palestinians and international activists;
 - *Direct interventions*: donations to private organizations or public institutions, also motivated by humanitarian emergency.

Often, projects pursue more than one objective, which makes their categorization difficult. For instance, projects supporting female entrepreneurship may be classified as both economic and women-related. Similarly, projects on minors' psychosocial rehabilitation may be considered both health and childhood related. This report gives relevance to the objective over the beneficiary, considering economic projects even those aimed at women's empowerment and childhood projects even those aimed at psychosocial rehabilitation.

Below the accessible data for projects funded in the relevant time range is displayed. Non-accessible data is indicated with "NT", non-transparent. The following paragraph will analyze the amounts of funding.

REGION	TIME RANGE	PROJECTS	Number of Funding	Thematic areas
Friuli Venezia- Giulia	2010-2011	3	3	Childhood
Veneto	2009-2011	3	6	Governance (3), Health (2), Professional training (1)
Provincia Autonoma di Trento	2002-2011	14	14	Health (3), Economic (2), Cultural (2), f Professional training (2), Childhood (4), service supply (1)
Provincia Autonoma di Bolzano	2011	1	1	Humanitarian emergency
Emilia Romagna	1995-2011	52	66	Childhood (33), Economic (19), Women (7), Health (4), Professional training (2), Service supply (1).
Lombardia	2001-2010	12	12	Childhood (6), Economic (1), Health (5).
Piemonte	NT	NT	NT	NT
Valle d'Aosta	2007	1	1	Cultural
Liguria	2007-2009	3	3	Childhood (1), Economic (2)
Toscana	2000-2011	28	28	Childhood (6), Health (6), Cultural (5), Economic (2). Women (4), Governance (4), Professional training (1).
Marche	2005	2	2	Women (1), Childhood (1)
Umbria	2002-2011	20	20	Childhood (7), Economic (2), Governance (3), Professional training e (3), cultural (5)
Abruzzo	2008	2	2	Childhood
Lazio	2008-2009	4	4	Economic (1), service supply (3)
Campania	NT	NT	NT	NT
Molise	NT	NT	NT	NT
Basilicata	NT	NT	NT	NT
Puglia	2005-2011	16	19	Health (7), Economic (4), Cultural (4), Women (1), Governance (2), Humanitarian emergency (1).
Calabria	NT	NT	NT	NT
Sicilia	NT	NT	NT	NT
Sardegna	2005-2011	5	7	Economic (2), Governance (1), Health (1), Professional training (1), service supply (2).

Since it is highly improbable that Piemonte, Campania, Molise, Basilicata, Calabria and Sicilia do not fund cooperation activities in The Palestinian Authority, two questions arise:

- **Why is this data not published?**
- **Why are citizens denied the right to scrutinize public spending, including the funding of NGOs?**

Below the proportions drawn from the above analyzed data:

The amount of accessible funding is reported below for each region, with the indication of the time range in which funds were allocated. Moreover, it is useful to note that often the amount of funds allocated is not published by region, but by NGO budgets.

The percentage of regional contribution to the budget of the project, important in establishing the degree of regional contribution, is not available.

Below the funding (“NT” meaning non transparent):

REGIONE	Time range	Transparence	Funding (in EUR)	Notes
Friuli Venezia-Giulia	2010-2011	Partial	29.553,50	
Veneto	2009-2011	Only for time range	280.050,00	
Provincia Autonoma di Trento	2002-2011	Partial	1.039.244,00	
Provincia Autonoma di Bolzano	2011	Partial	17.720,00	
Emilia Romagna	1995-2011	NT	DNT	No budget is published
Lombardia	2004-2010	Partial	699.142,00	Budget of only 5 projects out of 12 (since 2004) is published
Piemonte	NT	NT	NT	
Valle d'Aosta	2007	NT	NT	
Liguria	2007-2009	Partial	38.562,00	Percentage of funding on project budget not published.
Toscana	2000-2011	NT	904.142,00	Only 19 projects out of 29 are published, of which only 9 budgets.
Marche	2005	NT	33.060,00	
Umbria	2002-2011	NT	603.760,00	Only 4 out of 20 projects are published (since 2008).

REGIONE	Time range	Transparence	Funding (in EUR)	Notes
Abruzzo	2008	Partial	28.494,00	
Lazio	2008-2009	Partial	99.847,00	
Campania	NT	NT	NT	
Molise	NT	NT	NT	
Basilicata	NT	NT	NT	
Puglia	2005-2011	Partial	719.408,00	Percentage of funding on project budget not published.
Calabria	NT	NT	NT	
Sicilia	NT	NT	NT	
Sardegna	2005-2011	Transparent for time range	454.849,00	

The total amount of Italian Regions' funding of NGOs working in Israel/ the Palestinian Authority, drawn from accessible data, is: 4,947,832.00 EUR.

- This is not the full picture, given the lack of transparency for several Regions.
- Out of 189 examples of humanitarian intervention analyzed, only 89 report their budgets; therefore, the almost 5 million EUR represent 47% of the funding of projects and donations that are known.
- In addition to this total, there is no publicly available data on the funding of published projects, and there may well be additional projects that are not listed.

Provinces and Municipalities

Local authorities are active in international aid, both as funders and as beneficiaries of funding. They often participate in grant proposals as project leaders, devolving the implementation of the projects to the NGOs.

- **The majority of the data on funding from provinces and municipalities is not accessible.**
- The inter-municipal association for international cooperation “Coordinamento Nazionale degli Enti Locali per la Pace” does not have a database for projects funded in Israel/ the Palestinian Authority, only in Italian territory, including peace marches, solidarity events, etc.

Below is the list of provinces, municipalities, and other local authorities that are involved in the 189 projects analyzed in this report:

REGION	PROVINCE	MUNICIPALITY or other LOCAL AUTHORITY
VENETO	Venezia, Belluno, Rovigo	Belluno, Rovigo, Venezia, Mira, ULSS n. 5 Ovest Vicentino, Azienda Regionale per il Diritto allo Studio Universitario di Venezia
LOMBARDIA	Milano, Cremona, Fondo Provinciale Milanese per la Cooperazione Internazionale, Monza e Brianza	Arluno, Assago, Bellusco, Bresso, Brianza, Cesano Boscone, Corsico, Concorezzo, Cormano, Cinisello Balsamo, Crema, Cremona, Peschiera Borromeo, Trezzano sul Naviglio, Rozzano, Enti locali per la Pace della Provincia di Cremona, Bresso, Cesano Boscone, Corsico, Rozzano.
TOSCANA	Arezzo, Firenze, Grosseto, Livorno, Massa Carrara, Pisa, Pistoia, Prato, Siena	Anghiari, Arezzo, Borgo San Lorenzo, Capannori, Cavriglia, Empoli, Fiesole, Firenze, Montevarchi, Montiggioso, Pelago, Pisa, Pitigliano, Pontedera, Prato, Quarrata, Rufina, San Giovanni Valdarno, San Giuliano Terme, Siena, Viareggio.
UMBRIA	Perugia	Perugia, Terni
SARDEGNA	Cagliari	Lunamatrona, Segariu, Villanova-franca

- Only 6 out of 20 Regions have thus far published information regarding the activities of local authorities in international cooperation.
- No information is available about the other 14 Regions and their activities in Israel/ the Palestinian Authority.

Beyond funding associations, partnerships, and consortiums, local authorities are also involved in international aid. Among these are:

- Coordinamento Enti Locali per la Pace,
- Coordinamento Nazionale degli Enti Locali per la Pace e i Diritti Umani,
- Coordinamento Comuni per la Pace (Turin area),
- Fondo Provinciale Milanese per la Cooperazione Internazionale,
- Pace in Comune (Milan area),
- Rete dei Comuni e delle Associazioni per la Pace (Novara area),
- Consorzio Enti Locali-Istituto Cooperazione allo Sviluppo
- Spazio Cooperazione Decentrata.

