



**Building a Political Firewall against  
the Assault on Israel's Legitimacy  
London as a Case Study**

**Version A**

**Kislev 5771  
November 2010**



## Introduction

This draft document is a product of concern, hope, and confidence. Concern because our analysis covering the years 2006-2009 led us to conclude that Israel is subject to a systemic and systematic assault on its political and economic model, which aims to precipitate its implosion. This campaign is inspired by the collapse of countries such as the Soviet Union and apartheid South Africa.

This assault is executed by two forces acting in parallel and with cooperation. The first is the Resistance Network, led by Iran, Hamas, and Hezbollah, that rejects Israel's right to exist based on Arab and Islamist nationalist-religious ideology. The second is the Delegitimization Network, which is primarily concentrated in a few major cities such as London, Brussels, and the San Francisco Bay Area, and denies Israel's right of existence based on political, philosophical, or historical arguments.

The assault has grown in sophistication and effectiveness to a point at which it should be treated as a strategic concern of potentially existential implications. However, it has been met by an under-resourced and uncoordinated local and situational response, and by an oblivious State of Israel.

Our hope stems from many concrete examples of mobilization toward a more thoughtful, concerted, well-resourced, effective, and efficient global and systemic offense against the delegitimization campaign. These are evident in responses generated by the Government of Israel, as well as those initiated by Jewish communities, non-governmental organizations, philanthropists, and activists worldwide.

Our confidence stems not only from a general Jewish community sense that 'we shall overcome,' or from its Israeli sibling of 'it will be okay' (*yihiyeh be'seder*), but also from our current understanding of the challenge. The delegitimization campaign is primarily led by a relatively small group of individuals and non-governmental organizations, concentrated in a few major metropolitan areas around the world, that have amplified their influence by disguising their agenda under banners of 'peace,' 'human rights,' and other progressive values. We believe that Israel's delegitimizers are relatively few, concentrated, and vulnerable – therefore, their plans can be disrupted.

The objective is simple: Delegitimizing delegitimization. In other words, our collective aim should be to strengthen the fundamental legitimacy of the State of Israel as the nation-state of the Jewish people, where it realizes its right of self-determination, and to render those voices that challenge this right beyond the pale. Naturally, this will not mitigate criticism or controversy surrounding specific Israeli policies, particularly vis-à-vis the Palestinians or its Arab minority.

This is the context for the centrality of London, which has been referred to as the "Mecca of Delegitimization." Londoners have played a key role in all major recent delegitimization campaigns, including the Durban conferences, the Gaza Flotilla, and the Boycott Divestment Sanctions (BDS) Movement. Several attributes, elaborated

upon in this document, contribute to London's influence on global delegitimization campaigns.

The purpose of this document is to catalyze a systemic approach in London. Meeting the challenge of Israel's delegitimization requires a loosely coordinated and orchestrated response, sometimes even taking a personal or non-public form. Therefore, all parties will have to leave their comfort zones: Israel will have to let Jewish communities lead the counter-attack in places, such as London, that require nuance and cultural sensitivity; and Jewish institutions will have to allow for innovative thinking, new tools, and aggressive experimentation that usually takes place outside of the established community. All parties will have to come to terms with the idea that it takes 'all instruments in the orchestra' to win this fight. Importantly, critics from the political left, because they represent liberal values, are also an invaluable voice in delegitimizing Israel's delegitimization, notwithstanding their common criticism of the Jewish community's traditional institutions and the policies of the State of Israel.

This document is a 'draft' not only in the traditional sense that we look forward to learning from the feedback that we will receive, but also because we view it as a snapshot of a work-in-progress. The delegitimizers' network is rapidly evolving, and we need to maintain a mode of constant learning and adaptation accordingly. To date, delegitimizers often operated under the radar, and many of their initiatives went uninterrupted and unopposed. Now, as Israel and its allies step up their activity, so will the delegitimizers. In other words, this is a struggle that will require the best of our innovation and creativity for years to come.

The Reut Institute has invested many of its resources in our work in London because we believe that an effective response in London will have global implications for our ability to counter this assault. We hold this to be true not only because London is the 'hub-of-hubs' of the delegitimization network, but also because network theory teaches us that many of our lessons from London will be relevant in other 'hubs,' such as the San Francisco Bay area or Toronto. To paraphrase Frank Sinatra, we say: "If it can be done there, it can be done anywhere."

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## Glossary / Concepts

<b>Fundamental Delegitimization / Anti-Zionism</b>	Negation of Israel's right to exist or of the right of the Jewish people to self-determination based on philosophical or political arguments.  When certain conditions are met – such as when demonization or blatant double standards (see below) are employed – fundamental delegitimization represents a form of anti-Semitism.
<b>Double Standards / Singling Out</b>	Applying unique standards to Israel that are harsher than the common international practice, as a basis for expressing disproportional criticism; applying a general principle of international law to Israel, while ignoring similar or worse violations by others.
<b>Demonization</b>	Presenting Israel as being systematically, purposefully, and extensively cruel and inhumane, thus denying the moral legitimacy of its existence. Examples include association with Nazism or apartheid or accusations of blatant acts of evil.

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## Acknowledgements

The Reut Institute expresses its gratitude to the American Friends of the Reut Institute (AFRI) for its continued support of our activities on the topic of the Israel's delegitimization challenge. In particular, we would like to thank the following donors:

- **Adam and Gila Milstein, Los Angeles, CA, USA**
- **Goldhirsh Foundation, Los Angeles, CA, USA**
- **Joel and Rebecca Mandel, Los Angeles, CA, USA**
- **Julis Foundation for Multi-Disciplinary Thinking, Los Angeles, CA, USA**
- **Michael and Lisa Leffell Foundation, New York, NY, USA**
- **Miriam and Garry Khasidy, London, UK**

In the course of writing this document about London over the past 12 months, we have met with more than 100 individuals: academics; diplomats; media figures; people in government and the non-profit sector; Israelis and non-Israelis; Israel's supporters and its most exacting critics; people from Israel, the UK, and other countries. The Reut Institute extends its gratitude to all these individuals for their time, good will, and contribution.

**Nonetheless, this document reflects the position of the Reut Institute.** Indeed, some individuals with whom we met have a different view on certain aspects of our analysis, conclusions, or recommendations. The acknowledgment list, in alphabetical order is below:<sup>1</sup>

- **Aharoni, Ido**, Head of Israel's Brand Management Team, Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- **Arad, Eyal**, Founding Partner, Euro RSCG, Israel
- **Ben Dor, Ronit**, Director, Department for Deterrence and Preventative Diplomacy Policy Planning Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (former Director of Public Affairs, Israeli Embassy, London)
- **Bender, David and Helen**
- **Bendror, Shmuel**, Board of Directors, The Israel Project
- **Benjamin, Jon**, Chief Executive, The Board of Deputies of British Jews
- **Benson, Richard**, Chief Executive of the Community Security Trust (CST)
- **Blumenblat, Haim**, Director General, Ministry of Strategic Affairs

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<sup>1</sup> In addition, we met with 22 individuals who preferred not to be acknowledged.

- **Blumenthal, Ariel A.**
- **Bowen, Jeremy** , BBC Middle East Editor
- **Brandt, Jessica**
- **Braunold, Joel**, National Executive Committee (2008-2009), National Union of Students (NUS)
- **Bright, Martin**, Political Editor, Jewish Chronicle
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- **Taub, Daniel**, Senior Legal Adviser, Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs

- **Temko, Ned and Astra**
- **Troy, Gil**, Professor of History, McGill University
- **Tsalalyachin, Goor**, King's College London, the Department of War Studies
- **Tudor, Owen**, Head of European Union and International Relations, Trades Union Congress
- **Waiman, Myra**
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- **Westrop, Sam**, Director, Institute for Middle Eastern Democracy
- **Wissner-Levy, Yael**, UK Correspondent for Channel 10 News Israel, **Masters Student at the London School of Economics**
- **Whine, Michael**, Community Security Trust (CST)
- **Yaron, Ruth**, Brigadier General (Res.), National Security Strategy

## The Reut Institute's National Security Team

Since the Second Lebanon War, the Reut Institute has dealt with different aspects of the national security challenges facing Israel, specifically the challenge posed by the Resistance Network, which is led by Iran, Hezbollah, and Hamas. In particular, as of the summer of 2008, we have been focusing on the challenge of Israel's delegitimization.

**In this context, Reut's team, led by Eran Shayshon, was tasked with catalyzing a relevant response to the assault on Israel's legitimacy, hitherto met with obliviousness or a local, situational response to a proactive, global, and systemic approach.** This objective was ambitious, particularly considering the size of the team and the resources available to it

The analytical foundation for this effort is the conceptual framework, entitled "[The Delegitimization Challenge: Creating a Political Firewall](#)," which was presented at the Tenth Herzliya Conference in January 2010. This paper offered a first-of-its-kind systemic analysis of the challenge of Israel's delegitimization and principles for response. Furthermore, in July 2010, the team published another comprehensive analysis, this time of the Gaza Flotilla titled, [The Gaza Flotilla: The Collapse of Israel's Political Firewall](#), which demonstrated that this event could be understood in the broader context of the delegitimization campaign.

Over the past year, **our team has made a significant contribution to the response to the delegitimization campaign, often evident in the language, discourse, priorities, and patterns of conduct of many institutions in Israel, including the Government of Israel, and in the Jewish world.** Evidently, the Goldstone Report and the Gaza Flotilla contributed significantly to the openness to our analysis and recommendations.

Furthermore, **we have become part of a rapidly emerging global network that works to provide a structural, ethical, and substantive response to this challenge.** We have worked with partners and allies in Europe, primarily in London, and in the U.S., including in the San Francisco Bay Area, New York, Washington D.C., Orange County, Canada, as well as in Australia and South Africa.

The Reut Institute team includes the following individuals:<sup>2</sup>

- **Gidi Grinstein** is the Founder and President of the Reut Institute. He served in the Office and then in the Bureau of PM Barak as the Secretary and Coordinator of the Israel's Delegation to the Permanent Status negotiations with the PLO (1999-2001). Gidi is a graduate of the Harvard Kennedy School of Government (2002) and Tel Aviv University Schools of Law (1999) and Economics (1991).

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<sup>2</sup> For more information, see the ['Team' section of the Reut Web site](#).

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## Executive Summary

### The assault on the legitimacy of Israel in London

1. In recent years, **Israel has been subjected to a systematic and systemic assault on its political and economic model, which aims to bring about its implosion and is inspired by the fate of the Soviet Union, East Germany, and apartheid South Africa.**
2. **This assault is increasingly perceived to be a strategic concern for Israel, with potentially existential implications.** This understanding underlies the recent mobilization by the Government of Israel (GOI) to offer a systemic response to this challenge.
3. **Two forces promote Israel's delegitimization: The Middle East-based Resistance Network** that is driven by Islamic and Arab ideology and nationalism, **and the primarily Europe-based Delegitimization Network** that is driven by political and philosophical ideologies.
4. **A network of individuals and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) drive the delegitimization campaign against Israel.** These few dozen 'catalysts' operate out of a handful of metropolitan areas that are the networks' 'hubs.'
5. **Delegitimizers represent marginal political forces but are increasingly able to mainstream and achieve disproportionate influence.** They do so by harnessing support from within the liberal progressive elite, and by focusing on a few arenas in which they enjoy structural advantages, such as the judiciary, academia, churches, and trade unions.
6. **In this context, London stands out as a hub of delegitimization,** even relative to other geographical locations. **London's influence emanates from the city's centrality** in several major arenas – including media, diplomacy, academia, non-governmental organization, and judicial – which propel its significant global weight. (See Chapter 1.)
7. **The main drivers of delegitimization in the UK are leaders within what is commonly known as the Red-Green Alliance,** a reference to the increasing connection between UK-based Islamists and radical-left elements.<sup>3</sup> Due to several societal dynamics, these forces – the 'Reds' on the radical left and the Islamist 'Greens' – are particularly powerful in London (See Chapter 2).

<sup>3</sup> The origins of this term in relation to the alliance between Islamists and radical leftists are unclear, but it is used by several writers, including Nick Cohen, **What's Left? How Liberals Lost Their Way** (Fourth Estate 2007).

8. **This document focuses on the examples of two main catalysts: The Palestine Solidarity Campaign (PSC),** whose agenda reflects a goal of advancing Israel's fundamental delegitimization (see Chapter 4), and the **network of organizations that are pro-Hamas in London,** which has been playing a central and growing role in this campaign (see Chapter 5).
9. **London's influence on the global assault against Israel's legitimacy makes it central to this struggle.** In order to win, success must be achieved there.

#### **Overarching principles for response**

10. **Caveat: This document focuses on the structural response to the challenge of Israel's delegitimization.** Its scope does not cover a discussion of closely related issues such as the battle of narratives, i.e. the substantive response to delegitimizers' arguments, or the relation between Israel's delegitimization and anti-Semitism.
11. The logic of delegitimization stems from a rejection of Israel's existence, and therefore cannot be made to disappear by policy or public relations (PR). Hence, our working assumption is that **neither changing Israel's policies nor improving PR will suffice in the battle against delegitimization, although both can have a significant impact in this context.** In fact, credible and consistent commitment by Israel to ending the control over the Palestinian population and to integration and equality of Israel's Arabs citizens is essential for success among liberal and progressive circles.
12. Hence, **the campaign against Israel's delegitimization must represent a systemic and structural approach.** The following is a set of principles for such a response:
13. **Narrow the definition of delegitimization and expand the definition of 'pro-Israel'** in order to shrink the base of delegitimizers and expand ours:
  - **Delegitimization should be narrowly defined, for example as negating Israel's right to exist and the right of the Jewish people to self-determination.**
  - **Open tent 1: The threshold for membership in the pro-Israel community** should be giving Israel the benefit of doubt and possessing the ability to provide a single conceivable context that could make Israel's actions understandable. No prima facie support of any specific policy should be expected.