The “Cooperazione Italiana”

International aid is a responsibility of the department of “Development Cooperation” within the Ministry of the Italian Foreign Affairs, with local representation within the Italian Embassies. The department defines policies, priorities, and manages activities, delegating final implementation to the NGOs.

The “Cooperazione Italiana” is regulated by law n. 49 of 26 February 1987, entitled “New discipline of Italy’s Cooperation with Developing Countries.” Article 1 of this law states that “*development cooperation is an integral part of Italy’s foreign policy and pursues the objectives of solidarity among people and full realization of fundamental rights of men and women.*”

The support for development of the Palestinian Territories, 59 projects between 2005 and 2011, goes through thematic lines similar to those of the Regions:

- *Health*: includes activities in support of health institutions or the local population;
- *Governance*: includes activities to support public institutions;
- *Childhood*: includes projects of so-called psychosocial rehabilitation for minors’ victims of conflict, education, recreational projects, and sport.
- *Women*: includes projects aimed at reinforcing women’s social status.
- *Economic*: includes projects of microcredit to support local

artisans and rural activities.

- *Cultural*: includes projects for universities, cultural centers, and training institutions.
- *Services supply*: the direct supply of goods or services to public institutions or private organizations;
- *Professional training*: includes activities for both Palestinians and international activists;
- *Direct interventions*: donations to private organizations or public institutions, also motivated by humanitarian emergencies.

Part of the funding of the “Cooperazione Italiana” is allocated to NGOs, which manage projects selected through public calls for proposals, and part is directly allocated to Palestinian beneficiaries. As part of foreign policy, the “Cooperazione Italiana” has a more institutional relationship with the Palestinian Authority, supplying services and financial support.

- **The amount of funding is: 137,143,359,00 EUR, of which 58,017,359 EUR were allocated to NGOs that operate in Israel/ the Palestinian Authority**, and 79,126,000,00 EUR allocated to Palestinian Authority institutions, including the Ministry of Finance, Energy, and the equivalent of the Ministry of Women’s Affairs.
- Of the abovementioned amount, 33 million EUR funded the electric system of the West Bank.
- Another 25 million EUR was given to a specific program for the capacity building of local authorities, called Palestinian Municipalities Support Programme, which funds, together with Italian Regions, projects on local governance.
- Evaluation of the projects, their implementation, and their results is necessary after decades of funding in Israel/ the Palestinian Authority.

To this budget, one should add Italy’s annual funding of UNRWA (United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees in the Near East) and of other international organizations working in the Palestinian Territories, including: the European Union, UNDP (United Nations Development Programme), FAO (Food and

Agriculture Organization of the United Nations), WFP (World Food Programme), and OHCHR (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights).

Since it is difficult to calculate the percentage of Italian funding of international organizations allocated for the Palestinian Authority, it is easier to focus on UNRWA, which exclusively works for Palestinians.

YEAR	Italian funding to UNRWA budget (EUR)
2011	3.472.894,00
2010	7.338.941,00
2009	7.978.123,00
2008	13.187.237,00
2007	8.995.064,00
2006	2.354.329,00

The sum of the different allocations, of the Regions, of the “Cooperazione Italiana,” and of the Italian funding to the UNRWA, is a considerable amount of money, which still does not include Italian funding of other organizations working in Israel/ the Palestinian Authority.

The total amount of funding allocated to cooperation activities in Israel/ Palestinian Authority:

FUNDING AUTHORITY	Amount of the Funding
Italian funding of UNRWA	43.326.588,00
Cooperazione Italiana (Ministry of Foreign Affairs)	137.143.395,00
Regions	4.947.832,00 (of those verifiable)
Italian funding of other organizations working in The Palestinian Authority	NON TRANSPARENT
Other funding	NON TRANSPARENT

- The sum of public funding should also include the percentage of Italian funding to international organizations allocated for Israel/ Palestinian Authority.
- Given the considerable amount of money that is verifiable, NGOs, as major beneficiaries of the funding, should be subject to evaluation and supervision.

Considerations

By analyzing projects and funding, two issues arise, which will be critically examined in the last chapter: control over funding and NGOs, and transparency.

NGOs and Public Funding

In light of the considerable sums of money allocated to NGOs budgets, it is interesting to note that some of these NGOs are recurrent beneficiaries of funding, receiving money from both the Regions and the “Cooperazione Italiana.”

These organizations include:

- Associazione Pace per Gerusalemme (Autonomous Province of Trento);
- Nexus (belonging to the labor union “CGIL” of communist inspiration);
- GVC (Gruppo Volontariato Civile);
- Peace Games;
- A.N.P.A.S.;
- EDUCAID (Region of Emilia-Romagna);
- Medina ONG (Region of Toscana);
- Associazione Kenda (Region of Puglia).

Some of these are the most favored NGOs in the allocation of regional and national funds, also due to the presence of permanent delegations of Emilia-Romagna and Toscana Regions in the offices of the “Cooperazione Italiana” in Jerusalem²⁴

Given their collaboration with public authorities and with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, from which they receive substantial funding, it is legitimate to ask:

- 1. Can NGOs be defined non-governmental when their budget depends on public authorities?**
- 2. What impact do NGOs have in the definition of foreign-aid policy and of general foreign policy, of which aid is an integral part?**

²⁴ http://www.gerusalemme.cooperazione.esteri.it/utlgerusalemme/IT/partner/cooperazione_decentrata/intro.html

3. How does the fact that a public institution tasks private organizations with implementation of foreign policy, particularly international aid and cooperation, allow the recipients to shape and influence this policy?

NGOs write reports and analyses, and carry out activities of diplomatic weight that inevitably influence international actors. However, the implementation of an important component of foreign policy by private organizations presupposes that beneficiaries of public funding are consistent with official foreign policy. On the contrary, NGOs carry out delegitimization of Israel through their activities in Israel/ the Palestinian Authority, contrary to official government policy, as will be analyzed in the next chapter.

Finally,

- **What is the controlling mechanism over the private organization implementing foreign policy?**
- **What are the criteria to evaluate the success of projects?**

Each funding authority has its own parameters, which are not publicized, leading to the issue of transparency.

Transparency

The major difficulty in tracing Italian public funding of NGOs working in Israel/ the Palestinian Authority is data accessibility. It is difficult to access information about:

- The funds allocated,
- The partners in the project, and
- Years of implementation.

Information about NGOs public funding has to be disclosed in order to allow:

- Accessibility, and
- Public scrutiny.

Transparency would, moreover, improve cooperation policies, which, under public scrutiny, would avoid delegitimization and activities in support of terrorism, as will be analyzed in the coming chapter.

CHAPTER 3

MODES OF DELEGITIMIZATION

Language, History and Images

Development cooperation has precise ideologies, political visions, and historical interpretations, but the case of Israel and the Palestinian Authority is unusual, as the attention paid to the Palestinian people is greatly magnified by accusations targeting Israel. Consequently, the existence of the State of Israel and its development is portrayed as the main cause of Palestinian victimhood. Simultaneously, the social and economic development of the Palestinians is dependent on Israeli self-restraint.

The delegitimization of Israel can be explicit or “omissive”.²⁵ In instances where accusations of Palestinian underdevelopment are directed against Israel, for example, “Israeli occupation hinders Palestinian economic development,” the delegitimization is explicit. Omissive delegitimization, on the other hand, would include cases where the historical context of an event is ignored—such as, “Israel attacked Gaza,” without providing the context of rocket fire from Gaza Strip. Both approaches, explicit and omissive, create an ideological framework in which Palestinian politics is reduced to victimhood. Palestinians, as actors in international politics and partners in the conflict, are portrayed as a people without society or organization, purportedly stripped of their political capacity to act as well as their institutional standing. Israel, on the other hand, is portrayed as the only responsible actor in the conflict.