14. **It takes a network to fight a network**<sup>4</sup> – The power and resilience of human networks is determined by their 'hubs' and 'catalysts.' Hence, effectively contending with the Delegitimization Network requires **embracing a network-based logic and response that focuses on hubs, and undermines the catalysts by mobilizing our network.**
- **Open tent 2: GOI and Jewish institutions must get comfortable with a flat, loosely coordinated response.**
  - **Open tent 3: It takes 'all instruments of the orchestra' to win this fight – from the political right and left.** This principle requires embracing the paradox in which the more critical a left-wing voice against Israeli politics, the more credible its stance against delegitimization. Simply put, **the most effective voices against Israel's delegitimization come from the far liberal and progressive left.**
  - **Open tent 4: Encourage experimentation** - An effective response will require continuous learning and adaptation based on extensive experimentation, which usually takes place at the edges of the system outside of the traditional institutions.
  - **Any organization that embraces network logic and is able to inspire and mobilize can be its catalyst**, including synagogues, community centers, and formal institutions, as well as other NGOs and individuals.
  - **Mobilize Israeli Diaspora communities**, particularly on campuses or in multinational corporations.
  - **Be a part of the global network** of anti-delegitimization, whose hubs should include the San Francisco Bay Area, Madrid, Paris, Toronto, Brussels, and Johannesburg.
  - **Work behind-the-scenes**, for example by hiring outside 'movers-and-shakers' to coordinate mobilization work on campuses.
15. **Develop public relations and branding practices**, as well as the negative branding of the other side.
16. **Substantively engage liberal and progressive circles** – These represent the battleground between Israel and its allies, and the delegitimizers. Mobilizing this constituency to stand against delegitimization requires substantively responding to

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<sup>4</sup> This is a known principle in the world of networks. See: Dr. Boaz Ganor, **It Takes a Network to Beat a Network**; John Arquilla, **It Takes a Network**; or Dr. Pete Rustan, in **Building an Integral Intelligence Network**.

their concerns and building personal relationships. Special emphasis should be given to Jewish liberals.

17. **Establish a policy and practice of engaging with NGOs focused on Israel** on a substantive level, by addressing their concerns, queries, and questions, and by building relations with their boards, management, and professionals.
18. In this context, **our task is far simpler than that of the delegitimizers: While they must demonstrate that Israel's actions prove its illegitimacy, we only have to show that there is a *single* context through which these actions can be understood and justified.**
19. **Out, name, and shame the delegitimizers.** This means systematically exposing information about them, their activities, and the organizations that they operate out of. The goal is to eventually frame them, depending on context, as anti-peace, anti-Semitic, or dishonest purveyors of double standards.
20. **The relationship and division of roles between Israeli diplomatic missions and local leadership are critically important to fighting delegitimization.** The main attributes of this cooperation are based on the unique values of each side:
  - The local Israeli diplomatic mission should focus on communicating the voice of Jerusalem to the local community and vice versa; serving as a formal front of Israel that draws 'fire.' It should be tasked with 'smoking the enemy out of their caves' by exposing their arguments, mobilization methods, and structure; introducing new and innovative information and analysis; and engaging in the labor-intensive work of relationship-based diplomacy.
  - The local pro-Israel community should take responsibility for: Providing people, funding, resources, and platforms for response; nurturing key relationships across liberal and progressive circles; driving local media campaigns; and mobilizing the loosely orchestrated pro-Israel network.

In general, **the local Jewish community is likely to possess greater sensitivity to local contexts and nuances**, enabling it to operate with greater effectiveness against delegitimization.

#### **Guidelines for operational strategy in London**

21. As mentioned, **London is home to a loosely coordinated *local* network of delegitimizers and serves as the leading hub of the *global* Delegitimization Network.**
22. Hence, **the network that emerges in London to combat delegitimization will not only be tested locally, but must also be an integral part of the global anti-delegitimization network**, whose other hubs should include the San Francisco Bay Area, Madrid, Paris, Toronto, Brussels, and Johannesburg.
23. **Laying the foundations for a systemic response:**

- Engage in a **community-wide deliberation on the meaning of 'delegitimization,' with the aim of narrowing it; and on the meaning of 'pro-Israel,' with the aim of expanding it.**
  - Based on these definitions, **attempt to establish a code-of-conduct for the community** with regards to Israel, which applies to both the left and right, enhances community cohesion, and widens the anti-delegitimization tent.
  - Establish a **round table to discuss initiatives for fighting Israel's delegitimization. Encourage synergies without promoting conformity.**
  - **Prepare an annual calendar of delegitimization events** that require mobilization, such as the Israel Apartheid Week and the Global Peace and Unity Conference, and plan accordingly.
  - **Prepare an outreach program for synagogues and community centers describing the delegitimization challenge and its perpetrators.**
  - Mobilize key Israeli activists, particularly in academic institutions.
  - **Assign coordinators for each major arena** – such as academia, labor unions, churches, and legal spheres – in order to catalyze the network.
  - **Be a part of the global network** by connecting with other hubs of the global anti-delegitimization network.
  - **How to answer: Provide activists and organizations accessible information to prepare them to address central points of the delegitimization campaign's focus.**
  - **Orchestrate the outing-naming-shaming campaign against key delegitimizers,** based on detailed information.
  - **Engage with the leading NGOs personally and substantively.**
  - **Focus on building a network of relationships with the elite of the liberal and progressive circles,** assign organizational and individual responsibilities, and engage them personally and substantively.
  - **Establish taskforces for each central arena,** including campus and academia, judiciary, trade unions, and churches.
24. **Additional action items** – Many of the guidelines are self-explanatory, deriving from the effectuation of the infrastructure described above. Additional issues for consideration include actions plan to:
- **Convene an annual event that brings the network together,** including the diversity of voices that stand against Israel's delegitimization.
  - **Plug into the global anti-delegitimization network** by connecting with other hubs through key contact people and meeting them if possible,

beginning with the JFNA Israel Action Network and with the JCRC of the San Francisco Bay Area.

- **Initiate alternative constructive venues** that promote human rights or peace in order to break the perception of BDS as the only option to protest, impact, and engage. Examples for such venues may include humanitarian projects, bridge-building efforts, or dialogue forums.
- **Focus on compromising the presence of organizations politically sympathetic to Hamas in London and on delegitimizing the BDS Movement.**
- **Promote and expose joint projects in fields in which Israel excels** – such as humanitarian activity in the developing world, biological and medical technology, emergency response, and science and the arts – involving British and Israelis NGOs and/or government agencies.
- **Initiate or encourage twinning projects that emphasize a non-conflict-oriented Israeli brand and bring value to the local community**, such as in medical areas, emergency response, education, etc.
- **Consider establishing an Israeli cultural center** (Israel House), especially within Jewish communal infrastructures.

#### **Reut's role**

25. **Reut is committed to supporting the implementation of these principles in London** by offering strategic support and consultation, and by making connections to global communities and relevant Israeli government agencies.

## **Building a Political Firewall against Israel's Delegitimization London as a Case Study**

### **Guidelines for quick reading**

**This document can be skimmed by reading the bolded phrases.** Each paragraph contains only one idea, captured in the bolded sentences. Footnotes do *not* contain new ideas, but examples, sources and references.

### **Background**

**See Annex A for a summary of the primary characteristics of the delegitimization challenge, based on the Reut's conceptual framework, Building a Political Firewall against Israel's Delegitimization (henceforth, 'Political Firewall document').**

26. **This origins of this work date back to the aftermath of the Second Lebanon War (7-8/2006), when the Reut Institute identified a crisis in Israel's national security and foreign policy doctrine.**<sup>5</sup> In other words, the Resistance Network, led by Iran, Hamas and Hezbollah, was able to develop a new logic and strategy for fighting Israel that proved its effectiveness in 2006 and repeatedly since. Hence, Israel was exposed as conceptually inferior to its adversaries, enabling the achievement of their objectives in spite of Israel's obvious military, economic, and technological advantages and even superiority.
27. **Therefore, Reut contends that Israel is in dire need of adapting its security and foreign policy doctrine.** The 63 military committees established following the '06 war, and even the Winograd Committee, were all based on a dominant working assumption that Israel's security and foreign policy doctrine was relevant, and setbacks were anchored in a series of 'technical failures'<sup>6</sup> related to the military's use-of-force doctrine or to the interface between political and military

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<sup>5</sup> The theoretical framework for Reut's thinking on fundamental surprises and relevancy gaps is based on the work of Dr. Zvi Lanir, Founder and President of the PRAXIS Institute. Relevancy gap is a PRAXIS term for the disparity between a mindset (an 'interpretive conceptual system') and a divergent reality. For more on Israel's failure in fundamental learning see Chapter 4 of [The Flotilla Affair](#).

<sup>6</sup> Many of these commissions' recommendations have been implemented, and in some areas, such as in the home-front arena, real transformations have occurred. Academic institutions, independent researchers, and journalists also contributed to this process.

echelons. Therefore, the Israeli reassessment was remarkably local, situational, reactive, and often dominated by military thinking and practices. Meanwhile, Reut argues that the challenge facing Israel is global, systemic, systematic, and predominantly political.

28. **The Reut team thus launched a series of campaigns with the common aim of catalyzing a reassessment of Israel's security and foreign policy doctrine** in order to restore the country's conceptual superiority over its adversaries. The primary stages in this journey included trying to impact the Winograd Commission (11/06-04/07)<sup>7</sup> and working towards precipitating a 'Seminar' (10/07-9/08) modeled on David Ben Gurion's 1947 Seminar. Neither of these efforts succeeded in mobilizing the adaptive work we believed the government needed to undergo.
29. Subsequently, **the Reut Institute decided to propose a conceptual framework for dealing with two key arenas for Israel's security and foreign policy doctrine:**
  - **The home-front arena**, in which Israel is vulnerable to local collapses in the event of a national crisis.<sup>8</sup>
  - **The political-diplomatic arena**, in which Israel faces a strategic delegitimization threat. In this context, Reut's national security team described the threat and response guidelines in a conceptual framework called [The Political Firewall Document](#).
30. **The Political Firewall document was based on approximately 150 interviews** that the team conducted with experts and activists from a range of fields. It described the challenge and offered principles for a global systemic response.
31. **In this context, Reut identified London as the primary hub of the delegitimization network and campaign.**<sup>9</sup> Network theory led us to conclude

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<sup>7</sup> Reut's efforts to impact the conclusions and recommendations of the Winograd Commission included submitting three memorandums (04/07), which called for updating Israel's security and foreign policy doctrine and re-organizing the foreign affairs establishment. See [Updating Israel's National Security Strategy, Strategic Support Unit for the Prime Minister](#), and [Re-organization of Foreign Policy in Israel's National Security Strategy](#).

While the Commission chose not to contend with conceptual issues of this nature it did, institutionalize an obligation for the Prime Minister and Ministry of Foreign Affairs to consult on national security in order to improve the synergy between military, political, and diplomatic considerations.

<sup>8</sup> See Reut document written in collaboration with the Israel Trauma Coalition (initiated by the UJA-Federation of New York) – [Civil Resilience Network: Conceptual Framework for Israel's Local and National Resilience](#).

that, notwithstanding London's unique local attributes, knowledge elicited there will be relevant elsewhere, specifically in other major hubs of delegitimization, such as the San Francisco Bay area.

Hence, as early as summer 2009, **Reut decided to focus on London as its case study for understanding the dynamics of delegitimization**, and repeatedly visited the city to meet the people and organizations perpetrating or fighting Israel's delegitimization. The dozens of engagements we had in the city were invaluable to our work.

32. **Following the May 31 Gaza Flotilla, Reut published a report that framed the Flotilla in the broader context of the delegitimization campaign.** Reut identified the events surrounding the Flotilla as another fundamental surprise to Israel, which originated in its failure to close the relevancy gap in its National Security Doctrine that was exposed in 2006 (see [The Gaza Flotilla: The Collapse of Israel's Political Firewall](#)).
33. **Research underlying the report largely confirmed our hypotheses regarding the delegitimization challenge, including in the case of London.** Primarily, we learned that the Gaza Flotilla was orchestrated by the same fast-learning and adapting network of individuals and organizations leading delegitimization campaigns against Israel in the West – in this case, in cooperation with a Middle East-based Islamist network. The common cause: A shared belief that that the strategy serves their struggle against Israel. In the context of this paper, it was evident that many of the people producing the Flotilla, and much of the activity generating it, came out of London.
34. **The aim of this document is to offer an operational strategy for effectively addressing the UK-based delegitimization challenge.** It describes the dynamics in London and offers principles for a systemic response.

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9 Reut thanks Ambassador Ron Prosor for his insight about the role of London as a hub of delegitimization, which then inspired us to explore network theory in order to better understand the challenge of delegitimization.



## Chapter 1:

### London: The 'Hub of Hubs' of the Delegitimization Network

#### Introduction to the Delegitimization Network

35. **In the Political Firewall document, Reut showed that Israel's delegitimizers are organized as a network** (see Chapter 3, pp. 42-44). In this respect, they are no different from many other systems, in areas as diverse as biology, economics, terrorism, and the internet, that are also organized as networks and operate according to similar principles.

**In a nutshell, they operate within a flat and non-hierarchical structure without a command-and-control center and are diverse and highly resilient.** Their actors possess independence of action.

In other words, **the assault on Israel's legitimacy is *not* the outcome of a 'headquarters-based conspiracy.'** Rather, **Israel's delegitimization is driven by a network** that shares a common logic; promotes common strategies, campaigns, and agendas; and often explicitly cooperates through key global activists and mechanisms.

36. **Networks revolve around hubs; similarly the Delegitimization Network's strength is concentrated in a handful of geographic locations.** Hubs are nodes of the network that have extraordinary influence on the entire network as a consequence of their vast array of connections to other nodes. Hubs are crucial to the network's character, viability, and resilience.<sup>10</sup>

**The hubs of the Delegitimization Network are metropolitan areas.** They have extraordinary global influence because of their exceptional interconnectedness to the rest of the world and their unique cultural and intellectual aura. In addition, they house a concentration of delegitimizers. These hubs **include London, as well as the San Francisco Bay Area, Brussels, Madrid, Toronto, and Johannesburg.**

37. **Catalysts drive networks: They are few, usually tightly interconnected, and able to significantly influence on the network** – 'Catalysts' are nodes of the network dedicated to its development and possessing the status and capacities to do so. Catalysts operate by collecting information and disseminating it; developing the ideology of the network and its *modus operandi*; harnessing new

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<sup>10</sup> See Albert-László Barabási, [Linked: The New Science of Networks](#); Malcolm Gladwell, [The Tipping Point: How Little Things can make a Big Difference](#). Doug Simpson, [Unintended Consequences](#). [Reading Barabási, Linked the Science of Networks](#). Joshua Cooper Ramo, [The Age of the Unthinkable](#), p.236.



nodes; educating, training, and debriefing; protecting the network; and branding and publicizing it.

### **What makes London the 'hub-of-hubs' of Israel's delegitimization?**

38. **London figures prominently among the hubs of the Delegitimization Network as a domicile of exceptionally high anti-Israeli activity with significant global weight.** Britain's geography, history, and language factor among the elements that have combined to render it a delegitimization hub of such significance. Additional factors include its:

- **Media concentration** – London is home to many media outlets of renowned international repute such as the *Economist*, *Financial Times*, BBC, and the *Guardian*, which are increasingly influential among opinion leaders in the U.S. Furthermore, it hosts several influential Arab-language newspapers, such as *al-Sharq al-Awsat*, *al-Hayat*, and *Al-Quds al-Arabi*.<sup>11</sup>
- **Academic influence** – Several highly respected universities – such as Oxford, Cambridge, and London School of Economics – are based in the UK. Additionally, the country hosts thousands of foreign students, many of whom often become prominent figures in their countries of origin.
- **Disproportionate diplomatic weight** – Britain maintains close ties with Commonwealth countries and the EU, and enjoys a ‘special’ transatlantic relationship with the U.S. It also holds a permanent seat on the UN Security Council.
- **Central for NGOs** – The UK houses the headquarters of many human-rights organizations, such as Amnesty; development and humanitarian agencies, such as Oxfam; peace and security organizations, such as the Oxford Research Group; and politicized solidarity groups, such as Palestine Solidarity Campaign.