Omissive delegitimization is particularly objectionable in light of the silence on the hatred bred by the Palestinian school system, and on the anti-Semitic rhetoric in the media. Additionally, by neglecting the pervasive nature of terrorism and the terrorist ideology that generated suicide attacks during the Second Intifada, terrorist organizations have been directly or indirectly supported.

Depriving Palestinians of their political agency has caused a

²⁵ The “omissive falsehood” is an expression first used by Angelo Pezzana, editor-in-chief of “Informazione Corretta,” the Italian media Middle-East reporting watchdog. Omissive lies are a specific form of dis-information and delegitimization, which consists of omitting to explain and describe the historical context in which a certain event happens, in order to reverse the judgment on consequences and responsibilities.

uni-directional consideration of Israel as the main architect of alleged Palestinian victimhood. Consequently, cooperation activities do not focus on the problems within Palestinian society, instead they emphasize anti-Israeli positions, exacerbating the conflict, and reducing support for Palestinian development.

The NGOs endorse a biased Palestinian narrative that uses the concepts of human rights and development in order to delegitimize Israel in the following ways, analyzed in this chapter:²⁶

- Use of language;
- Emotional propaganda;
- Use of images;
- Glorification of misery;
- Omissive delegitimization; and
- Indirect support for terrorism.

The issue of NGOs partiality and partisanship in implementing projects with public funding will be analyzed in the next chapter.

The Language: Emotional Propaganda

Language plays a fundamental role in the delegitimization of Israel because of its ability to shift people’s attention from facts to emotions, by evoking images of suffering, injustice, vulnerability, and powerlessness. This is how emotional propaganda works, consisting of the “*distortion of truth... frequent falsifying of facts and many fallacious arguments.*”²⁷ NGOs language spreads emotional propaganda in project titles, in the explanation of activities, and in press releases. The title of a project is as important and dramatic as an article or book title, attracting the attention of the reader/evaluator.

Specifically, the use of the following words is recurrent:

- “**Peace,**” regarding an explicit or implicit accusation against Israel;

²⁶ Fiamma Nirestein, *Antisemiti Progressisti. La Forma Nuova di un Odio Antico*, (Milan: Rizzoli, 2004) and *Terror: The New Anti-Semitism and the War against the West*, (Portland: Smith & Kraus, 2005).

²⁷ Manfred Gerstenfeld, “Palestinians as ‘Super-Victims,’” *Ynet*, 3 September 2012; available at: <http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4204927,00.html>

- “**Childhood**,” regarding Palestinian status of victims;
- “**Women**,” as promoters of economic development in the Palestinian territories;
- “**Emergence**,” (based on the Italian term) regarding the state of distress caused by Israel;
- “**Education**,” always relating to a status of distress created by the occupation.

In 2010, the Emilia Romagna Region funded a project titled “*Let Us Play in Peace - Lasciateci giocare in pace*,” implementing activities for youngsters in the “Shuafat refugee camp.” The same project was funded for three years (from 2006 to 2008) and managed by the NGO “Peace Games.” In 2011, the same project was funded under the title “*Games against the Wall - Il gioco contro il muro*,” in areas of the West Bank and Gaza, managed by the NGO “EDUCAID.” The description of the project repeatedly refers to Shuafat as a “refugee camp” or simply as a “camp,” creating an image of “camps” based on the European historical memory—i.e., the Nazi camps. In addition, the context and references to refugee suffering imply that this misery is due to the past uprooting and the current violence, for which Israel is blamed. In the description of the project, Shuafat is defined as an “isolated camp,” but in reality it is a neighborhood of Jerusalem dating back to the 16th century, recently connected to other Jerusalem suburbs by a new light rail. Moreover, the condition of Arab suburbs in Jerusalem deserves a more detailed analysis, and not a brief description of distress and poverty.

Projects with the stated goal of protecting children often refer to the concept of “educational emergence,” (based on the Italian terminology: “*emergenza educativa*”) and blame the occupation and “construction of the wall” for social distress among the Palestinians. The web site of “CGIL Modena” (the labor union of communist inspiration) reports that the project “*Promozione dell’educazione alla prima infanzia-Promoting Education for Kids*,” funded by Emilia Romagna Region in 2009, aims to “*concretely promote the ‘right to play’ supporting kids who suffer dramatic restrictions stemming from*

direct or indirect ultra-decennial Israeli military occupation.”²⁸

Similarly, the project “Beit Children,” funded by Emilia Romagna Region in 2008 and managed by the NGO “Reggio nel Mondo,” focuses on the reinforcement of educational services for children in the village of Bet Jalla. The description of the project, on the Emilia Romagna Region website, states that Beit Jalla is “*risking cultural and economic suffocation because of the wall.*”²⁹ Although the project supports disadvantaged children, the NGO website blames the “wall” and numerous checkpoints for difficult communications between Bethlehem, Beit Jalla, and Jerusalem.³⁰ The following projects contain similar instances: “Terra Santa: infanzia ferita—Holy Land: Blessed Childhood,” funded by the Toscana Region in 2009; “*Emergenza educazione a Betlemme—Educational Emergency in Bethlehem,*” funded by the Puglia Region in 2007 and managed by the institution “ICARO Istituto Ricerche e Studi Educazione e Formazione.”

Moreover, it is important to highlight that the delegitimization of Israel uses legalistic language. Recurrently, projects use words such as “right” and “violation,” together with “childhood” or “conflict,” implying Israel repeatedly violates children’s rights. In 2009, the Toscana Region funded a project titled “*Azione per promuovere la riabilitazione dei minori ex-detenuti palestinesi—Promoting Rehabilitation of Palestinian Minor Ex-Detainees,*” managed by the NGO “Archi Prato.” The project explains that minors detained in Israeli prisons are “*often subject to violence and without any assistance.*”³¹ The same year, the Toscana Region funded a similar project, “*Diritti dei bambini: potenziamento del sistema di tutela giuridica—Children’s Rights: Reinforcing the System of Legal Protection,*” which opines that “*because of the conflict, a systematic destruction of (Palestinian) cultural and social tradition is taking place;*” moreover, it de-

28 “Comitato Modena-Jenin e Nexus CGIL: successo per un nuovo progetto rivolto ai bambini palestinesi”, 24 May 2012, by Franco Zavatti and Sabina Breviglieri, <http://www.cgilmodena.it/comitato-modena-jenin-e-nexus-cgil-successo-per-un-nuovo-progetto-rivolto-ai-bambini-palestinesi.html>

29 Beit Children 2008, http://www.spaziocooperazionedecentrata.it/2010/archivio_progetti/scheda-progetto.asp?id=471

30 <http://www.reggielmondo.it/progetti/asia/beit-jala-palestina/>

31 <http://www.arciprato.it/internazionali/campagna-attivarci-prato.html>

nounces that “*check-points, curfew and the wall have reduced areas where children can freely express themselves, causing psychological damages to the entire population.*”³² Similar projects are: “*Palestina: infanzia e acqua—Palestine: Childhood and Water,*” funded by the Umbria Region between 2002-2007. The Abruzzo Region in 2008 funded the project “*Asili di Gerusalemme—Jerusalem’s Kindergartens,*” managed by the NGO “*Arci Teramo Comitato Provinciale,*” which states that “*Jerusalem is occupied by Israeli troops, with consequent discriminations against Palestinian childhood.*” The same year, the Abruzzo Region funded the project “*Scuole sotto assedio—Schools under Siege,*” managed by the NGO “*Centro Internazionale Crocevia,*” but the schools where it was implemented are in Nablus and Ramallah, which are not considered under ‘occupation’.