### **The Catalysts: The emergence of the Red-Green Alliance**

39. **The Red-Green Alliance: In recent years, UK-based Islamists and radical left elements have been collaborating to promote Israel's delegitimization.** Until a few years ago, the two systems that were delegitimizing Israel – the Islamic and Arab Resistance Network and the primarily European Delegitimization Network – were operating independently of each other as two ideologically divergent human networks.

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<sup>11</sup> Reports suggest that the BBC, as well as the *Guardian* and *Financial Times*, now rank among the most widely read media outlets in the U.S.

However, **in recent years, the two groups have become an 'organic' network of actors**, mobilized by a shared vision, mission, and purpose.<sup>12</sup>

**Their collaboration is of strategic concern to Israel.** For example: While Iran and Hamas build military capabilities in Gaza and espouse a radical ideology that negates Israel's right to exist, the Delegitimization Network legitimizes the Hamas regime and works to tie Israel's hands militarily.

40. **Despite the marginal political standing of the Red-Green Alliance, it has achieved significant global impact by enlisting support from the European and North American liberal progressive elite circles.**

41. **The key strategy: Blurring the lines between criticism of Israel and its delegitimization** along the following guidelines:

- **Posing as espousing liberal values** and putting forward a façade of promoting an agenda of human rights, justice, peace, and international law.
- **Essentialism** – Juxtaposing vigorous denunciation of particular policies with outright repudiation of Israel or Zionism, with the aim of conflating the two and ultimately undermining the moral basis of Israel's sovereign existence.
- **Demonization: Israel = Apartheid, Nazism** – Accusing Israel of the most heinous human-rights violations denies the moral legitimacy of its existence and suggests it should be dismantled.<sup>13</sup> Examples include associations with apartheid and accusations of blatant acts of evil.
- **The BDS Movement** – The BDS Movement claims to be an apolitical movement that serves global peace, human rights, and international justice by promoting boycotts, divestment, and sanctions against Israel in order to 'correct its ways.' While some BDS activists may be driven by these goals, the movement's leaders are explicit about their true intentions. In effect, the BDS Movement advances the assault on Israel's legitimacy by consistently singling it out, seeking to undermine Israeli-Palestinian cooperation, promoting the 'right of return,' and comparing Israel with apartheid. (See: [The BDS Movement Promotes Delegitimization against Israel.](#))
- **'Lawfare'** – Judicial assaults against Israel, its leaders, and officials in Western countries and by international organizations have steadily increased in recent years. 'Lawfare' catalysts promote a selective use of international

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<sup>12</sup> For more on what facilitated cooperation between the two groups see Chris Harman, The Prophet and the Proletariat **International Socialism** Journal 64 1994.

<sup>13</sup> Irwin Cotler, [National Post](#).

law, and their backgrounds and activities associate many with delegitimization-oriented activities.

Moreover, in many cases, 'lawfare' efforts are promoted or supported by the most flagrant violators of international and humanitarian laws – such as Islamists who find common cause with Hamas. (see Chapter 3).

- **Branding: Framing the actors as good vs. evil** – The ability to delegitimize Israel is rooted in efforts to brand it as an occupying and aggressive entity that ignores human rights and international law. Meanwhile, Hamas and Hezbollah have improved their image and brand, and are considered in many circles as modern-day resistance movements.
- **Making pro-Palestinian and anti-Israel activity trendy** – The delegitimization movement is linked with liberal, progressive causes, exemplified by the annual 'Queers against Israeli Apartheid' march that takes place in Toronto.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> See the Web site <http://queersagainstapartheid.org/>

## Chapter 2:

### Delegitimization in London: From Margins to Center-Stage

42. **The historical British nexus with the Palestine issue: The UK harbors a prevalent sense of historical responsibility** for the current state of affairs in the Middle East, and particularly for the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The unique association is rooted in the historical British presence in the Middle East and its role in legitimizing the idea of the Jewish homeland through the Balfour Declaration (11/1917), which made London the 'hub of legitimacy' for the Jewish homeland in the early 20th century.
43. **Three more recent societal dynamics have turned delegitimization from a marginal phenomenon to an increasingly mainstream agenda.**

#### The evolution of the British Muslim community towards Israel

44. **From ambivalence to radicalization** – The majority of British Muslims emigrated from the Indian subcontinent and, as such, viewed the conflict over Kashmir as far more pressing and emotionally charged than that of Israel-Palestine. However, international and geopolitical events – including the wars in Bosnia and Iraq, as well as the Second Palestinian Uprising (2002-04) – precipitated a rise in British identity politics<sup>15</sup> and transformed the role of mosques for second-generation Muslim immigrants.<sup>16</sup>

Various Islamist groups have played a prominent role in the radicalization of the Islamic community towards Israel over the past 20 years. Leading examples include those affiliated with the *Jamaat-e-Islami* and the East London Mosque,<sup>17</sup> and those affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood (MB) and the Finsbury Park Mosque, which possess strong links to the Muslim Association of Britain (MAB).<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> See Kenan Malik, **From Fatwa to Jihad, the Rushdie Affair and its Legacy** (Atlantic 2009): Some contend that identity politics in Britain helped foster more tribal Muslim communities and create space for militant Islam.

In addition, the British Government's response to the 9.11 and 7.7 bombings are also believed to have brought the more radical Islamist tendencies into the UK mainstream.

<sup>16</sup> The rise in Saudi-funded, Wahhabi-oriented mosques sharply contrasted with the more moderate unpoliticized Islam of first-generation British Muslims. See Ed Husain in **The Islamist**. See also Martin Bright, "[When Progressives Treat with Reactionaries, The British State's flirtation with radical Islamism](#)", **Policy Exchange** 2006.

<sup>17</sup> On Jamaat-e-Islami in the UK, see Habibi, [Harry's Place](#); Christopher Barder, [Under the Surface](#).

<sup>18</sup> More on the connection between MAB and the Muslim Brotherhood see David T [Harry's Place](#).

45. **A wave of Arab immigration in the 1990s contributed to the radicalization of the British Muslim community toward Israel.** Specifically, several leading activists and thinkers – including Abu Hamza, Omar Bakri Mohammad, and Abu Qatada,<sup>19</sup> as well as former Hamas operatives Mohammad Sawalha and Zaher Birawi (see Chapter 5) – immigrated to London and fundamentally influenced the Muslim community's anti-Israel agenda.

**The British radical left: Why Israel?**

46. **The British radical left finds its new South Africa.** The collapse of the South African apartheid regime precipitated a search for a new issue to provide a focal point and meaning for the anti-Imperialist struggle. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict became a convenient issue with which to fill this vacuum.<sup>20</sup>
47. **The radical left rejects the concept of the Jewish people's right to self-determination or associates its realization in the State of Israel with imperialism and colonialism.** It leads the global assault on Israel's legitimacy by developing a targeted ideology and *modus operandi*, and implementing it (see [Eroding Israel's Legitimacy in the International Arena](#)). Its leading groups are the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), Socialist Action, Stop the War Coalition (STWC), and the Respect party. One of the most dominant pro-Palestinian groups, the Palestine Solidarity Campaign (PSC), draws its ideology from the radical left and specializes in entrenching its positions, campaigns, and language within the mainstream (See chapter 4).
48. **Anti- or post-Zionist Israelis and Jews represent a relatively small group that serves as a 'kosher stamp' for delegitimization.** Many live and work in London. Prominent examples include Ilan Pappé, Haim Bereshith, Gilad Atzmon, and the Neturei Karta sect.



**Neturei Karta at the GPU Conference 2010 (Taken by Eran Shayshon)**

<sup>19</sup> Melanie Philips, **Londonistan**, (Gibson Square 2006) and Michael Gove, **Celsius 7/7** (Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 2006); Steven Simon, meanwhile, termed London "the 'Star Wars bar scene' of international terrorism." See: [Washington Post](#), 10/07/05. See also Rachel Briggs and Jonathan Birdwell, "[Radicalisation among Muslims in the UK](#)", **Micron Policy Working Paper** 5/7/09; Salma Yaqoob, "British Islamic Political Radicalism," **Islamic Political Radicalism: A European Perspective**, Ed. Tahir Abbas, (Edinburgh University Press, 2007).

<sup>20</sup> British civil society prides itself on sponsoring activities to support oppressed peoples, and perceives itself as having constituted the center of boycott movement against South Africa's apartheid regime. Several people we spoke to claimed that this historical memory has facilitated the rise of movements promoting the tool of boycotts against other countries, most notably Israel.

**From *Kibbutz* to *Kibbush*: Inversion of the British liberal and progressive elites**

49. **From *Kibbutz* (model society) to *Kibbush* (occupation)** – In the past, Israel was associated in the eyes of the European left with attempts to build a model society, embodied in the *Kibbutz*. In recent years it is associated with the reality of occupation, the *Kibbush*.

Although anti-Zionism has always existed in some form within the ‘mainstream left,’<sup>21</sup> **generational changes have led to a significant negative revision of attitudes towards Israel.** These trends include opposition to American power; the cultural dominance of the West; the use of military force, and nationalism;<sup>22</sup> and support for international institutions, international law, and human rights.<sup>23</sup>

The perception that the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan were a mistake has solidified this negative revision.<sup>24</sup> It is further reinforced by recent events in the Middle East, most notably the Second Lebanon War and Operation Cast Lead, and is exacerbated by the perceived absence of progress in the political process between Israel and the Palestinians.

50. **The British liberal elite inversion co-evolves with a trend prioritizing individual rights over communal rights.** An emphasis on individual human rights over national communal rights strengthens the logic of the one-state narrative. Such a perspective downplays the importance of the right of both Palestinians and Israelis to self-determination.

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<sup>21</sup> See Rory Miller, [British Anti-Zionism Then and Now](#) and a lecture by Colin Shindler, [The Road to Utopia: The Origins of Anti-Zionism on the British Left](#)

<sup>22</sup> See Robert Cooper, **The Breaking of Nations: Order and Chaos in the Twenty-first Century**, (McClelland & Stewart 2005); Robert Kagan, **Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order** (Vintage 2003); Paul Berman, **Power and the Idealists** Soft Skull Press (2007). Also, **EU Council President Van Rompuy: The Time of the Nation State is Over** in Yoram Hazony, [Jerusalem Letters](#), 11/2010.

<sup>23</sup> See [Interview with Colin Shindler](#), **Jewish Chronicle** 10/28/09: The dominant narrative of the ‘Old Left’ (those who grew up around the time of the Second World War) was that of fighting Fascism in the form of Nazi Germany. Those who grew up in the post-war world, meanwhile, had as their dominant memory the process of decolonization, Vietnam, and apartheid, and thus became heavily anti-imperialist.

See also Gove **Celsius 7.7**, “Instead of history being viewed as a matter of class conflict, it was increasingly seen as an anti-colonial, anti-Western process. The place of the proletariat in the affections of the left, as a group onto whom fantasies of revolution could be projected, was assumed by the non-Western peoples of the globe. In place of Rosa Luxembourg and Vladimir Lenin, the icons of the struggle became Ho Chi Minh and Che Guevara.”

Some also contend that the erosion of the memory of the Holocaust, which facilitated support for the young state in its early years, is contributing to a rise in opposition to Israel.

<sup>24</sup> This is enhanced by a the notion of British historical responsibility for the Middle East conflict and links to a wider historical guilt felt regarding Britain's role regarding the country's imperialist past.



51. **Broad perspective: Most Brits don't care** – It is important to emphasize that despite the trends described, polls show that most Brits are ambivalent or indifferent towards the Middle East.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, the British Government's policy towards Israel has been relatively balanced when compared with other European countries.

However, anti-Israel sentiment holds disproportionate influence because of the extent to which it is increasingly pervading the mainstream of liberal elite opinion influencers in London, and as a result of the increasing sophistication of its London-based purveyors in achieving global influence.

52. **The 'pragmatic' one-staters** – As mentioned, delegitimizers have blurred the lines between their agenda and criticism of Israel's policies to convince liberal and progressive circles to support their campaigns, and even to reject Israel and Zionism and support the one-state narrative. However, by and large, their approach vis-à-vis Israel is pragmatic and not ideological: They do not deny the right of the Jewish people to self-determination, but support the one-state narrative because they see it as a viable resolution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

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<sup>25</sup> In fact, according to polls presented by MFA Brand Israel Project Director Ido Aharoni and Rick Nye of Populus, Israel seemingly enjoys a better image in British public opinion than the Palestinians.

### Chapter 3:

## The Main Arenas of Assault on Israel's Legitimacy in the UK

53. **The assault on Israel's legitimacy is mainly concentrated in specific arenas,** such as the judiciary; academia and campuses; churches; and, most vigorously, the trade unions.

### The judicial system

54. **Certain groups exploit the legal arena to attack Israel.** These efforts comprise attempts to utilize laws of universal jurisdiction in order to charge Israeli generals and politicians with war crimes; levy proceedings against Israel in the International Criminal Court and the International Court of Justice; and file charges against corporations conducting business with Israel.
55. **London is a hub for such 'lawfare'**<sup>26</sup> – In the UK, Holland, Spain, Belgium, and Norway, a network of lawyers has been formed with the purpose of compiling a list of IDF officers that should be charged with war crimes. According to reports, the lawyers receive information from pro-Palestinian activists that track invitations extended by pro-Israeli organizations to IDF officials and Israeli politicians.<sup>27</sup>
56. **Several attempts have been made to arrest Israeli officials in the UK,** such as an arrest warrant issued by a British court against Tzipi Livni for alleged war crimes she conducted as Israel's foreign minister during Operation Cast Lead, and an arrest warrant issued against Major General Doron Almog, who avoided arrest by remaining on an El Al airplane after landing in London. Recently, Israel's Intelligence and Atomic Energy Minister Dan Meridor canceled a scheduled trip to England for fear that he would be arrested upon arrival.<sup>28</sup>
57. **Hamas' role in 'lawfare'** – [The Intelligence & Information Center](#) (MALAM) cited the role that a Hamas “ministry of justice” committee called Al-Tawthiq (Documentation) claimed to have played in orchestrating the British arrest warrant

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<sup>26</sup> Lawfare is defined as "the use of the law as a weapon of war, or, more specifically, the abuse of the law and judicial systems to achieve strategic military or political ends." Furthermore, 'lawfare' "consists of the *negative* manipulation of international and national human rights laws to accomplish purposes other than, or contrary to, those for which they were originally enacted." See: [The Lawfare Project](#)

<sup>27</sup> UK Foreign Secretary William Hague has committed the government to amending the law in question as a resolution to this manifestation of 'lawfare'. [Haaretz](#), 10/27/10. However, venues in which London-based groups can assault Israel in the judicial arena abound. See [Free Gaza Movement](#).