Other words that are recurrent in the language of delegitimization are “olive tree” and “wall.” The image of the olive tree is particularly emotive because it is the symbol of “Palestinian resistance” and of Palestinian attachment to the land. Many projects that deal with olive growing also connect to the “wall” and its alleged economic consequences.

For example, in 2008, the Emilia Romagna Region funded the project “*Rafforzamento delle capacità produttive e organizzazione dei piccoli ulivicoltori nei distretti di Tulkarem e Nablus colpiti dalla costruzione del muro di separazione—Reinforcing the productive Capacities and Organizations of Small Olive-Growing Farmers in Tulkarem and Nablus Districts disadvantaged by the construction of the Wall,*” and managed by the NGO “*GVC, Gruppo Volontariato Civile.*” While the website of the NGO describes the technological support for olive mills, the reason why the “wall” has to be mentioned is unclear. In 2004/2005, the Emilia Romagna Region funded the project “*Recupero di pozzi e sorgenti e creazione di orti familiari nelle zone colpite dalla costruzione del muro di separazione—Restoration of Wells and Creation of Family Gardens in Areas disadvantaged by the Construction of the Wall,*” managed by “*GVC,*” which accuses Israel of stealing lands and water wells.

32 <http://portale.provincia.ms.it/page.asp?IDCategoria=2102&IDSezione=10730&IDOggetto=913&Tipo=Evento>

The images: Glorification of Misery

Words are often connected to images, which portray misery, conflict, and despair, emphasizing Israel's delegitimization and undermining impartiality.

The website of the NGO “Reggio nel Mondo,” funded by Emilia Romagna Region, displays pictures of the “wall” in the foreground, while from afar there are Palestinian towns, stressing the negative consequences of the “wall.”



The web site states that “Beit Jalla is a few kilometers away from Jerusalem, but the access to the city is difficult because of the construction of the separation wall and because of check points.”³³ No reference to snipers of terrorist militias, who would take over houses in the (once) Christian neighborhood of Bait Jalal to shoot the residents of the Gilo neighborhood of Jerusalem.

The web site of the NGO “GVC—Gruppo Volontariato Civile,” funded by Emilia Romagna Region and by the “Cooperazione Italiana” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs), displays images of destroyed houses, of people taking water from a well, and others lying down on the ground under a tree as though they were evacuees.

³³ <http://www.reggionelmondo.it/progetti/asia/beit-jala-palestina/>



From the web site: *“Over the last years, house demolitions increased as well as of industrial infrastructure at the expense of Palestinian families. The management of natural resources, and of water in specific, is characterized by such an extraordinary disparity that Palestinians consume on average one fourth of the water consumed by Israelis.”*³⁴ It is not explained, however, that Israel demolishes illegal houses, both Arab and Jewish, on the basis of the law applicable to the Seam Zone (Areas C). Moreover, the website neglects to mention that water management is a joint Arab-Israeli responsibility, as established by the Oslo Agreements.

The images of destroyed houses are recurrent on the web site of “Medina” NGO, funded by Toscana Region and “Cooperazione Italiana.”³⁵ It should be noted, however, that many of the images used by NGOs are retouched with photoshop, by specialized agencies in Beirut that produce the material for Palestinian organizations that is then published on the web.³⁶

The organization “Salam ragazzi dell’Oliivo,” a partner in many projects, repeatedly publishes images of the “wall,” suggesting it as the main cause of Palestinian problems.

34 <http://www.gvc-italia.org/Cosa-facciamo/Nel-mondo/L-intervento-di-GVC-nei-Territori-Palestinesi-occupati>

35 <http://www.medina.it/>

36 Marco Reis, “La Fabbrica delle Bambole;” see in particular, the following issues (schede): A.4.01, A.4.03 e A.4.04, <http://www.malainformazione.it/index.php>. About the diffuse use of faked photos see also Herb Keinon’s article “Israel: Fire UN Official Over False Gaza Photo,” Jerusalem Post, 16 March 2012, <http://www.jpost.com/DiplomacyAndPolitics/Article.aspx?id=262098>.



The first image is titled “*In a cage toward the check point*” and the second “*A few pictures... but it’s still a wall!*” The word “cage” stresses the alleged de-humanization of Palestinians in the checkpoints, without explaining why checkpoints exist and how they function. The word “wall” omits an explanation of what the security barrier really is and why it was constructed. That the “wall” is only 8km out of an 800 km-long separation fence, is not mentioned.³⁷

The NGO “Kenda ONLUS,” funded by the Puglia Region, published a photographic album of The Palestinian Authority, containing pictures of the Western Wall (in Israeli territory), of the wall, of a military tower, a series of photos portraying general poverty, and one with a sign in Hebrew warning Israeli citizens not to enter Zone A, under Palestinian jurisdiction, often cited as a segregation measure.³⁸

There is, however, no context given for these road signs prohibiting Israelis from entering Palestinian territories. These signs, placed all over the Seam Zone, are in order to avoid Israeli citizens entering Palestinian villages and towns where they would be in jeopardy, as

37 <http://salaam-ragazzidellolivo.blogspot.it/p/cari-amici-eccovi-un-aggiornamento.html> slideshow titled “Immagini dalla Palestina occupata”.

38 <http://www.kenda.it/wordpress/photogallery/le-nostre-foto-della-palestina-2010/>



has often happened to those who took a wrong turn.³⁹ Moreover, Bedouins' life style, depicted as Palestinian misery, does not accurately represent Palestinian society, and does not stem from Israeli occupation. Even when the image has no connection to the project, it succeeds in furthering the delegitimizing rhetoric, loaded with the biased political beliefs of these institutions and organizations.

³⁹ It is the "Ramallah Lynch" case (12 October 2000), when two Israeli reservist soldiers, Vladim Norzhich and Yossi Avrahami, took the wrong way and ended up in Ramallah. After being held by Palestinian police, rumors of two Israelis held in the police station spread and a crowd of people gathered to cry for their death. Around a thousand people assaulted the police station, took the two Israelis, beaten them up, stabbed them, and literally dismembered their bodies throwing the corpses to the exulting crowd. After being dragged in al-Manara Square (the principal Square of Ramallah), one corpse was set to fire among the jubilant crowd. Police agents did not prevent the mob, to which they took part. The lynch was followed by the RAI (Italian television) scandal: Roberto Cristiano, RAI correspondent in Jerusalem, wrote a letter to the Palestinian newspaper "Al-Hayat Al-Jadida," neglecting any "responsibility" in the coverage of the lynch and implying the involvement of rival private-owned "Mediaset" in the broadcasting of the mobbing crowd. This letter suggested a formal commitment to respect the international image of Palestine. A copy of this letter is available in the web archives of the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs: http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/MFA-Archive/2000_2009/2000/10/Coverage%20of%20Oct%2012%20Lynch%20in%20Ramallah%20by%20Italian%20TV

Omissive delegitimization: De-Judaizing the Middle East

Omissive delegitimization consists of the de-contextualization of facts.

No condemnation of terrorism, no mention of incitement to hatred, no explanation of causes of conflict. The description of events is purposely partial, and endorses a Palestinian historical narrative.⁴⁰ Even those projects that were implemented during the Second Intifada condemn Israeli military operations, without mentioning the context of armed conflict provoked by the Palestinian Authority. Additionally, the projects on “educational emergencies,” dialogue, and non-violence, do not indicate an educational culture of incitement to hatred as a problem, opting instead for one-sided Israel condemnation. Similarly, the projects supporting economic growth often mention armed conflict, without proper contextualization of the causes.

For instance, the project “*Riabilitazione del capitale agricolo e sviluppo di un’agricoltura integrata nel Nord della Striscia di Gaza—Rehabilitation and Development of Integrated Agriculture in Northern Gaza Strip*,” funded by the “Cooperazione Italiana” in 2010, aims to ameliorate economic conditions after “military raids” damaged or annihilated productive structures. These words are not contextualized and disregard both the armed conflict that preceded these raids, including ceaseless rocket firing from Gaza, as well as measures to rebuild Palestinian society, including thriving Israeli-Palestinian economic and agricultural cooperation.