<sup>28</sup> See The [Guardian](#) 12/14/09, [BBC News](#) 09/12/05 and [Ynet](#) 11/1/10



against Tzipi Livni. The report concludes that "the broad scope of the committee's activities clearly indicates the magnitude of the resources the de-facto Hamas administration has invested in its efforts to slander Israel after Operation Cast Lead and exploit the findings of the Goldstone Report."<sup>29</sup>

### Academia / campus

58. **Recent years have seen a changing climate within British universities in terms of sentiment directed both at Israel and at Jewish students.**<sup>30</sup>
59. **Islamist influence in British universities has increased** through large donations by Saudi Arabia, Iran, and other Islamic sources that have set up university chairs and centers of academic study in British universities, such as in LSE, Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, Durham, Exeter, and others.<sup>31</sup> Moreover, a Quilliam Foundation study demonstrates how a small group of extremist students can take over a university Islamic Society and transform it into a vehicle through which to exert their ideological agenda.<sup>32</sup>
60. The resulting trend can be linked to the **parallel strengthening of the campaign to assault the legitimacy of Israel on UK campuses.** On many campuses, literature demonizing Israel is ubiquitous, and in some, Jewish students have been physically attacked and abused.<sup>33</sup>
61. **Campus delegitimization activities primarily manifest in conducting Israel Apartheid week;**<sup>34</sup> **twinning British and Palestinian universities,**<sup>35</sup> **in some**

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<sup>29</sup> See: [The Intelligence & Information Center](#), 12/17/09; [NRG](#), 20/12/09 (Hebrew).

<sup>30</sup> See an example in the Quilliam foundation's [report](#). In addition, several people we spoke to discussed this trend.

<sup>31</sup> Simcox R, "[A Degree of Influence: The Funding of Strategically Important Subjects in UK Universities](#)", [The Centre for Social Cohesion](#) 2009.

<sup>32</sup> Quilliam report op cited.

<sup>33</sup> Pro-Israeli speakers are frequently disrupted on campuses, such as a mob assault on then Deputy Ambassador to the UK Talya Lador-Fresher in Manchester (see [Robin Shepherd's blog](#)), while speakers opposed to Israel's existence such as Azzam Tamimi are welcomed. See this [youtube clip](#) and the [Intelligence and Information Center](#).

<sup>34</sup> **Israel Apartheid Week** is an annual event organized by anti-Zionist groups primarily in university campuses around the world with the aim of creating a link between Israel and the former apartheid regime in South Africa and ultimately to promote an international boycott. Israel Apartheid Week began in Toronto in 2005 and then spread to other places around the globe, including Britain. It takes place in a variety of UK universities, including LSE, UCL, and Oxford. See the [Jerusalem Post](#).

<sup>35</sup> In recent years, a number of universities – including the University of Manchester, East London University, Exeter University, University of London, Leeds University, and Liverpool University – have initiated twinning activities with Palestinian campuses. In some cases, these universities

**cases Universities in Gaza who are affiliated with Hamas; and mobilizing 'Occupation Sit-Ins' to demand divestment from Israel.**<sup>36</sup>

### The churches

62. **The Methodist Church takes critical position against Israel** – In June-July 2010, the UK Methodist Annual Conference overwhelmingly passed a policy recommending boycotting goods produced in Israeli settlements and ending the “Siege of Gaza.”<sup>37</sup> Additionally, in a report condemned by Jewish communal organizations as “unbalanced, factually and historically flawed,” the Methodists blamed Israel almost exclusively for obstructing Middle East peace. While the above may not qualify as delegitimization, the call to review whether Zionism was compatible with Methodist beliefs is an explicit experimentation with delegitimization. The church body announced it would encourage Methodists across the UK to follow suit.<sup>38</sup>
63. **PSC involvement in the motion** – Members of the working party that formulated the recommendations and the accompanying 54-page document included chairman of the York branch of the PSC.<sup>39</sup> Among main sources of the documents were activists on record for supporting full boycotts of Israel, such as Israeli-born academics Ilan Pappé and Avi Shlaim, and Jeff Halper from the Israeli Committee against House Demolitions.<sup>40</sup>
64. **The radicalization of churches towards Israel** may also be related to the activity of several organizations that promote an anti-Israel agenda, such as Sabeel, Pax Christi, and the Amos Trust.<sup>41</sup>
65. **Another important benchmark in this process has been the adoption by several British churches of the Kairos Document**, which urges a boycott of

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twinned with Palestinian universities affiliated with Hamas. See the [Reut Blog](#), [Ynet](#), 3/19/07 and [Twinning with Palestine](#).

<sup>36</sup> **Sit-ins** involve pro-Palestinian activists taking over a campus facility and refusing to leave until the university accedes to a list of demands, primarily focused on divestment. During Operation Cast Lead, there were 21 ‘Occupations’ across the UK ranging from 50-200 participants. They involved groups such as Stop the War Coalition, Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament Federation of Student Islamic Societies (FOSIS), Socialist Workers Student Society (SWSP), the PSC, and Action Palestine

<sup>37</sup> See: [Harry's Place](#)

<sup>38</sup> See [The Jewish Chronicle](#) and the [Jerusalem Post](#).

<sup>39</sup> The [Jewish Chronicle](#) *ibid*.

<sup>40</sup> The [Jerusalem Post](#)

<sup>41</sup> On Sabeel, see: [Jerusalem Post](#); on Pax Christi, see: [NGO Monitor](#); on Amos Trust, see: [Harry's Place](#).

Israel and has provided a rallying point for those wishing to promote Israel's delegitimization.<sup>42</sup>

66. **The following chapters focus on a specific arena – the trade unions – and specific catalysts – the PSC and Organizations who find common cause with Hamas – in order to shed light on prevalent strategies and modes of operation.**

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<sup>42</sup> The document condones an 'option B' of “armed resistance” as carried out by “some political parties,” and labels armed attacks on Israelis as “legal resistance.” See: [Harry's Place](#). In addition to the Methodist Church, the Kairos Document has also been referred by the Church of England General Synod to one of its standing committees. Its ethical investments advisory group described the Kairos document as "an important and fresh theological resource," which should be studied by Church groups with "care and prayerful attention." See [The Jewish Chronicle](#) and the [Daily Telegraph](#). Knowledgeable sources also suggest it is likely to be raised at the next Baptist Assembly.

## Chapter 4: The PSC and Trade Unions – A Case Study

### Crossing the line from criticism to delegitimization

67. **The PSC is the largest Palestinian advocacy organization in Britain**, estimated at more than 3,000 members. Its head office is in central London, and 40 additional branches are located within the UK and internationally.<sup>43</sup> **It plays a leading role in all of the above-mentioned arenas**, namely, campuses, academia, churches, and trade unions. Recently, the PSC has also started to lobby Parliament.
68. **In theory, the PSC is an apolitical Palestinian advocacy organization** that seeks to promote human rights, international justice, and peace. It does not express explicit support for any political solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and seemingly focuses on criticism of Israeli policy. Some of its leaders even argue for the Two-State Solution.<sup>44</sup>
69. **However, most PSC key leaders openly support the one-state narrative.**<sup>45</sup> Moreover, the PSC subtly shifts from criticism of Israeli policies to repudiating the State of Israel or Zionism, **and promotes positions represent delegitimization of Israel.**



**Examples of such positions and activities include:** Rejection of the right of the Jewish people to self-determination and, therefore, of the Zionist movement;<sup>46</sup> support for terrorism and suicide bombers;<sup>47</sup> promotion of a narrative of an Israel 'born in sin,' with the naturally derived corollary seeking its just dismantlement,<sup>48</sup> and of the 'right of return' of Palestinian refugees; consistent

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<sup>43</sup> The PSC was founded in 1982 and aims "to bring about changes in consciousness, policies and actions in Britain and internationally," with a stated mission "to work for peace and justice for the Palestinian people." [PSC Web site](#) See also [Tony Greenstein's Blog](#)

<sup>44</sup> Such as Deputy General Secretary of UNISON, Keith Sonnet, who is a PSC patron.

<sup>45</sup> Including Dr. Ghada Karmi, who seeks a UN resolution "exposing the inequity and dishonesty of the two-state solution", [The Guardian](#), and Dr. Ilan Pappé, a prominent 'one-state solution' proponent.

<sup>46</sup> PSC aims include "opposition to...the apartheid and Zionist nature of the Israeli state." See: [PSC Web site](#).

<sup>47</sup> The PSC even describes Palestinian terrorism against civilians as 'resistance', and its publications justify suicide bombings Ibid. p.34-36.

<sup>48</sup> The PSC frequently describes Israel as a colonial entity born in sin, and emphasizes British responsibility for the 1948 'Nakba,' which it labels as ethnic cleansing. Ibid. p.6-19

demonization;<sup>49</sup> deployment of double-standards;<sup>50</sup> and undermining of Israeli-Palestinian cooperation.<sup>51</sup> While not all of these positions can be considered explicit delegitimization, the combination of all of them leaves little room for doubt regarding the PSC's true intentions.

70. Thus, **while some of its members may not seek to delegitimize Israel, the PSC's agenda clearly encompasses elements and symbols that advance Israel's fundamental delegitimization**, challenging its right to exist as the embodiment of Jewish self-determination
71. **In order to increase its impact, the PSC strives to build coalitions around specific policy objectives.** In addition to its cooperation with all the main British trade unions – such as UNITE, University and College Union (UCU), UNISON, and others – the PSC has also actively cultivated coalitions with Viva Palestina, the National Union of Students' Black Students' Campaign, Federation of Student Islamic Societies, Jews for Justice for Palestinians (JfJfP), the British Muslim Initiative, Stop the War Coalition, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, and the Palestinian Forum in Britain.<sup>52</sup> In addition, churches, Quaker houses, and Amnesty International have hosted their meetings and events.<sup>53</sup>
72. **The PSC's work in the trade-union arena is a particularly potent example of the ability of a relatively marginal advocacy organization to make a substantial impact.**

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<sup>49</sup> The PSC frequently presents Israel as being systematically and extensively cruel and inhumane, thus implicitly denying the moral legitimacy of its existence. Examples include association with apartheid, Nazism, and genocide and accusations of blatant acts of evil.

<sup>50</sup> The PSC promotes a selective use of international law, such as in initiating legal action (lawfare) against IDF officers and Israeli politicians while ignoring any comparative analysis of Israel's actions, such as the military actions of Western countries in Afghanistan and Iraq. The PSC held protests against the visits of Ehud Barak and Tzipi Livni describing them as 'war crimes suspects.' Following the Foreign Office's announcement that the law on universal jurisdiction would be changed, the PSC worked with partners to oppose the motion publicly and in parliament." [PSC Web site](#)

<sup>51</sup> For many years, the Israeli *Histadrut* and its Palestinian counterpart, the Palestinian General Federation of Trade Unions (PGFTU), had conducted close relations. Until last year, the heads of Palestinian trade unions had opposed boycotting the *Histadrut*. However, following pressure by the British PSC and the BDS Movement, the PGFTU had to retract their traditional position and publicly call for a boycott of the *Histadrut*. [Global BDS Movement Web site](#), 11/25/09)

<sup>52</sup> Cooperation with the JfJfP was carried out in the framework of its [annual lobby of parliament](#). The PSC's relations with the NUS Black Students Group led to the group issuing a strong condemnation against Israel's actions related to the [May 31 Gaza Flotilla](#). The PSC has worked with several Islamist organizations to arrange and promote [Nakba Day](#).

<sup>53</sup> See 'The PSC's Street Thuggery Campaign,' [Harry's Place](#) 8/27/10.

### **PSC and the trade unions: Mainstreaming delegitimization**

73. **Trade unions are a primary arena in which radical-left organizations focus efforts and resources.** The political far left's historic connection to the labor movement eases access and credibility based on a common language and enables organizations such as the anti-Israel SWP a comfortable base of operations. In a variety of contexts, similar actors exemplify a mission of becoming prime movers of global agendas, as reflected by the large-scale protests against the Iraq war in 2003 organized by the UK's '[Stop the War Coalition](#).'
74. **The PSC structurally and strategically targets the trade-union arena in order to influence a global agenda.** The PSC has employed a full-time trade-union organizer to forge links with the unions and publicize their cause, and the PSC has a Trade Union Advisory Committee, comprising representatives of the national affiliates, which meets regularly.<sup>54</sup> **At least 18 trade unions, representing more than 80 percent of British union membership, are PSC affiliates and their executives often serve in advisory capacities.**<sup>55</sup> While this affiliation is not wholly binding, it does require some degree of commitment to promoting PSC policies and literature. In fact, PSC themes and language resonate in many Israel-related resolutions passed at union conferences.<sup>56</sup>
75. **PSC grants strategic priority to the BDS campaign** – According to the PSC underlying logic, even a selective and partial boycott represents progress in a campaign aimed at tarnishing Israel's reputation, and a milestone on a path towards a comprehensive boycott of Israel (see: [the BDS Movement Promotes Delegitimization of Israel](#)). Recent results of the PSC boycott campaign include:
- The Trade Union Congress (TUC), an umbrella organization with 58 affiliated unions representing nearly seven million people, voted in September 2010 to continue its boycott of Israeli goods from West Bank settlements and strengthen its links with the PSC.<sup>57</sup>
  - UNITE, Britain's largest trade union, is formally affiliated with the PSC and its international director, Simon Dubbins, serves on the PSC trade union advisory committee. UNITE supported the Fire Brigades Union 2009 call for a comprehensive consumer boycott against Israel and pledged to form a "UNITE for Palestine solidarity group to... support and work with campaigns including the Palestine Solidarity Campaign and initiatives such

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54 [Palestine Campaign](#)

55 [Palestine Campaign](#)

56 [JCPA](#)

57 [Trade Union Web site](#) and [The Jewish Chronicle](#)

as the Viva Palestina convoy."<sup>58</sup> A May 31 UNITE statement condemned "the murderous attack by Israeli forces... on the international aid convoy – the Freedom Flotilla."<sup>59</sup>