The delegitimization is self-evident in the geopolitical analyses of the area—country reports and files. The “historical context” provided by the NGO “GVC” explains that “*ever since Israel has been created and recognized consequent to UN General Assembly Resolution n. 181 of 1947, the Middle East has gone through several wars between Israel and its Arab neighbors.*” This is an evident distortion of history, since the wars were not consequence of the creation of Israel, but of Arab States’ refusal to recognize its existence, attacking Israel on five occasions.

⁴⁰ Giulio Meotti, *A New Shoah: The Untold Story of Israel’s Victims of Terrorism*, (New York: Encounter Books, 2010).

According to “GVC,” the conflict is still not settled because of territorial claims, in that “*the boundary defined by the original partition of the UN is still not defined, notwithstanding the construction of a separation wall unilaterally decided and realized by Israel since 2000.*” This version of history ignores two crucial facts: the conflict with the Arabs dates long before the birth of Israel, and the separation wall, started in 2002, has a defensive and not a geographical aim.

In addition, publications on the NGO projects supporting women’s rights seldom mention the patriarchal nature of Palestinian society, but instead focus solely on the “wall” and occupation as the principal causes of gender inequality. With no mention of Islamization or the denial of gender rights, the society in which these projects are implemented is not accurately portrayed. Not by chance, violence against homosexuals is also not condemned, and ending persecution of sexual minorities is not mentioned as a priority.

Similarly, educational projects do not reference incitement to hatred in Palestinian schools, where children learn anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism, nor media broadcasting used for terrorist indoctrination.⁴¹

Confusion about geography substantially contributes to Israel’s delegitimization in these publications. For instance, Jerusalem is often called part of Palestine, while “Israel” is only used in reference to “army” and “military occupation.” Moreover, the territories are often defined as the “Holy Land” and not as “Israel” and the “Palestinian Territories.”

The political use of terms such as the “Holy Land” or “Occupied Palestine” depicts Israel as a usurper and erases Jewish history. NGO reports on cooperation with the Christian community also contribute to delegitimization since they do not mention Islamist anti-Christian violence, and instead explain the distress of the Christian community through anti-Zionist terms: occupation, usurpation, and a cycle of discrimination-violence-misery.

41 Itamar Marcus and Nan Jacques Zilberdik, *Deception: Betraying the Peace Process*, (Jerusalem: Palestinian Media Watch, 2011).

Ties with Terrorism

The underestimation of terrorism as a dangerously entrenched force in Palestinian society has led to two verifiable cases of NGOs direct link to terrorist organizations.

In 1998, the Emilia Romagna Region funded the project “*Sostegno e sviluppo di due centri per portatori di handicap psico-fisico—Support and Development of Two Centers for Psychophysical Handicapped,*” managed by an NGO, “GVC,” with two local partners: Palestinian Red Crescent Society/Hebron Branch and AL-Ihsan Charitable Society.

The Palestinian Red Crescent Society has played a major role in numerous terrorist attacks by supplying ambulances that transported either materials or persons involved in attacks against Israel, including suicide bombers.⁴² The ties with Al-Ihsan Charitable Society are even more disturbing, since this institution fundraises for Islamic Jihad, and provides financial compensation for terrorists’ families.

Between 2009 and 2011, the “Cooperazione Italiana” funded the project “*Rafforzamento sistema universitario palestinese attraverso un programma integrato di alta formazione e aggiornamento professionale—Empowerment of Palestinian University System through an Integrated Program of Quality Training and Professional Retraining,*” in cooperation with the Italian University of Pavia, allocating 986,000 EUR to the following institutions:

- Bir Zeit University,
- Al-Quds University,
- An-Najah University,
- Hebron University,
- The Palestine Polytechnic University,

⁴² Among the most relevant cases of misuses of Red Crescent Society medical services for terrorist purposes, there is the attack of January 27th, 2002 in Jerusalem, when Wafa Idris, employee of the Red Crescent Society, blew herself up in Jaffa Road after been transported in an ambulance.

<http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/Government/Communiques/2002/Use%20of%20ambulances%20and%20medical%20vehicles%20by%20Palestin>

In another occasion, in March 27th, 2002, the army arrests at a check-point Islam Jabril, ambulance driver of the Red Crescent Society, who used to transport explosive material for terrorist attacks.

<http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/Government/Communiques/2002/Apprehension%20of%20ambulance%20harboring%20a%20wanted%20terro>

On this issue, see Mitchell G. Bard, “Myths and Facts about Palestinian Uprisings,” in particular see the section “Israel prevents Palestinian ambulances from taking sick and injured Palestinians to hospitals”, *Jewish Virtual Library*, <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/myths/mf19.html#72>

- The Arab American University of Jenin,
- Bethlehem University.

In 2001, The University of An-Najah housed a controversial exhibition that exalted suicide bombings, with a particular installation dedicated to the attack of August 9, 2001 at the Pizzeria Sbarro in Jerusalem.⁴³ The university is known for its student organization's activism, particularly the "Palestine Islamic Block," which spreads jihadist ideology and recruited several students for suicide attacks organized by Hamas.⁴⁴

Islamist activism in universities is repeatedly the result of funding from the Al-Ihsan Charitable Society, the same organization that cooperated with the Italian NGO "GVC," an institution sanctioned as a terrorist organization by US Executive Order 13224 in September 2001.⁴⁵

Direct and indirect ties to terrorism are the result of support, whereas a more thorough evaluation of partners and beneficiaries might lead to a halt in cooperation with those institutions that materially or ideologically support terrorism.

Chapter 5 will address policy and legislative recommendations on foreign aid, with specific reference to Italy's commitment to fight terrorism. The next chapter explores the relationship between aid policy and the State.

43 <http://www.nytimes.com/2001/09/26/world/an-exhibit-on-campus-celebrates-grisly-deed.html>

44 http://www.adl.org/terrorism/symbols/islamic_palestine_block.asp

45 *Blocking Terrorist Property and a Summary of Terrorist Sanctions Regulations*. Executive Order 13224 (US Ministry of Treasure, 23 September 2001).

CHAPTER 4

AID POLICY AND THE STATE

Official foreign policy and constitutional legitimacy of cooperation legislation

The commitment of the Regions, local authorities, and of the “Cooperazione Italiana,” to development cooperation is objectionable for two reasons:

- Constitutional legitimacy of regional laws regulate activities of foreign assistance;
- Consistency of aid in Israel/ the Palestinian Authority with Italy’s official foreign policy.

An analysis of the constitutional jurisprudence on international aid questions the constitutional legitimacy of Regions’ commitment to foreign funding in cases beyond those aimed at raising public awareness, implemented in the regional territory and targeting the resident population.

Moreover, the partisanship of NGOs working in Israel/ the Palestinian Authority is also objectionable, since their position conflicts with the official foreign policy of the State, from which they receive funding. With respect to NGOs promoting BDS campaigns (Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions), the compatibility between public funding and political activity is even more objectionable, since their ideological position runs contrary to fundamental principles of Italy’s foreign policy.

Constitutional Legitimacy of “Decentralized Cooperation”

The Constitutional Court of Italy has declared the constitutional illegitimacy of regional legislation regulating activities of foreign assistance in:

- Sentence n. 221 of 17 May 2006, annulling the law of the Autonomous Province of Trento;
- Sentence n. 131 of 14 May 2008, annulling the law of the Region of Calabria;
- Sentence n. 285 of 9 July 2008, annulling the law of the Autonomous Region Valle d’Aosta/Vallée d’Aoste.

In these three cases, the Government petitioned the Constitutional Court to annul regional laws regulating development cooperation, alleging that they are constitutionally incompatible with exclusive jurisdiction of the State over foreign policy, according to article 117, paragraph 2, letter a) of the Italian Constitution. The Constitutional Court argued that development assistance, being part of international aid, is a component of foreign policy, which falls under the exclusive jurisdiction of the State.

*“Regional norms encroach in exclusive jurisdiction over foreign policy when assigning to the Regions the power to determine the objectives of international cooperation and of emergency aid as well as the power to identify the beneficiaries on the basis of criteria designed by the Region itself.” By so doing, “they imply the direct allocation of human and financial resources to projects designed for the socio-economic support of populations and States, and hence, by carrying out activities of international cooperation, they authorize and discipline activities of foreign policy.”*⁴⁶

The category of development aid includes the following activities:

- Professional training of foreigners (in Italy or abroad);⁴⁷
- Humanitarian and emergency cooperation;⁴⁸
- Support of foreign institutions, supplying material or specialized personnel, coordination of personnel belonging to other institutions or associations, as well as fundraising for humanitarian aid.⁴⁹

In this respect, it should be emphasized that even responding to appeals from an international organization is constitutionally illegitimate, because

“Even if the initiative was organized by States or international organizations does not exclude the risk that it may conflict with Italy’s

46 Sentence n. 285, 9 July 2008, Constitutional Court, considerations in law, par. 3.2. See also, Sentence n. 131, 14 May 2008, Constitutional Court, considerations in law, par. 3.1 and sentence n. 211, 17 May 2006, Constitutional Court, considerations in law, par. 2.2.

47 Sentence n. 131, 14 May 2008, Constitutional Court, considerations in law, par. 3.2.

48 *Ibid.*, par. 3.3.

49 *Ibid.*

foreign policy, which may have different objectives and priorities of those pursued by those States or international organizations."⁵⁰

Therefore, the Regions cannot organize activities in the field of development cooperation if these activities define thematic and geographic priorities, which, as part of foreign policy, the State has exclusive jurisdiction over. On the contrary, what Regions may organize are educational and training activities, to be implemented in the regional territory and for the residents exclusively.⁵¹

In light of the considerations of the Constitutional Court, ongoing activities of international assistance funded by the Regions and other local authorities are objectionable. Moreover, the Regions Emilia-Romagna and Toscana have representative offices in the Delegation of the "Cooperazione Italiana" in Jerusalem for their involvement with the Palestinian Territories.⁵²

The conflict between State and Regions on foreign policy issues involves local legislation, but specific activities of NGOs benefitting from funding should also be considered as potentially conflicting with Italy's foreign policy.

International Aid v. Foreign Policy?

Since international aid is an integral part of foreign policy, as defined by law n. 49 of 1987, publicly funded NGOs operating in this field are to be considered private entities that implement public policies. Consequently, as beneficiaries of public funding, these NGOs should respect principles and priorities of Italy's foreign policy.

With reference to Israel and the Palestinian Authority, Italy has repeatedly expressed its support for Israel, defending its right to existence. Italy's friendly relationship with Israel does not exclude cooperation with Palestinian National Authority and with the Palestinian people, inasmuch as it does not contradict the recognition of the Jewish State.

⁵⁰ Sentence n. 285, 9 July 2008, Constitutional Court, considerations in law, par. 3.4.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, par. 3.7; see also sentence n. 131, 14 May 2008, Constitutional Court, considerations in law, par. 3.1.

⁵² http://www.gerusalemme.cooperazione.esteri.it/utlgerusalemme/IT/partner/cooperazione_decentrata/intro.html

Hence, NGOs anti-Israel partisanship is objectionable; likewise, their delegitimization is unsupportable, including the adoption of a distorted historical narrative and the demonization of Israel. NGO cooperation with Palestinian organizations is incompatible with Italian foreign policy when it involves the delegitimization of Israel.

Furthermore, public funding of NGOs that delegitimize Israel may be considered an expression of foreign policy that is directly opposed to official Italian policy. NGO policy cannot freely contradict official State positions while simultaneously receiving public funding for implementing foreign policy activities.

This incompatibility is even more blatant with respect to the most organized form of delegitimization, the BDS movement (Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions), promoted by several Italian organizations, including NGOs that receive public funding from the Italian Regions or local authorities.

Italian NGOs that receive public funding and officially promote BDS, including those entities that act through private associations, such as the labor union CGIL, include:

- Associazione Ya Basta,
- CGIL,
- Coordinamento Nord-Sud del Mondo,
- Operazione Colomba,
- Pax Christi,
- Un Ponte Per.⁵³

Palestinian NGOs that are local partner to publicly funded projects and promote the BDS international campaign include:

- Unions and networks:
- Palestinian General Federation of Trade Unions (PGFTU),
- General Union of Palestinian Women (GUPW),
- Union of Palestinian Medical Relief Committees (UPMRC),
- Union of Agricultural Work Committees (UAWC),
- Union of Palestinian Agricultural Relief Committees (PARC),
- Union of Women's Work Committees, Tulkarem (UWWC).

⁵³ <http://stopagrexcoitalia.org/appello.html>

Associations:

- Al-Awda Charitable Society (Beit Jalla),
- Al-Awda Palestinian Folklore Society (Hebron),
- Al-Doha Children's Cultural Center (Bethlehem),
- Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Ramallah- Al-Bireh District,
- Gaza Community Mental Health Program, (GCMHP),
- Jerusalem Center for Women, Jerusalem (JCW),
- Palestinian Working Women Society for Development (PWWSD),
- Youth Cooperation Forum (Hebron).⁵⁴

CHAPTER 5

THE FUTURE OF FOREIGN AID

Policy Recommendations

This last chapter presents two policy recommendations for the improvement of development assistance in Israel and the Palestinian Authority, and for ensuring that public funds are not directed to delegitimization activities or to institutions that have ties with terrorism.

The first recommendation: regards transparency of funds and suggests the creation of a national database, accessible to all citizens, which would include all projects implemented in Israel and the Palestinian Authority, with information about budget and partner organizations.

The second recommendation: the adoption of a twofold conditionality clause binding the beneficiary to abstain from supporting organizations that support terrorism, carrying out activities of delegitimization of Israel, and conflicting with Italy's foreign policy.

Incitement to Terrorism, Genocide and Racial Hatred

In order to guarantee long-term efficacy of activities aimed at building relationships between Israelis and Palestinians, it is necessary to stop the spread of anti-Israel and anti-Jewish hatred in the educational system, in the media, and in religious or other societal circles.

Anti-Jewish and anti-Israel hatred are the ideological basis of suicidal violence and terrorism that target Israeli civilians as well as Jewish facilities around the world.

Incitement includes:

- Propaganda in the media (TV, radio, press);
- Incitement to terrorism and anti-Semitic hatred in schools, universities, and other educational facilities;
- Recruiting and instigation to terrorism in universities and other circles, including religious;
- Internet propaganda and incitement to hatred and genocide in web sites, YouTube, and social media;
- Incitement to terrorism and incitement to hatred in religious facilities;

- Literature, music, and art which spread anti-Semitic prejudices and hatred, as well the glorification of suicide terrorist.

From a legal point of view, apologies for terrorism and incitement to anti-Israel and anti-Jewish hatred may be considered a form of incitement to genocide, according to its definition under international law. The direct appeal to kill Jews and Israelis, to martyr in the name of the Palestinian or Islamic cause, should be considered incitement to genocide and not merely instigation to racial hatred, which is defined as the use of a derogatory language without a direct appeal to the total or partial destruction of an ethnic, religious, or linguistic group.⁵⁵ This difference is particularly relevant in the media and on the internet,⁵⁶ which spread hatred-inciting violence, including the recruitment of new potential terrorists.⁵⁷

As for European NGOs, their language, their historical interpretations, and their laxness on terrorism, serve to foster incitement to hatred and violence. In each legal system, the laws on incitement to hatred, which are defined as “hate speech,” limit freedom of expression. In Italy, the “Legge Mancino”⁵⁸ condemns (art. 1) incitement and “acts of racial, ethnical, national, or religious discrimination” and prohibits “any organization, association, movement, or group aiming to incite to racial, ethnical, national, or religious discrimination or violence”.