- UNISON, Britain and Europe's biggest public-sector union, is formally affiliated with the PSC. UNISON's current platform promotes the "right of return," calls for the demolition of "apartheid wall," and maintains that "violence overwhelmingly emanates from the Israeli regime." UNISON supported the Fire Brigades Union's 2009 call for a comprehensive consumer boycott against Israel.<sup>60</sup>
- The University and Colleges Union (UCU), the largest trade union and professional association for academic-related staff, is affiliated to the PSC.<sup>61</sup> In early June 2010, the UCU voted to support the BDS campaign against Israel and sever ties with the Histadrut, and pledged to urge other trade unions and bodies to follow suit. The UCU also approved resolutions to start a process of boycotting Ariel University College.<sup>62</sup>
- The Fire Brigades Union (FBU), representing the majority of the uniformed staff of the UK fire and service, is formally affiliated with the PSC. In June 2009, the FBU proposed a motion that called for "... a campaign to boycott Israeli goods, disinvest from Israeli institutions and for sanctions to be taken against Israel, similar to those sanctions imposed by the international movement against apartheid in South Africa..." and was passed by the TUC.<sup>63</sup>

76. **The PSC agenda: More Palestinian than the Palestinians** – For many years, the Israeli *Histadrut* maintained close relations with its British and Palestinian counterparts. In fact, until 2009, the heads of the Palestinian General Federation of Trade Unions (PGFTU) opposed boycotting the *Histadrut*. However, the PSC has actively worked to break these relationships. PSC-organized trade union missions to Israel and the West Bank have blocked direct contact between British trade unionists and their Israeli counterparts. Moreover, the PSC and the BDS

<sup>58</sup> [UNITE Web site](#), [PSC Web site here](#) and [here](#). Also [Electronic Intifada Web site](#)

<sup>59</sup> [PSC](#)

<sup>60</sup> UNISON Web site [here](#) and [here](#). Also [Weekly Blitz](#) and [Electronic Intifada](#)

<sup>61</sup> UCU web site [here](#) and [here](#)

<sup>62</sup> While the legal obstacles have prevented the UCU from taking concrete action, its ongoing campaigns have created a negative environment for cooperation with Israeli professionals. According to Academic Friends of Israel Director Ronnie Fraser, "That atmosphere... has resulted in many members resigning from the UCU." See [Academics for Israel](#) and [Jerusalem Post](#)

<sup>63</sup> See FBU Resolution, [PSC](#), FBU web site [here](#) and [here](#). Also [Haaretz](#)



Movement have successfully pressured the PGFTU to withdraw its traditional position and publicly call for boycott of the *Histadrut*.<sup>64</sup>

77. **Natural partners: Why the PSC targets the trade-union arena.** Trade unions present a strategic arena for PSC infiltration due to the following reasons:

- **Weak infrastructure facilitates agenda influence** – Structural and procedural factors render the trade-union arena particularly vulnerable to take-over by unrepresentative minorities. For example, historically poor attendance at meetings enables an activist minority to exert disproportionate influence. The TUC structural and financial dependence on its member unions allows for smaller unions to exert decisive power over its agenda. Additionally, the representation of Jews in the trade-union arena has steadily declined.
- **With millions of members and a national presence, trade unions can potentially:**
  - **Turn BDS into a potent economic weapon against Israel** – The British PSC is an advocate for the global BDS Movement, whose leaders are clear delegitimizers.<sup>65</sup> Though PSC attempts to promote a full boycott have been frustrated, the TUC did vote in September 2010 to continue its boycott of Israeli goods from West Bank settlements and strengthen its links with the PSC.<sup>66</sup> PSC trade-union activity has expanded in recent years, and has included successfully promoting boycotts of Israel within some of the largest trade unions, including UNITE, UNISON, and UCU.<sup>67</sup>
  - **Mainstream PSC's ideology** – The TUC comprises 58 affiliated unions representing nearly seven million people.<sup>68</sup> With a constituency of this size, and given the relative political prominence of trade unions within British society, a trade union embrace of PSC-led campaigns can substantially impact the British mainstream.

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<sup>64</sup> See [Global BDS Movement Web site](#), 11/25/09. See [UK Attitudes towards the Middle East, Weekly Blitz](#) and the [JCPA](#)

<sup>65</sup> PSC maintains its own [BDS platform Web site](#)

<sup>66</sup> [The Jewish Chronicle](#)

<sup>67</sup> The PSC maintains its own [BDS Web site](#). For more on the BDS Movement, see **Reut Institute**, [The BDS Movement Promotes Delegitimization against Israel](#)

<sup>68</sup> [Trade Union Congress](#)



## Chapter 5:

### Organizations Politically Sympathetic to Hamas and Delegitimization

78. In recent years organizations and individuals in London politically sympathetic to Hamas have created a convenient platform to spread the Hamas narrative and doctrine. **The extent and character of such activity is unique to London, and contributes to London's status as a key delegitimization hub.**
79. The result of this activity is that the **Hamas narrative has made significant inroads in mainstreaming itself within the London Muslim community. Moreover, in the eyes of some elements within Britain's liberal elite, Hamas represents the sole authentic and legitimate Palestinian representative.**
80. **London serves as a convenient base** for organizations politically sympathetic to Hamas and former activists of the movement mainly because of several characteristics:
  - **A global hub with a large Muslim community** – Apart from its general global standing and influence, London is the domicile of the most important Arabic-language newspapers and other media channels.
  - **Existing Muslim Brotherhood (MB) infrastructure** – London figures prominently as the European hub of the MB, Hamas's parent organization,<sup>69</sup> and its network there facilitates the activities and influence of both the MB and organizations politically sympathetic to Hamas.
  - **A receptive radical left** and the emergence of the Red-Green Alliance create an increasingly fertile ground of operation for organizations and individuals politically sympathetic to Hamas in London. Examples include George Galloway and Ken Livingstone – leading figures on the radical left – who have cooperated with the MB in Britain. Galloway has also expressed sympathy for Hamas's political aims
  - **The 'Lambertism' doctrine promotes inclusion; opens the door to the liberal elite** – 'Lambertism,' a prominent security doctrine developed in the UK, promotes engagement with the MB and *Jamaat-e-Islami* as the best way to defeat Al-Qaeda's extremism. The doctrine is named after Robert Lambert, formerly head of the British police's Muslim Contact Unit, who promoted co-opting the MB in order to block Al Qaeda's entrance<sup>70</sup> and

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<sup>69</sup> See **Council for Foreign Relations**; See also John Ware's [Panorama](#) program on how a UK charity's donations have helped build support for Hamas.

<sup>70</sup> For more on the theory and its implications, see [Spittoon](#)

defuse tension between the Muslim community and British authorities.<sup>71</sup> This approach appears to remain influential within the British civil service,<sup>72</sup> **and as a result, organizations politically sympathetic to Hamas and former Hamas activists have been largely legitimized in London.**

- **A protective legal system** – The EU lists Hamas as a terrorist organization and therefore no activity in the UK is conducted in the name of Hamas. However, the British legal system enables organizations politically sympathetic to Hamas and former Hamas activists to operate in Britain with little interference.

Moreover, former Hamas activists, such as Mohammad Sawalha,<sup>73</sup> or organizations politically sympathetic to Hamas, such as Interpal,<sup>74</sup> occasionally sue those who publicly link them to the movement.<sup>75</sup> A series of such lawsuits against media outlets, Jewish community organizations, and others have created a clear deterrence that facilitates the freedom of former Hamas activists to operate in the city.<sup>76</sup>



**Interpal compound at the GPU Conference 2010 (Taken by Eran Shayshon)**

<sup>71</sup> For example, while Azzam Tamimi, argued that suicide bombings are valid in cases of "self defense," advised British Muslims that using this tactic is counterproductive in the UK, but not "for people who are defending their country and defending their homes" against "coward pilots flying F16s and Apache helicopters." See: [Hudson Institute](#) and [Spittoon](#)

<sup>72</sup> Lambert currently works for the European Muslim Centre, funded by the trustees of IslamExpo, which is run by Mohammed Sawalha and the Cordoba Foundation, which is run by Muslim Brotherhood activist Anas Altikriti. See [Harry's Place](#)

<sup>73</sup> According to Panorama, Sawalha was a Hamas activist in the early to mid 1990s.

<sup>74</sup> Interpal is a British charity that was part of the 'Union of Good' – the MB-affiliated Islamic charity fund that the [U.S. Department of the Treasury](#) designates a terrorist organization ([Global Muslim Brotherhood Web site](#)) – which has in the past passed money to social and educational bodies in the Palestinian territories that are, in turn, associated with promoting Hamas's political views. See also John Ware's [Panorama](#) program on that issue.

<sup>75</sup> **Parliament publications** [here](#).

<sup>76</sup> Examples of such 'deterrent lawfare' at work include a case advanced by the North London Central Mosque, of which Mohammed Sawalha was a trustee and which is known as the former home of Al Qaeda aligned cleric, Abu Hamza. The mosque is pursuing a libel action against the Policy Exchange think tank regarding its 2007 report about extremist literature available in UK mosques. [Harry's Place](#) [here](#) and [here](#). See also [Hudson Institute](#), [Civil Society](#), and [Parliament Publications](#).

### Assaulting the legitimacy of Israel through the Red-Green alliance

81. **This report wishes to shed light on the effort by organizations politically sympathetic to Hamas to assault the legitimacy of Israel through the Red-Green Alliance.** In this context, **a handful of prominent former Hamas activists play a central role in the UK.** Each of them is interchangeably involved in leading organizations within the UK Muslim community in the UK, and in heading cooperative initiatives with radical left organizations. Two such individuals stand out prominently:

- **Mohammed Sawalha** – A former senior Hamas activist in the West Bank, who fled to Britain in the early 1990s. Upon arrival, he continued operational activity for Hamas. Sawalha served in a key position in the Muslim Brotherhood-linked MAB, which he helped found, after which he headed the British Muslim Initiative (BMI).<sup>77</sup>
- **Zaher al-Birawi** – A former Hamas activist who left for Britain in the early 1990s. He is believed to be connected to a number of British-based Islamists organizations who find common cause with Hamas. Today he is a trustee of the Palestinian Return Centre (PRC), a pro-Hamas lobby group based in London, and a spokesperson for Viva Palestina.<sup>78</sup>

82. **While there are several UK-based organizations politically sympathetic to Hamas,** three provide specific examples of **promoting the Hamas narrative in London:**

- **The British Muslim Initiative (BMI)** – The BMI is an offshoot of the Muslim Association of Britain (MAB). Its unstated goal is to promote a higher level of involvement in UK left-wing politics. BMI also arranges large-scale anti-Israel demonstrations; cooperates with a range of left-wing individuals and organizations; and is increasingly active politically, such as, for example, in endorsing candidates in advance of the 2010 UK elections.<sup>79</sup> Mohammed Sawalha serves as BMI's president (as of March 2010).

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<sup>77</sup> See "the Wisdom of Sawalha" in [Harry's Place](#), 10/20/09.

<sup>78</sup> **Ibid.** and [Humanityvoice](#), 05/20/10; [Harry's Place](#), 05/24/10; [ITIC](#), 9/16/10.

<sup>79</sup> See, for example, a national conference titled "One society, many cultures" (12/11/10) that featured speakers Ken Livingstone and representatives of Jewish Council for Racial Equality, Pax Christi, European Muslim Research Centre, and BMI.

Also, a report in Alarabiya features self-described spokesman for the Muslim Brotherhood Kemal Al-Halbawy's descriptions of massive efforts to coordinate Muslim, Jewish and Christian groups in the UK See: [The Guardian](#), [Harry's Place](#) **Global Muslim Brotherhood report** [here](#), [here](#) and [here](#)

- **The Palestinian Return Centre (PRC)** – The PRC is dedicated to advancing Palestinian refugees' 'right of return' to pre-1948 homes.<sup>80</sup> PRC's activities are frequently promoted by the MAB, the Muslim Council of Britain (MCB), and other UK Brotherhood organizations. The PRC played a central role in the planning and organization of the May 31<sup>st</sup> Gaza Flotilla.<sup>81</sup>
- **Palestinian Forum of Britain (PFB)** – The PFB's objectives include increasing cultural and political awareness among Palestinians in Britain; developing mutual relations between the Palestinian community, Arab and Islamic organizations, and British society; and "cooperating with legal organizations to defend Palestinians against the atrocities of occupation." It used to be chaired by Zaher Birawi.<sup>82</sup>

### The process of mainstreaming the Hamas Narrative

83. **Mass communal events** – Large-scale multi-day gatherings – which bring together Islamists and mainstream political figures and include cultural, artistic, and commercial aspects – are being used to promote the Palestinian cause among Muslims in London and to legitimize the Hamas movement. The most prominent examples are:

- **Global Peace and Unity Event (GPU)** – The GPU is an annual, two-day event held by the Islam Channel that brings together tens of thousands of Muslims from across Europe.<sup>83</sup> Alongside cultural, artistic, and commercial events, it legitimizes the



The GPU Conference 2010 (Taken by Eran Shayshon)

<sup>80</sup> [Palestinian Return Center Web site](#)

<sup>81</sup> The PRC is one of the founding organizations of the European Campaign to End the Siege on Gaza (ECESG) – an umbrella organization that was a critical component of the coalition responsible for the Flotilla. In fact, the ECESG [Web site](#) references the PRC first in its list of founders. See **Reut Institute** [The Gaza Flotilla: The Collapse of Israel's Firewall](#), and [Global Muslim Brotherhood Report](#)

<sup>82</sup> See [Palestinian Forum of Britain](#) and [Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center](#)

<sup>83</sup> In 2006, the event attracted 55,000 Muslims from across Europe. See: [Quilliam Foundation](#). Notables among 2010 GPU speakers are Shady Alsuleiman of the Lakemba mosque in Sydney, Australia, who supports the stoning to death of adulterers under an Islamic state, believes that AIDS is a divine punishment for promiscuity and homosexuality, and tells Muslims to pray for Hamas. Additional speaker highlights include Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood member Zaghoul Al-Naggar, who wants Israel to be annihilated and believes in *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; John Rees – affiliated with the Respect party, currently a STWC officer, and one of the original organizers of the Cairo Conference; and Syrian preacher Muhammad Al-Yaqoubi, who backs the murderers of U.S. troops in Iraq.