55 International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, Prosecutor v. Nahimana et al., Media Case, case n. 99-52-T, 3 December 2003.

56 On this issue, see the report of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, delivered in occasion of the 2001 World Conference on Racism, Racial Discrimination and Xenophobia (Durban I). It analyzes incitement to racial hatred and racist propaganda in Internet, including neo-Nazi anti-Semitism, but fails to analyze Islamic anti-Semitism. UN General Assembly, A/CONF/189/PC.2/12, 27 April 2001, “*Report of the High Commissioner for Human Rights on the use of the Internet for purposes of incitement to racial hatred, racist propaganda and xenophobia, and on ways of promoting international cooperation in this area*”.

57 On this issue see *The Prosecutor v. Ferdinand Nahimana, Jean-Bosco Barayagwiza, Hassan Ngeze*, ICTR-99-52-A, Appeals Judgement, 28 novembre 2007, International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, a.k.a. the “Media Case,” on the incitement to genocide of the Tutsis in Rwanda through the broadcastings of the “Radio Télévision Libre de Milles Collines.” The “Julius Streicher case” (Nuremberg Tribunal) was first case regarding the role of the media in spreading hatred as part of a genocidal plan. Julius Streicher was editor-in-chief of the weekly journal “Der Stürmer” (1925-1945) and through his articles and speeches “*week after week, month after month, he infected the German mind with the virus of anti-Semitism, and incited the German people to active persecution.*” (International Military Tribunal Nürnberg, Prosecutor vs. Julius Streicher, 30 September and 1 October 1946, par. 3, available at: <http://avalon.law.yale.edu/imt/judgen.asp>).

58 Decreto legge of 26 April 1993, n. 122, “Misure urgenti in materia di discriminazione razziale, etnica e religiosa”, turned into law of 25 June 1993 n. 205.

Moral support to “Palestinian resistance” indirectly glorifies suicide terrorism and violence against Israeli civilians and soldiers, and implicitly incites violence against Israel. Similarly, boycott campaigns of Israeli products, academics, intellectuals, artists, and sports, are a form of incitement to national discrimination.

Finally, support for terrorism and violence against Israel, incitement to boycott, and participation in BDS, may also be defined as a form of anti-Semitism according to the definition of the *Fundamental Rights Agency* of the European Union (*which substituted in 2007 the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia, EUMC*), adopted in 2005. This definition of anti-Semitism includes:

- Denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination, e.g., by claiming that the existence of a State of Israel is a racist endeavor.
- Applying double standards by requiring of it a behavior not expected or demanded of any other democratic nation.
- Using the symbols and images associated with classic anti-Semitism (e.g., claims of Jews killing Jesus or blood libel) to characterize Israel or Israelis.
- Drawing comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis.
- Holding Jews collectively responsible for actions of the state of Israel.

Since promoting and participating in BDS activities is contrary to the spirit of cooperation and peace, the following paragraphs explore two recommendations for a novel regulation of cooperation directed to Israel and the Palestinian Authority.

Transparency

In keeping with the principle of transparency, applicable to the public administration and sanctioned by law n. 241 of 7 August 1990, the following requests are advanced:

- To publish all data regarding the funding of international aid projects in Israel and the Palestinian Authority, with specific focus on partners and their budgets.
- In view of the constitutional illegitimacy of regional involvement in development aid, the establishment of a national

centralized database could create a central site, comprised of all projects funded by the Regions and the “Cooperazione Italiana.” With a centralized database, there would be no duplication of the same activities or within the same geographical areas.

Data accessibility will give citizens knowledge about Italy’s international aid commitments, including activities of local authorities. Data disclosure will allow scrutinizing public funding of NGOs in order to better define public policies.

Specifically, the following suggestions:

- Disclosure of funds allocated to projects;
- Disclosure of the percentage of the funding on the total amount of the budget;
- Disclosure of the compositions of evaluation committees which select the projects;
- Disclosure of Italy’s contribution to international organizations that work in Israel and the Palestinian Authority and the percentage allocated for activities in the Palestinian Territories.

Conditional Aid

Considering the terrorist threat, it is necessary to prevent funds from being allocated to civil society organizations that provide moral, physical, or logistical support to terrorist organizations. **The “conditionality of aid” consists of allocating funds on the condition of refusing terrorism and abstaining from supporting ideologies of hatred.**

In this respect, American legislation regulating USAID, the governmental agency for international cooperation, is an effective example of conditionality. In the US, development funds are subject to the condition of rejecting terrorism, and prohibiting the allocation of funds to institutions that have proven relationships with terrorist organizations.⁵⁹ Similarly, **conditionality of funds should impose the rejection of delegitimization of Israel, particularly the pro-**

⁵⁹ Public Law 111-8, Division H, Title VII, Sec. 7039(b).

motion of BDS, as it is incompatible with Italian foreign policy.

The main aim of foreign assistance is to guarantee peace, international security, and economic prosperity. Terrorism and delegitimization are forms of violence and hatred that cannot be publicly funded; therefore, in line with Italy's commitment to peace, the modification of current legislation on foreign aid must reinforce Italy's devotion to global development, favoring dialogue over delegitimization.

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PRINCIPAL ITALIAN NGOs THAT DELEGITIMIZE ISRAEL

Gruppo Volontariato Civile

<http://www.gvc-italia.org>

- “As great part of the associations came into being in the 1970s, GVC was born as a Catholic organization out of the will of a group of young volunteers, led by some ‘dehonian seminarists’ and by Father Angelo Cavagna;”
- **Funded by the “Cooperazione Italia,” Region of Emilia-Romagna.**
- **The historical description of Middle East states that “the boundary between the partitioned lands according to UN resolution 181 is still undefined, notwithstanding the construction of a separation wall unilaterally decided and realized by Israel since 2000.” Terrorism and security are not mentioned.**
- GVC claims that Hamas has “occupied Gaza” as a consequence of the failed recognition by the Quartet, without explaining that it is a terrorist organization.
- **In the flyer “Ci occupiamo di Palestina—Dealing with Palestine,” GVC uses demonizing language against Israel:** “Every day in Palestine human dignity is sacrificed. People cannot exercise their fundamental rights, as self-determination, the possibility to find a job and the access to basic services.”
- **GVC has worked with Al-Ihsan Charitable Society, which finances terrorism and is included in the blacklist of terrorist organizations. Given the objectionable local partnerships, data collected and published by GVC are not reliable.**

Nexus Emilia Romagna

<http://nexuser.wordpress.com/>

- **Nexus, of the communist labor union CGIL, was founded in 1997 aiming to “support friendly reactions among peoples,” and to “promote a better knowledge of universal**

rights of men and women... and of the principle of self-determination of civil society.” However, it does not consider solidarity for Israelis and human rights of Israeli citizens.

- Nexus demonizes Israel by accusing it of genocide, with typically anti-Semitic language, and by comparing Palestinian suffering to the Holocaust. These words publicized an event in memory of Vittorio Arrigoni, the Italian volunteer assassinated by Islamist extremists in Gaza: *“the story of a contemporary unimaginable genocide. It is the story of a poor people that has lived for centuries in the promised land, armed of a few stones and martyrs against a people that has suffered the Eternal Diaspora, the Czarist Pogrom, and the Extermination Camps”* (<http://nexuser.wordpress.com/2012/04/10/nexus-emilia-ro-4-2/>).
- Nexus distorts facts in order to delegitimize Israel. It states that Operation Cast Lead created 1400 victims, of which 2/3 were women and children. It also claims that the development of Gaza conditions depends on the re-opening of the boundaries (report May 2009, <http://nexuser.wordpress.com/category/progetti-in-corso/medio-oriente/>), without mentioning the reason why Gaza is subject to international blockade or why Operation Cast Lead was initiated.