Hamis violent struggle within the UK Muslim community, for example through display stalls selling merchandise such as suicide bomber headbands and T-shirts promoting Hezbollah and Hamas. Additionally, the event features virulently anti-Israel, Islamist fundamentalist speakers. UK government ministers appear as featured speakers and the Metropolitan Police and the City of London Police were listed as sponsors of this year's event.<sup>84</sup>

- **IslamExpo** – IslamExpo is a non-profit organization with a declared mission "dedicated to enhancing understanding of Islam in Britain and building bridges between the Muslim world and the West." It has held two events, each lasting for several days and featuring a mix of known Islamist, far-left, and political speakers, as well as entertainment and cultural programming.<sup>85</sup> IslamExpo's registered directors and/or company secretaries include Sawalha, Azzam Tamimi, Ismail Patel,<sup>86</sup> and Anas al-Tikriti. It is strongly associated with the MB, while supporting organizations include the BMI, the MAB, and the MCB. Its featured sponsors include Interpal.<sup>87</sup>

#### Discovering the 'Reds': Hamas and the Red-Green Alliance

84. **Hamis supporters actively participate in, and sometimes initiate, the tactical partnerships that consolidate the Red-Green Alliance.** Today, Islamists who find common cause with Hamas are deeply enmeshed in coalitions, partnerships, and cooperative initiatives with a range of radical left elements. These ventures enhance pro-Hamas individuals' and organizations' ability to disguise their radical Islamist agenda, and enable them to influence campaigns waged against Israel. **This alliance is exemplified first and foremost through:**

- **The Cairo Conference**, also known as The International Campaign against U.S. and Zionist Occupations, which has convened five times in Cairo and twice in Beirut since 2002. It is an annual event that brings together far leftists from Britain and other Western countries, as well as militant Islamists, such as Hamas and Hezbollah, from the Resistance Network. Its purpose is to formulate cooperative political, diplomatic, and economic strategies to fight Zionism and imperialism. Participating British organizations include Respect, SWP, and Stop the War Coalition.

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<sup>84</sup> See the event's site: <http://www.theglobalunity.com/>. One of the authors of this document attended this year's conference and the description below reflects his experience.

<sup>85</sup> See [Islam Expo](#)

<sup>86</sup> Ismail Patel founded the anti-Zionist "Friends of al-Aqsa" and is also a spokesman for the British Muslim Initiative (BMI). See Shiraz Maher in [Harry's Place](#).

<sup>87</sup> [Harry's Place](#) [here](#) and [here](#). [Global Muslim Brotherhood Report](#) and [Islam Expo](#)



- The Flotilla Strategy** – The May 31<sup>st</sup> Gaza Flotilla represents one event of many in a multi-organizational campaign entitled 'Lifeline to Gaza,' which aims to break what it terms the 'siege' of Gaza. It offers a concrete example of the Gaza-Based Hamas regime connection to the radical left in the West, which in this case held significant strategic implications for Israel.

London is home to several flotilla planners and organizers, including Islamist organizations sympathetic to Hamas. For example, senior PRC staff in London joined forces with left-wing solidarity organizations to support flotilla activities. London serves as the headquarters for organizations that took an active part in organizing the flotilla, such as Friends of Al Aqsa,<sup>88</sup> Viva Palestina<sup>89</sup> and the ECESG.<sup>90</sup> In addition, representatives from British trade unions identified with the PSC were aboard the flotilla.<sup>91</sup>



'Life Line to Gaza 5', Standing from right to left: Sawalha, Al-Zahar, and Haniya (fourth from right).

From: <http://paldf.net/forum/showthread.php?t=690946>

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<sup>88</sup> The head of the organization, Ismail Patel, took part in the flotilla. See [Friends of Al Aqsa](#).

<sup>89</sup> See [Humanityvoice.net](#), 5/20/10 and [Harry's Place](#), 5/24/10. For more on its involvement in financing the flotilla, see Steve Emerson, [Family Security Matters](#). Kevin Ovenden, head of the Viva Palestina delegation, sailed aboard the Mavi Marmara. See [Harry's Place](#), 6/18/10.

<sup>90</sup> See the **Reut Institute** on [The Gaza Flotilla](#).

<sup>91</sup> [PSC Web site](#), 5/27/10.

## Chapter 6: Operational Framework

### Introduction

85. **The assault on Israel's legitimacy poses a strategic threat to Israel**, and is a grave concern to the Jewish World. Confronting it effectively requires a loosely coordinated and concerted response by Israel and pro-Israel communities, Jewish and non-Jewish, around the world. **London's global influence in this context makes it central to this struggle.**
86. **Caveat: This document focuses on the structural response to the challenge of Israel's delegitimization.** Its scope does not cover a discussion of closely related issues such as the battle of narratives, i.e. the substantive response to delegitimizers' arguments, or the relation between Israel's delegitimization and anti-Semitism.

Our working assumption is that **neither a change in Israel's policies nor an improvement in PR will suffice in the battle against delegitimization, although both could make a significant impact.** Clearly, a credible and persistent commitment by Israel to reaching peace and ending control over the Palestinian population, as well as to full integration and equality of Israel's Arab citizens, are essential for effectively battling Israel's delegitimization. In addition, public relations efforts are critical in articulating Israel's positions and providing contexts that could justify Israel's actions, or at least frame them as reasonable even if not agreeable to all. Nonetheless, **the logic of delegitimization stems from a rejection of Israel's existence. Therefore, delegitimization cannot be made to disappear by PR or policy, and instead requires a systemic, structural response.**

### Overarching principles for response

87. **The following are a set of overarching principles for the operational strategy in London**, based primarily on the Political Firewall document, as well as on the knowledge developed since its publication.
88. **Narrow the definition of delegitimization and expand the definition of 'pro-Israel'** in order to shrink the base of delegitimizers and expand ours:
- **Narrow the definition of delegitimization to the bare minimum** – Adopting a narrow definition of delegitimization – for example, referring to negating Israel's right to exist and the right of the Jewish people to self-determination – is critical both in presenting a consistent and credible case against delegitimization, and in coalescing ideologically diverse elements within the anti-delegitimization network.
  - **Open-tent 1: Expand the pro-Israel community to its maximum capacity** – In other words, the 'Israel-is-right-no-matter-what' threshold for



membership in the pro-Israel community is alienating many, and shrinks the base of our 'team.' In order to beat the delegitimizers, the benchmark should be lowered to the bare minimum; based on our conversations, it should be rooted in giving Israel the benefit of doubt and working to undermine a lack of context that frames Israeli policies and actions as decisively beyond the pale. No prima facie support of any specific policy should be expected.

89. **It takes a network to fight a network** – The power of human networks is determined by their 'hubs' and 'catalysts.' Hence, effectively facing the Delegitimization Network requires **embracing a network-based logic and response that focuses on hubs and undermines the catalysts by mobilizing our network.**

- **Open tent 2: Get comfortable with a flat, loosely coordinated response** – The tendency of the Government of Israel and many Jewish institutions is to try to control, manage, and lead the response to the challenge. This approach is insufficient when faced with an effective network such as the delegitimizers'. Hence, GOI and the established Jewish community must get comfortable with a much more loosely coordinated and orchestrated response than both are accustomed to, which would enable different nodes in the pro-Israel network greater flexibility to act upon their judgment.
- **Open tent 3: It takes 'all instruments of the orchestra' to win this fight – from the political right and the left.** This principle requires embracing the paradox in which the more critical a left-wing voice against Israeli politics, the more credible its stance against delegitimization. Simply put, **the most effective voices against Israel's delegitimization come from the left.**
- **Open tent 4: Encourage experimentation. The knowledge is at the edges of the system and not concentrated in the center** – The challenge of Israel's delegitimization in its recent form lies in its perpetual novelty. Effective response will require continuous learning and adaptation based on extensive experimentation, which usually takes place on the edges of the system outside of the traditional institutions. The challenge posed to the leading institutions is to allow, encourage and learn from such experiments.
- **Any organization that embraces network logic and is able to inspire and mobilize can be its catalyst.** Synagogues, community centers, or formal institutions, as well as other NGOs and individuals, can act as catalysts by collecting information, turning it into relevant knowledge and disseminating it; developing the network's ideology; preserving a sense of urgency; mapping existing nodes, strengthening them, and connecting them to each other; harnessing new nodes; developing action plans; educating, training and debriefing; connecting with other catalysts; protecting the network; and branding and publicizing it.
- **Mobilize Israeli Diaspora communities** – The Israeli Diaspora, as well as Israelis who travel overseas, represent untapped potential that can be

mobilized with relative ease, particularly on academic campuses or in multinational corporations.

- **Be a part of the global network** - Networks combating delegitimization that emerge in any specific location, such as London, will not only be tested locally, but must also be an integral part of the global anti-delegitimization network, whose hubs should include the San Francisco Bay Area, Madrid, Paris, Toronto, Brussels, and Johannesburg.
- **Work behind-the-scenes** – It may be, for example, that the best investment for fighting delegitimization on campuses is in hiring outside 'movers-and-shakers' to coordinate mobilization work.

90. **Public relations and branding** – In recent years, as exemplified in the context of the debate over the Brand Israel project, one could have reached the false conclusion that public relations and branding are a zero-sum or mutually exclusive enterprise. In fact, winning the battle against delegitimization requires both as mutually reinforcing vehicles:

- **Build Israel's brand** – Israel's re-branding is strategically important in the context of its successful negative branding by delegitimizers. An alternative to the demonized brand would not only make Israel's PR more effective, but would also provide it greater immunity to attacks by its offenders. This means that projects that are focused on Israel's branding, such as, for example, highlighting Israel's contribution to humanity, are integral to the success against the delegitimization campaign.
- Finally, **it is equally important to brand the other side** by associating them with values that reflect their actions and agendas. See below for elaboration.
- **PR: Broadcasting as well as narrowcasting** – Explaining Israel's policies and offering favorable contexts have been a central focus of Jewish communities and the GOI for years. There is little that this report can add to the wealth of experience that has been accumulated in this area except for highlighting the growing importance of the concept of narrowcasting to specific communities via their favorite and trusted media outlets.

91. **Substantive engagement with liberal and progressive circles** – These represent the battleground between Israel and its allies, and the delegitimizers. To date, the latter have been doing a much better job at harnessing from within this constituency than the home team. A more effective strategy requires:

- **Substantive engagement** – The pro-Israel community must be seek serious and consistent interaction with this community, aimed at addressing their concerns such as with regard to international law, use of force, and political negotiations. Theoretically, our task is far simpler than the delegitimizers': They must demonstrate that Israel's actions prove its illegitimacy, while we

only have to show that there is a single context through which they can be understood and justified.

- **Building relationship** – The most effective barrier against the spread of delegitimization is a network of strong personal relationships. Israel and its allies should maintain thousands of personal relationships with political, financial, cultural, media, and security-related elites.
  - **Embracing Jewish liberals** – Jewish support for Israel has been taken for granted for many years. The prominent roles Jews play in organizations bitterly critical of, or even delegitimizing, Israel have changed this assumption. Many of them have been alienated by Jewish institutions and communities that expected them to sign a blank check of support for Israel, thus, pushing them into the welcoming arms of the delegitimizers. Furthermore, in many communities, Israel has become such a polarizing issue that Jewish communal leadership and Rabbis often refrain from bringing it up. These approaches need to be changed, liberal Jews must be substantively engaged, and their liberal values should not be framed as anti-Israel, even if critical of its policies.
  - **Engaging with the NGOs** – There should be a policy and practice of engaging on a substantive level with non-governmental organizations that have Israel as their focus, by addressing their concerns, queries and questions, as well as by building relations with their boards, management and professionals. NGOs are more likely to do a better job in this respect, but the role of the GOI is essential as well.
92. **Outing, naming and shaming the delegitimizers** – As mentioned, delegitimizers operate uninterrupted and their initiatives are often practically unopposed. A central objective is to change this situation by forcing them to 'play defense.' This means systematically exposing information about delegitimizers, their activities, and the organizations that they operate out of. The goal is to eventually frame them, depending on their agendas, as anti-peace, anti-Semitic, dishonest purveyors of double standards

#### **Division of roles between the Israeli mission and the local community**

93. **The relationship and division of roles between Israeli diplomatic missions and local leadership are critically important to fighting delegitimization.** The main attributes of this cooperation are based on the unique values of each side, as follows:
- **The local Israeli diplomatic mission** should focus on communicating the voice of Jerusalem to the local community and vice versa, and serving as a formal front of Israel that draws 'fire.' It should be tasked with 'smoking the enemy out of their caves' by exposing their arguments, mobilization methods, and structure; introducing new and innovative information and

analysis; and engaging in the labor-intensive work of relationship-based diplomacy.

- **The local pro-Israel community** should take responsibility for: Providing people, funding, resources, and platforms for response; nurturing key relationships across liberal and progressive circles; driving local media campaigns; and mobilizing the loosely orchestrated pro-Israel network.

In general, **the local Jewish community is likely to possess greater sensitivity to local contexts and nuances**, enabling it to operate with greater effectiveness against delegitimization.

### **Guidelines for operational strategy in London**

94. As mentioned, **London is home to a loosely coordinated *local* network of delegitimizers and serves as the leading hub of the *global* Delegitimization Network.**
95. Hence, **the network that emerges in London to combat delegitimization will not only be tested locally, but must also be an integral part of the global anti-delegitimization network**, whose other hubs should include the San Francisco Bay Area, Madrid, Paris, Toronto, Brussels, and Johannesburg.
96. **Laying the foundations for a systemic response:**
  - Engage in a **community-wide deliberation on the meaning of 'delegitimization,' with the aim of narrowing it; and on the meaning of 'pro-Israel,' with the aim of expanding it.**
  - Based on these definitions, **attempt to establish a code-of-conduct for the community** with regards to Israel, which applies to both the left and right, enhances community cohesion, and widens the anti-delegitimization tent.
  - **Establish a round table to discuss initiatives for fighting Israel's delegitimization. Encourage synergies without promoting conformity.**
  - **Prepare an annual calendar of delegitimization events** that require mobilization, **such as the Israel Apartheid Week and the Global Peace and Unity Conference**, and plan accordingly.
  - **Prepare an outreach program for synagogues and community centers** describing the delegitimization challenge and its perpetrators. In this context, see for example Project Reconnections in the San Francisco Bay area, which is an intra-Jewish dialogue and deliberation initiative. The initiative was launched by the Bay Area's Jewish Community Relations

Council in 2005,<sup>92</sup> and convened people of diverse background for two years of meetings, with the guidance of an outside facilitator and the aim of cultivating a civilized discourse as related to Israel.<sup>93</sup>

- **Mobilize key Israeli activists, particularly in academic institutions.**
- **Assign coordinators for each major arena** – such as academia and campuses, labor unions, churches, and judicial spheres – in order to catalyze the network.
- **Be a part of the global network by connecting with other hubs** of the global anti-delegitimization network.
- **Know what to answer: Provide activists and organizations accessible information to prepare them to address central points of the delegitimization campaign's focus.** These may touch upon roots of Jewish Peoplehood, the international legitimacy of the State of Israel, and the history of the peace process. There is a clear advantage of scale for this work to be done by or through community institutions.
- **Orchestrate the outing-naming-shaming campaign against key delegitimizers,** based on detailed information.
- **Engage key non-governmental organizations** personally and substantively.
- **Engage key figures and organizations in the elite of the liberal and progressive circles** personally and substantively.
- **Establish taskforces for each central arena,** including campuses and academia, 'lawfare,' trade unions, and churches.

97. **Guidelines for action** – Many of the guidelines are self-explanatory, deriving from the effectuation of the infrastructure described above. Additional issues for consideration include:

- **PR and branding** – There is little that we can add to what is already known on this point, except for urging a **focus on negatively branding the other side**, which is the desired outcome of the outing-naming-shaming campaign against the delegitimizers.
- **Convene an annual event that brings the network together,** including the diversity of voices that stand against Israel's delegitimization.