EDUCAID Onlus

<http://www.educaid.it>

- Educaid is active in the Palestinian Authority since 2003, mainly in Gaza, and is devoted to “children, disabled, women and other minorities.”
- Funded by Cooperazione Italiana, Region of Emilia-Romagna, local entities of Emilia-Romagna, and by the European Union.
- Educaid accuses Israel of the social exclusion of disabled children of Gaza: *“the closure of the Gaza Strip has dramatically worsened the socio-economic situation of the Palestinians. Children and youngsters are the most vulnerable and represent more than the 50% of Gaza population. They do not have the possibility to access psycho-social assistan-*

ce, adequate medical care, and educational services.” Were there adequate structures for disabled people in Gaza before the victory of Hamas?

- The language used by the NGO demonizes Israel, accusing it of apartheid: *“the segregation wall is undermining the basis of the socio-cultural unity of the Palestinian people.”*

Educaid distorts reality, accusing Israel of discriminating against Arab residents of Jerusalem, which result to be stateless, while *“their document of identity is a simple laissez-passez [sic].”*

Salaam Ragazzi dell’Olivo

<http://salaam-ragazzidellolivo.blogspot.it/>

- Founded in 1988 as emanation of ARCIRAGAZZI and AGESCI (Associazione Guide e Scout Cattolici Italiani), it becomes an association in 1992, promoting Palestinian child sponsorships.
- The association uses delegitimizing images, accusing Israel of systematically uprooting olive trees, of occupying and confiscating lands, and of demolishing houses and infrastructures.
- Being a Catholic organization, the association adopts a vision of the conflict based on theology of sufferance, as ties with Pax Christi show.

Associazione Pace per Gerusalemme

<http://pacepergerusalemme.wordpress.com/>

- Founded in 2001 by citizens and local authorities, including the Autonomous Province of Trento, this association aims to “support peace and dialog” in Jerusalem, manages a permanent project in Beit Jala and is funded by the Autonomous Province of Trento.
- This NGO does not use the word “Israel,” opting instead for “Holy Land” and “Palestine.”
- Its website publishes articles of the web journal “Infopal.it,” which delegitimizes and demonizes Israel as a criminal and illegal State.
- Among its various activities, this NGO is active in tourism

of delegitimization, by organizing trips in the “Holy Land” and “Palestine” in order to spread an anti-Israel ideology.

Pax Christi – Movimento Cattolico Internazionale per la Pace

<http://www.paxchristi.it/>

- Founded in the 1950s by members of the Vatican Secretary of State, Pax Christi is an international movement officially active in Israel since 2005 that aims to spread “*the Christian ideal of peace,*” embedded in “*non-violence*” and in “*frank and constructive dialog.*”
- Pax Christi delegitimizes Israel through the reports published in the website www.bocchescucite.org, which was funded during one of the journeys called “*pilgrimages of justice,*” organized in order to demonize Israel by visiting the “*holy places*” and “*sharing pains and hopes of those who live in Palestine resisting the suffocating military occupation.*”
- The delegitimization of Israel also consists of distorting names and places, so that the Negev desert in Southern Israel becomes “Palestine.”
- Pax Christi participates in the BDS campaign and promoted the Gaza flotilla, the clearest example of delegitimization of Israel. Specifically, it promotes the “stopagrexco” campaign, which aims to boycott Israeli products imported in Italy by Carmel e Agrexco: “*keeping in mind South Africa, we believe it is our duty, as well as a civil right, to boycott products stemming from injustice.*”

Un Ponte Per

<http://www.unponteper.it>

- Founded in 1991 for supporting “*the Iraqi population during the war,*” “Un Ponte Per,” focuses its activities in Middle East and Serbia. It rejects war, promoting “*intercultural, linguistic, religious interchange in order to support a more just and peaceful common living.*”
- It participates with other associations in the campaign for

preserving the olive harvest, misconstruing the situation in the West Bank and defining security measures as apartheid.

- It demonizes Israel by accusing it of torturing “Palestinian political prisoners” and by advancing an anti-Israeli political agenda through public events and press releases.

Operazione Colomba

<http://www.operazionecolomba.it/>

- Born out of the “Associazione Papa Giovanni XXIII” as a non-violent Peace Corps, it has worked in Israel since 2002 and is funded by the Cooperazione Internazionale and European Union.
- NGOs workers “*share daily life with Palestinian communities in the villages*” of South Hebron Hills; “*support non-violent Palestinian popular resistance... report and denounce IDF and settlers’ violence.*” They also cooperate with Israeli NGOs (B’tselem, Yesh Din).
- Operazione Colomba delegitimizes Israel omitting explanations of the historical-geographic context of South Hebron hills. It accuses Israel of discriminating against Palestinian residents of the at-Tawani village, who “*have building permits for the historical area of the village solely.*” It does not mention that the village was founded just before the Six Day War in the 1960s, which explains the disputed lands around it.
- Press releases demonize Israel and the army by accusing them of systematic violence against Palestinian citizens.

Terre des Hommes

<http://www.terredeshommes.it>

- Founded in 1960 in Lousanne for supporting minors victims of the conflict in Algeria; the Italian section was founded in 1989 and became a foundation in 1994. Funded by the European Union and by the “Cooperazione Italiana.”
- Among the objectives of this foundation: protection of children from contexts of violence (including domestic, social, prostitution, and slavery), access to education, and health

protection.

- Terre des Hommes claims that “*Operation Cast Lead, organized by the Israeli army between December 2008 and January 2009 left serious psychological damages besides a destructed city, among which the dramatic difficulty of responding to such damages.*”
- The association does not explain the reason why the military operation was “organized.” The speculation on the psychological damages on Gaza’s children does not address their distress due to the social situation and civil war.
- The association aims to protect children from domestic violence, without mentioning social violence that influences the lives of Gaza’s minors.

Medina ONG

www.medina.it

- Medina ONLUS was founded in 1994 for the “integration of third world countries’ economy and politics into the international context,” for their economic development, for the elimination of all forms of discrimination, and for sustainable development.
- Medina is active in Israel/The Palestinian Authority with the support of local actors, including Nidal and Baladna Youth Arab Movement, which aim to enhance the differences between Jews and Arabs in Israel.
- In East Jerusalem, Medina does not cooperate with Israeli authorities, supporting the creation of a parallel Arab society.
- Medina aims to favor “cooperatism and mutualism, solidarity and international justice,” but instead favors enmity and social alienation; its activities are counterproductive to peace.

VIS-Volontariato Internazionale per lo Sviluppo

www.volint.it

- Founded in 1986 and is now part of the Salesian missionary organization, an expression of international volunteering. Since 2009, it has been a consultative NGO within the UN Council for Human Rights. Funded by Cooperazione Italiana, Italian Episcopal Conference, UNDP (United Nations Development Programme), World Bank.
- VIS claims that art is a means through which Palestinian children can go beyond the “claustrophobic reality” they live in due to the “wall,” which surrounds the territories.
- VIS conducts the educational project “Benvenuti in Palestina 2012,” in which it explains that civil society volunteers to fight for “the rights of all, against occupation and apartheid.” This initiative is supported by Desmond Tutu, Noam Chomsky, Margherita Hack, Alex Zanotelli, and Don Nandino Capovilla, “who are committed to the fight for human rights and for a better world.”
- VIS uses a delegitimizing rhetoric which accuses Israel of apartheid, with the support of international personality’s renowned for furthering BDS campaigns (boycott, divestment, and sanctions).



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