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<sup>92</sup> Reut thanks San Francisco Jewish Community Relations Council Middle East Director Yitzchak Santis for exposing us to this initiative.

<sup>93</sup> See the [Jerusalem Report](#)

- **Plug into the global anti-delegitimization network** by connecting with other hubs through key contact people and meeting them if possible, beginning with the JFNA Israel Action Network and with the JCRC of the San Francisco Bay Area.
- **Initiate alternative constructive venues that promote human rights or peace in order to break the perception of BDS as the only option to protest, impact, and engage.** Examples for such venues may include humanitarian projects, bridge-building efforts, or dialogue forums.
- **Focus on compromising ' Hamas' presence' in London** – Today, organizations politically sympathetic to Hamas operate against Israel in London in an open and undisturbed manner. Some of this activity can be confronted using legal, media, political, and diplomatic means by partnering with experts in each of these fields. The effort should be led and conducted by the GOI, ideally in coordination with the British government (This section is not for public disclosure).
- **Prioritize delegitimizing the BDS Movement**, which is among the most sophisticated tools in the attempt to undermine Israel's legitimacy, and can be considered a mega-catalyst due to its influence in a number of arenas. As mentioned, the BDS Movement claims to promote human rights, international justice, and peace, while in practice, its organizers explicitly or implicitly reject Israel's right to exist.<sup>94</sup>
- **Branding: Promote and expose joint projects in fields in which Israel excels** – such as humanitarian activity in the developing world, biological and medical technology, emergency response, and science and the arts – involving British and Israelis NGOs and/or government agencies.
- **Initiate or encourage twinning projects that emphasize a non-conflict-oriented Israeli brand and bring value to the local community**, such as in medical areas, emergency response, education, etc.
- **Consider establishing an Israeli cultural center** (Israel House), especially within Jewish communal infrastructures.

### Reut's role

98. **Reut is committed to supporting the implementation of these principles in London** by offering strategic support and consultation, and by making connections to global communities and relevant Israeli government agencies, particularly in the following areas:

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<sup>94</sup> For examples, see a Reut document, [The BDS Movement Promotes Delegitimization against Israel](#), and a YouTube video, [Boycott, Divestment, Sanction Israel](#).

- Strategic support to institutions by helping them design their mission and strategy in relation to operational principles outlined in this paper.
- Providing a global context to local challenges.
- Making global connections – Reut will be involved in efforts to convene a conference to bring together the global anti-delegitimization network, anticipated to be in spring 2011. In this context, and in general, Reut will focus on creating a framework to connect catalysts in locations operating under similar circumstances, such as within delegitimization hubs.
- Making connections with official Israeli partners – Reut can assist in establishing efficient interface mechanisms to ensure community information needs are met, and in facilitating cooperation with MFA-led Brand Israel efforts.



**Annex A:  
Introduction to the Delegitimization Challenge:  
An Attack on Israel's Political-Economic Model and Zionism**

**This chapter summarizes the primary characteristics of the delegitimization challenge, based on the Reut Institute's conceptual framework, [Building a Political Firewall against Israel's Delegitimization](#), pages 31- 48, points 66 -105. It is also the introductory chapter of [The Gaza Flotilla: The Collapse of Israel's Political Firewall](#).**

**Introduction: Ripening of the Resistance Network & the Delegitimization Network**

**99. Israel is dealing with the parallel ripening of two processes:**

- **The successes accumulated by the Delegitimization Network**, which opposes Israel's existence based on a variety of political, ideological, and philosophical principles. Western-based radical leftist elements shape and lead the Delegitimization Network, with the aim of turning Israel into a pariah state. To this end, they purposefully advance the association of the state with the South African apartheid regime in order to undermine the legitimacy of Israel's existence.
- **The efficacy of the 'Strategy of Implosion' advanced by the Resistance Network** – led by Iran, Hezbollah, and Hamas – which rejects Israel's existence based on Islamist and Arab-nationalist ideology. The Resistance Network aspires to precipitate Israel's implosion by means of 'overstretch': sabotaging processes aimed at ending Israel's control over Palestinians, advancing Israel's delegitimization, and developing means of asymmetric warfare deployed against Israel's military and civilian population.

**100. The Reut Institute contends that combined, these forces represent a political-diplomatic strategic threat that may become existential.** Resistance Network leaders repeatedly and publicly declare their goal of causing Israel's implosion inspired by precedents set by the Soviet Union, South Africa, and other countries.<sup>95</sup> This logic is ripening into a strategy that is yielding tangible gains.<sup>96</sup>

<sup>95</sup> See Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's statement: "Israel is about to crash... everyone must know that just as the USSR disappeared, this will also be the fate of the Zionist regime..." Dudi Cohen, [YNET](#), 12/12/06; or Hezbollah Secretary-General Hassan Nasrallah's 'spider-web theory,' which focuses on internal politics precipitating Israel's implosion (05/26/00) (Barel, [Haaretz](#), 07/17/06, (Hebrew)).

101. **Israel's 'Iron Wall' concept<sup>97</sup> fails to address the new challenge it faces** – The 'Iron Wall' concept posited that the Arab world would only recognize Israel's existence when it internalized its inability to eliminate it. This concept led to the development of several assumptions underlying Israel's security doctrine: The only existential threat facing Israel is military; the fight for Israel's existence will be waged on the battlefield; and, as such, the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) and security establishment are responsible for securing Israel's existence.
102. **Therefore, Israel needs to build a 'Political Firewall' to address the evolving strategic threat in the political-diplomatic arena** – The attack on Israel's legitimacy is one of the main challenges facing the country in the seventh decade of its existence. **The collaboration and feedback loop between the Resistance Network and its Strategy of Implosion, on the one hand, and the Delegitimization Network and its effort to turn Israel into a pariah state, on the other hand, has been effectively eroding Israel's international standing, Israel's own contribution notwithstanding. As this report will elaborate, it is this collaboration that led to the Gaza Flotilla and its aftermath.**

#### **The Resistance Network, Hamas, and the Strategy of Implosion**

103. **Reut's Political Firewall document describes the ripening process of the Resistance Network's strategic conceptual framework in the context of its campaign against Zionism.** This campaign is motivated by an ambition, which originated in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, to precipitate the elimination of first the *Yishuv* during the pre-state days and later the State of Israel, and to replace it with an Arab-Palestinian-Islamist entity.
104. **The current phase in this struggle began following Israel's success in building a defense establishment that secured its existence,** to the point that the Arab states abandoned their attempts to build an offensive military force capable of conquering Israel. The Camp David Accords between Israel and Egypt, the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Jordanian-Israeli Peace Treaty, and Oslo Process between Israel and the Palestinians are significant milestones in this context.
105. **Given these developments, the desire for Israel to disappear has been translated into a new set of ideas advanced and led by Iran, Hezbollah, and**

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<sup>96</sup> See Reut documents: ['Logic of Implosion: The Resistance Network's Political Rationale'](#) and [Iran's Terminology against Israel'](#)

<sup>97</sup> The concept of Iron Wall originated in a 1923 article by Ze'ev Jabotinsky, in which he contends that there is no chance that Arabs living in the Land of Israel will come to terms with Zionism and the *Yishuv* should thus create an iron wall until the Arab side realizes it will be unable to defeat Zionism. See: [The Iron Wall](#) (published 04/11/23 in a Russian newspaper).

**Hamas, based on what can be called a 'logic of implosion.' Its underlying assumption is that a direct confrontation with the IDF will not result in Israel's annihilation, and there is thus no reason to build armies capable of defeating Israel. Furthermore, a direct military attack aimed at destroying Israel would mobilize domestic and international support for the country.**

106. **A related inversion in the Resistance Network's logic has been evolving over the past two decades: Israeli control over the Palestinian population has become an asset, rather than a burden.** Until the 1990s, the essence of resistance was, as expressed in the Phased Plan of 1974, to continually push Israel out of territories.
107. **In recent years, the goals of the Resistance Network thus changed to keep Israel in the West Bank and pull it back into Gaza.** This evolution is based on an understanding that Zionism faces a state of 'overstretch' resulting from its control over the Palestinian population, and that Israel's deepening control of, and responsibility for, the Palestinian population represents a growing strategic liability for Israel.<sup>98</sup> Although internal debates persist on this point, **it represents a strategic revolution whose significance cannot be overstated.**
108. **It is difficult to identify the current state of the Logic of Implosion** – On the one hand, it is clear that a conceptual framework with sophistication, ripeness, and internal consistency has formed, even if this framework encompasses areas of disagreement and a certain diversity of opinion. On the other hand, there is no evidence of a clear strategy that guides the activities of Resistance Network actors, and which has been translated into goals, deadlines, and milestones.

109. Reut's Political Firewall document identifies **three primary and mutually reinforcing pillars of the Logic of Implosion:**<sup>99</sup> (1) 'Overstretching' Israel,<sup>100</sup> (2) fundamental delegitimization, (3) asymmetric warfare focusing on the battlefield and Israel's civilian population.
110. **Overstretch is the main factor causing the collapse of states.** Collapse occurs in the event of an unbridgeable imbalance between resources, on the one hand,

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<sup>98</sup> See several issues of Reut ReViews: "[The 'Tipping Point' of Palestinian Inversion towards the Two State Solution?](#)", "[The Trend of Palestinian and Arab Inversion towards the Two State Solution,](#)" and "[Hamas Reveals its True Colors.](#)"

<sup>99</sup> See Reut documents: "[Logic of Implosion](#)" and "[Iran's Terminology against Israel.](#)"

<sup>100</sup> See Reut documents: "[Failure of the Political Process: The Danger of Dissolution of the PA,](#)" "[The 'Tipping Point' of Palestinian Inversion towards the Two State Solution?](#)", "[The Trend of Palestinian and Arab Inversion towards the Two State Solution,](#)" and "[Hamas Reveals Its True Colors.](#)"

and commitments and needs, on the other hand;<sup>101</sup> or between the ruling ideology and the given reality.

111. **The Resistance Network perceives Israel to have been in a state of overstretch since the 1967 Six-Day War, and it aims to deepen this vulnerability in any way possible.**

112. Based on this analysis, **Reut identifies a number of clear and consistent patterns of conduct of the Resistance Network:**<sup>102</sup>

- **Presenting political solutions that do not contradict the idea of resistance** to Israel. Examples include a willingness to recognize the reality of Israel's existence without recognizing its right to exist or any element of its Jewish character;<sup>103</sup> and an openness to interim or long-term agreements,<sup>104</sup> while negating a Permanent Status Agreement, permanent borders, Finality of Claims, an End of Conflict resolutions,<sup>105</sup> or accepting the Two-State Solution based on the principle of two-states-for-two-peoples.<sup>106</sup>
- **Undermining the separation between Israel and the Palestinians / intensifying the burden of the 'occupation' on Israel** by means of sabotaging the political process that advances the Two-State Solution, and creating fertile ground for the dissolution of the PA and for the transfer of full responsibility for the Palestinian population to Israel.<sup>107</sup> This logic also calls for undermining unilateral steps taken by Israel to improve its political situation by ending control over Palestinians.
- **Limiting Israel's ability to exploit its military superiority on the battlefield** by deploying several key strategies. These include preventing

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<sup>101</sup> See: Paul Kennedy, **The Rise and Fall of Great Powers** (Vintage; 1989).

<sup>102</sup> See Reut documents: "[Memo to Winograd: Updating Israel's National Security Strategy](#)," "[Logic of Implosion](#)," "[Battle for Control by the Resistance Network](#)"; see also: Ehud Yaari, [Jerusalem Report](#), 13/11/06 and Michael Milstein, [The Growing Challenge of Resistance and its Influence in Israel's Security Doctrine](#), Memorandum 102, INSS.

<sup>103</sup> See Reut documents: " [Hamas and the Political Process](#)" and "[The Hamas Movement Following the Elections](#)."

<sup>104</sup> When Hamas debated the establishment of a Palestinian state with provisional borders, its spokesmen clarified that the state would be used as a platform for a continuation of the struggle against Israel, in line with the PLO's Phased Plan and the ethos of the Palestinian struggle. See Reut document: " [Hamas and the Political Process](#)."

<sup>105</sup> For more details see Reut Concepts [Finality of Claims](#) and [End of Conflict](#)

<sup>106</sup> See Reut ReViews: " [Hamas and the Political Process](#)."

<sup>107</sup> See also Reut document, "[Failure of the Political Process: The Danger of Dissolution of the PA](#)"

decisive Israeli military victory, in which continuing resistance – rather than defeating the IDF militarily – has come to represent success; using civilians as human shields; and systematically targeting the Israeli civilian population. Additionally, elements of the Resistance Network adopt the 'Hamastan' / 'Hezbollahstan' models in Gaza or Lebanon, respectively, which centralize powers, authorities, and many characteristics of statehood without the responsibility carried by a state. Such a reality creates a fundamental asymmetry between Israel and the Resistance Network.<sup>108</sup> Finally, the Resistance Network employs 'lawfare,' waging legal campaigns against Israel and Israelis in international forums.

- **Systematically assaulting the Israeli civilian population** in order to balance Israel's military success.<sup>109</sup>
- **Converging around new 'outstanding issues'** – The Resistance Network continues the struggle against Israel by focusing on a small number of issues that can be exploited as causes to justify the continuation of the struggle.<sup>110</sup> For example, the Shebaa Farms issue serves this function for Hezbollah.
- **Turning Israel's Arab citizens into a 'bridgehead' for further struggle against Israel** by mobilizing them for armed struggle or for promoting delegitimization by challenging Israel's identity and its institutions.<sup>111</sup> While these attempts to harness Israel's Arab citizens for the armed struggle have been relatively unsuccessful, **some factions and voices have come to represent the ideology of the Resistance Network.** For example, the Northern Branch of the Islamic Movement led by Ra'ad Salah opposes Israel's right to exist and boycotts national elections, the Future Vision

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<sup>108</sup> Based on this model, the political entity in Gaza enjoys power, authority, and many characteristics of statehood – such as control over territory and populations, management of an independent foreign policy, and deployment of an armed force with military characteristics – without assuming the responsibilities carried by states.

<sup>109</sup> The first Intifada (1987-91), the first Gulf War (1991), the wave of terror (1996), the Second Intifada (2001-2005), the Second Lebanon War (2006), and the rockets and mortars launched from Gaza in the years preceding Operation Cast Lead.

<sup>110</sup> Following Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon (5/2000), Hezbollah vowed to perpetuate its struggle against Israel using the pretext of the Shebaa Farms and Seven Villages issues. (See: Rubinstein, [Haaretz](#), 8/5/06 (Hebrew) and Stern, [Haaretz](#), 7/3/05 (Hebrew). Recently, Hezbollah marked the gas fields found off Israel's coast as an arena for future confrontation.

<sup>111</sup> Hezbollah, Hamas, and the Islamic Jihad fanned the flames of the confrontations that erupted in Acre in 2008 by calling for the Arab population to continue to confront the "Zionists." See: [Haaretz](#). There are also reported attempts to mobilize agents with the Arab Israeli population. See: Aharon Newmark, [Omedia](#), 05/27/08 (Hebrew).

documents challenge Israel's Jewish character, and a growing chorus of voices actively promote the one-state narrative.<sup>112</sup>

- **Advancing the fundamental delegitimization of Israel**<sup>113</sup> – The delegitimization advanced by the Resistance Network is saturated with Islamic anti-Semitic motifs, as manifested in the Holocaust-denial conference in Tehran (11/06) and in rhetoric comparing Jews to apes and pigs.<sup>114</sup> While this type of delegitimization is grossly ineffective in the West, it is evidently viewed to be effective by its propagators.

113. **Based on the above strategies, the Resistance Network has achieved conceptual superiority over Israel. It is able to contain Israel's technological, military, and economic advantages by transferring the struggle to other arenas in which Israel is weak.** It achieves this through employing simultaneous and intense military, economic, political, diplomatic and demographic pressures on Israel. Dozens of citations of the Iranian, Hamas, and Hezbollah leadership explicate this logic. **Israel's conceptual inferiority increases the likelihood of repeated Israeli political and military disappointments** in efforts to secure its existence.
114. **The main source of the Resistance Network's inspiration is the fact that several countries have disappeared due to the collapse of their political and economic models.**<sup>115</sup> Prominent examples include the South African apartheid regime, the Soviet Union, and East Germany. In fact, in recent decades, the number of states that collapsed is greater than those that were conquered.
115. **These developments signify the closing of a historic circle in the struggle against Zionism** – Until the establishment of the State of Israel, the core of the Arab struggle against it focused on opposition to Zionism. The Arab states were guided by the assumption that effectively defeating Zionism would prevent the state's formation. After Israel's establishment, resources were diverted to militarily confronting it, guided by the assumption that Israel's elimination would

<sup>112</sup> See [The Trend of Palestinian and Arab Inversion towards the Two State Solution](#). In 2008, Adalah published a proposal for a new constitution, which called for establishing a transnational regime in historic Palestine and entitling Palestinian refugees to fulfill the 'Right of Return.'

<sup>113</sup> This is the context for the Iranian logic leading to the 2006 Holocaust-denial conference in Tehran. See Reut document: [Basic Delegitimization of Israel](#). Also: Gidi Grinstein, [Haaretz](#), 01/15/10.

<sup>114</sup> See [MALAM](#), Saudi Arabia/Arab Antisemitism Documentation Project, February 2004.

<sup>115</sup> There is no uniform definition of the term 'collapse' in relation to states. See Robert Rotberg, **When States Fail**, (Princeton UP 2004). [Brookings Institute](#). Jared Diamond, **Collapse: How Societies Choose to Fail or Succeed**, (Viking Press, 2005). James Crawford: **The Creation of States in International Law**, (Oxford University Press, 2006).



effectively end Zionism. Currently, resources are once again directed toward battling the Zionist model, with the aspiration of effectively confronting Zionism to precipitate Israel's collapse.

### **The Delegitimization Network against Israel**

116. **In parallel to the maturation of the Resistance Network's Logic of Implosion, a ripening of a global network mobilized to delegitimize Israel has also occurred.** The following paragraphs focus on this network.
117. **In the Political Firewall document, Reut described Israel's delegitimization as being advanced by a global network** that shares most generic characteristics of networks. Among other elements, the Delegitimization Network is a flat, global web of individuals and organizations with no operative command-and-control center. The common denominator shared by its members is ideological and based on an opposition to Israel's existence. The network is dominated by a number of 'hubs' and driven by an estimated several dozen prominent 'catalysts.'
118. **Three prominent groups comprise the Delegitimization Network:** Individuals and organizations belonging to the Western radical left; Arab and Islamist individuals and organizations that have adopted Western discourse on this issue; and Israeli and Jewish post-Zionists, who are significant despite their small number, due to the credibility they bestow upon the Delegitimization Network.
119. **Hubs of delegitimization are global urban centers.** They concentrate international media, legal and judicial institutions, academic centers, and international NGOs and human rights organizations, as well elements dedicated to delegitimizing Israel. Such hubs include **London, Madrid, Brussels, Toronto, California's Bay Area, and Johannesburg.**
120. **Catalysts drive the network from within hubs** – Each hub contains a few 'catalysts,' which are organizations or individuals with the ability, resources, and commitment to lead the struggle against Israel's legitimacy. These catalysts act by collecting information, turning it into relevant knowledge, and disseminating it; developing the ideology of the network; preserving a sense of urgency; mapping existing nodes and mobilizing new ones, strengthening and connecting them; developing action plans; educating, training and debriefing; connecting with other catalysts; and protecting, branding and publicizing the network.
121. **The Delegitimization Network against Israel is driven by a few dozen catalysts operating from within less than ten hubs,** with a few catalysts operating in each hub.
122. **The organizations and forces belonging to the Delegitimization Network possess marginal political support** in the countries in which they operate. **Still, as mentioned, they have succeeded in achieving significant successes globally.**



123. **The key to their success has rested on their ability to blur of the lines between criticism of Israel and its delegitimization, as well as on an appeal to the core values of the European and North American liberal progressive elite** based on the following guidelines:

- **Branding: Israel = South African Apartheid.** A concerted strategy of equating the foundations of the Israeli political system with those of white South Africa has been in place since the Durban Conference (2001). This comparison justifies similar conduct in terms of exclusion, boycott, and condemnation, and entails a solution in accordance with the 'one man, one vote' principle. Moreover, branding Israel in this way facilitates the believability of rumors as false as starvation in Gaza or organ harvesting in Haiti, justifies aggressive action against Israel or Israelis, and helps define Israel's political-economic model as immoral.
- **Israel does not want peace,** but rather seeks to perpetuate 'occupation' of Palestinian lands and people. The settlement enterprise serves as incontrovertible evidence of this assertion. In fact, every event is interpreted in light of this image. For example: The Gaza Disengagement (08/05) actually enabled Gaza's 'occupation' by new means, the IDF hospital established in Haiti was intended to distract the world from Israel's action in the Palestinian territories, and Israel's offers in negotiations with the Palestinians are not serious.
- **Re-branding the Resistance Network: Organizations such as Hamas and Hezbollah are branded as social movements that stand up against oppression; Israel's delegitimizers are branded as representing justice, respect for international law, and human rights** – On this basis, liberal and progressive elites are mobilized and in this context, Israeli policies such as the Gaza blockade – which is intended to undermine Hamas' strategy by pressurizing the civilian population – play directly into the hands of the Resistance Network.
- **Messaging: The need to pressurize Israel** – Israel's delegitimizers argue that employing soft tools of persuasion and dialogue are pointless based on their depiction of Israel as committed to perpetuating 'occupation.' Furthermore, because Israel is a small country and dependent on its relations with the world, it is highly vulnerable to effective use of pressure tactics.
- **Making pro-Palestinian activity and criticism of Israel 'trendy.'**
- **Focusing on criticizing Israel's policies; camouflaging an underlying agenda aimed at its elimination** – Act against Israel *now*; no need to agree on an end-goal. As previously discussed, an agenda seeking Israel's



elimination enjoys a narrow base of support in the West. However, criticism of Israel is widespread. Hence, the Delegitimization Network is willing to cooperate with anyone opposed to Israeli policies, even with Israelis and Zionists. It does not expect ideological consent or agreement on the end-game for collaboration.

- **Harnessing civil society because the Jews control the political sphere** – Israel's delegitimizers argue that Jewish political and financial power, particularly in the U.S., defends Israel against harsh steps by governments. Hence, the only way to correct Israel's ways is by mobilizing civil society.
- **Shifting from national-rights discourse to human-rights discourse** – Delegitimization catalysts promote a human rights-based discourse that emphasizes individual rights, such as the 'right of return,' over a discourse that emphasizes national-rights, such as the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination in an independent state. This allows the movement to present itself as a-political, while advancing the one-state narrative.
- **Focusing on human-rights violations to undermine the moral basis of Israel's existence.** The Delegitimization Network creates provocations in order to maintain a steady stream of criticism against Israel,<sup>116</sup> and uses criticism of, or opposition to, elements of Israel's policy to challenge Israel's entire right of existence.
- **Turning Israel's Arab citizens into a 'bridgehead' in the struggle against Israel,** by striving to harness their participation in violent confrontation or in furthering Israel's fundamental delegitimization by challenging the identity and institutions of the state. While there have been relatively few cases of active subversion, Israel is witnessing a growing number of challenges to its legitimacy by its Arab citizens. The Gaza Flotilla prominently featured Israeli-Arab public figures, among them Member of Knesset Hanin Zuabi and Head of the Northern Branch of the Islamic Movement Ra'ad Salah.<sup>117</sup>
- **Selective use of international law: Initiating legal action against IDF officers and Israeli politicians** – The Delegitimization Network brands Israel as disregarding international law, and uses it against Israel selectively, while rejecting any attempt for a comparative analysis of Israel's actions. In the UK, the Netherlands, Spain, Belgium, and Norway, a network of lawyers have compiled a list of 'wanted' IDF officers in order to issue arrest

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<sup>116</sup> See, for example, the activities of the Viva Palestina organization, which orchestrated a 'humanitarian' mission from Europe to Gaza, led by British Member of Parliament George Galloway. See in this context: Amiram Barkat, [Haaretz](#), 7/10/07.

<sup>117</sup> See Reut document: "[Between Adalah's 'New Constitution' and Annapolis.](#)"

warrants against them, based on universal jurisdiction clauses, for committing war crimes.

124. **The Delegitimization Network's ideological roots negate Israel's 'Jewish' component** – According to the ideology of the delegitimization network, a state premised on ethnic or religious identity is unacceptable. An Israeli-Palestinian agreement on the Two-State Solution, which is based on the principle of two-states-for-two-peoples, will thus not address these basic objections towards Israel, as it would leave an Arab minority within Israel.
125. **This ideology is the basis for the comparison between Israel and South Africa** – The comparison is based on a contention that both cases feature a foreign minority – in both cases white, rich, and powerful – that dispossessed an indigenous population, and forcefully exploited it for cheap labor. In recent years, the Delegitimization Network has systematically branded Israel as an apartheid state. Effective tactics in doing so include taking over the agendas of organizations such as student unions and trade unions.
126. **Israel and South Africa: Similar problem, similar solution** – According to the Delegitimization Network's logic, the model of activism relevant to apartheid South Africa model is applicable to Israel. This entails a focus on eliminating preferential rights afforded the white minority and establishing a regime based on the principle of 'one person, one vote.' Hence, only a one-state paradigm – which would unite Israel, the West Bank, and Gaza – can resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Furthermore, this paradigm reflects an idea that, on the surface, adheres to the liberal post-national European worldview.
127. **The Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions (BDS) Movement against Israel embodies the majority of these principles** – The BDS Movement is a civil society movement predicated on the notion that Israel only responds to pressure. Many of its leaders are evident delegitimizers, who implicitly advance their agenda through supporting the 'right of return,' associating Israel with apartheid, singling out Israel for criticism, rejecting the Two-State Solution, and sabotaging cooperation between Israelis and Palestinians.<sup>118</sup>
128. **Recent years have witnessed the growing and significant influence of the European radical left on the Palestinian position towards the one-state paradigm and the voluntary dissolution of the PA.** This paradigm is gradually

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<sup>118</sup> See Reut ReViews: "[The BDS Movement Promotes Delegitimization against Israel.](#)"

seeping into the consciousness of the centrist secular-nationalist Palestinian political camp.<sup>119</sup>

### **The Feedback Loop between the Delegitimization and Resistance Networks**

129. **In recent years, the Delegitimization Network and the Resistance Network have 'engaged' each other** – The ripening of the Delegitimization Network in the West and the coalescence of the Resistance Network's Strategy of Implosion occurred independently and against a backdrop of different contexts and factors. However, in recent years the networks have begun to engage each other. Their links are expanding and intensifying on the basis of the common denominator of opposition to Israel's existence. **In the framework of this cooperation, the Resistance Network instigates events on-the-ground. The Delegitimization Network leverages these to serve its needs, while legitimizing the instigators, particularly Hezbollah and Hamas.**
130. **Pressure on the Palestinians to radicalize** – Moderate Palestinian positions and collaboration with Israel undermine the delegitimization campaign. Therefore, delegitimizers exert pressure on moderate Palestinians to break contact with Israel, adopt the one-state paradigm, and voluntarily dissolve the PA.

131. **The ripening of the connection between the Resistance Network and the Delegitimization Network is based on, and nourished by, Israel's conundrum vis-à-vis the Palestinians:**

- **The political process:** The Resistance Network undermines every attempt to separate between Israel and the Palestinians or to progress toward a Two-State Solution. Simultaneously, the Delegitimization Network tarnishes Israel's reputation by branding it as 'occupier' and a pariah state, and advancing the one-state paradigm. These efforts feed off each other: As the popularity of the one-state paradigm rises, it becomes harder to achieve the Two-State Solution, and vice versa.
- **The Gaza Strip:** The Resistance Network cultivates the 'Hamastan' model and Gaza as a military and ideological base for the Resistance Network, and creates the provocations that nourish the Delegitimization Network. Meanwhile, the Delegitimization Network legitimizes Hamas and its control over Gaza, depicts Israel as actively occupying Gaza and collectively punishing its citizens, and effectively reduces Israel's military room to maneuver against Hamas.

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<sup>119</sup> See Reut documents: "[The Trend of Inversion towards the Two State Solution](#)," "[Failure of the Political Process: The Danger of PA Dissolution](#)," and "[Dismantling the PA: An Emerging Trend](#)."

132. **The Resistance Network and the Delegitimization Network use the Palestinian issue as a pretext** – Their actions are not motivated by a desire to end Israeli control over the Palestinian population or to achieve peace, but to eventually escalate the conflict to advance Israel's elimination.
133. **Therefore, a Palestinian state, and even a formal end to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, would not end delegitimization.** If, despite the best efforts of the Resistance Network, a historic End of Conflict agreement is achieved, it would certainly weaken the delegitimization campaign, at least temporarily.<sup>120</sup> However, this network will coalesce around new issues to serve as their battle cry against Israel. **The most likely up-and-coming outstanding issue would be the status of Israel's Arab citizens in Israel.**

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<sup>120</sup> Shalom Lappin, [Therapist to the Jews: Psychologizing the 'Jewish Question,' Normblog](#) and Howard Jacobson, [Let's see criticism of Israel for what it really is, The Independent](#).