



**State of Israel**  
Ministry of Strategic Affairs  
and Public Diplomacy



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# Behind the Mask

The Antisemitic Nature of BDS Exposed

September 2019

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# FOREWORD

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# A 3D TEST FOR BDS

**The Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions movement employs the time-tested tools of antisemitism to seek the elimination of the Jewish State**

By Natan Sharansky



Although many who support the Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions (BDS) movement may do so out of a naive belief that it is working to achieve a solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the truth is that BDS has but one goal: the destruction of the State of Israel.

That goal however is masked cleverly behind the veneer of fighting for human rights and legitimate criticism of Israel.

Almost 20 years ago at the beginning of the 2000s, amid a global resurgence of antisemitic violence, in particular in Europe, while serving as the Minister for Diaspora Affairs, I came up with what I call the 3D test to distinguish between legitimate criticism of Israel and antisemitism.

The three Ds are demonization, delegitimization and double standards.

These are the three most important tools that antisemites employed against Jews throughout history.

For thousands of years, Jews were demonized, they were charged with blood libels, with poisoning wells, and, later, with controlling the global banking system.

There were periods in history when the Jewish faith was delegitimized and the Jewish claim to nationhood was denied.

Double standards were applied to Jews, either through the imposition of special laws – from the Middle Ages in Europe, to the Russian Empire and Nazi Germany – or through de facto government policy discriminating against Jews as in the Soviet Union.

Throughout history, demonization of Jewish people, delegitimization of their faith or nationhood, and double standards applied to Jews created fertile soil for pogroms, expulsions and genocide.

My 3D test shows that if we see the same tools of delegitimization, demonization and double standards that were used against Jews in the past being used today against the collective Jew, the Jewish State – we know we are witnessing a new face of the old antisemitism.

When caricatures against Israeli leaders repeat the worst antisemitic caricatures of Czarist Russia or Nazi Germany, and this time it is Israelis who are crucifying Palestinians or making ritual use of their blood, and when Palestinians are portrayed as living in Nazi death camps– that is demonization, that is the blood libel of today, that is antisemitism.

When the legitimacy of the Jewish State is denied and, in the language of the founders of BDS, there is no place for a Jewish state in the Middle East in any borders – that is delegitimization, that is antisemitism.

And when the Jewish State is singled out for criticism that not even the vilest dictatorship is subject to and it is held to standards that not even the most vibrant democracy is judged by – those are double standards, and that is antisemitism.

There is always place for criticism of Israel, as there is for criticism of any other free society. But it must not cross the line of antisemitism. When people talk about Israel, we have to identify whether these three elements of delegitimization, demonization and double standards apply and whether that criticism is tainted with antisemitism or not.

In the same way that when we watch a 3D movie without special 3D glasses, we cannot see the full picture, when we put on our 3D glasses everything becomes clear. This report, thanks to its thorough research, provides the reader, example after example, with 3D glasses through which they can see how the leaders of BDS have, from the very beginning, crossed the line from legitimate criticism to outright antisemitism.

Just as the antisemites of yesteryear sought to prepare the ground for the expulsion and murder of Jews, the leaders of the BDS movement seek to use the ancient tools of demonization, delegitimization and double standards to put in place the foundations for a world without Israel.

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**Just as the antisemites of yesteryear sought to prepare the ground for the expulsion and murder of Jews, the leaders of the BDS movement seek to use the ancient tools of demonization, delegitimization and double standards to put in place the foundations for a world without Israel**

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The movement seeks to bring the level of hatred against Israel today to the level of hatred against Jews in the past, to delegitimize the Jewish state to the point where it is seen by the world as a cancer that should be removed.

It is the same approach that created the atmosphere that led to the Holocaust.

From the outset, the idea behind BDS and the aim of its leaders has been the destruction of Israel. The movement's co-founder and leader Omar Barghouti has said so unequivocally: "Definitely, most definitely we oppose a Jewish state in any part of Palestine."

It is our job not just to expose the BDS leadership for what it is, but also to educate those who naively serve its purpose.

Those who want a better world shouldn't give a hand to those whose aim is to see a world without Israel. We have to think together how to improve the world, not help those who wish to rid the world of Jews.

*Natan Sharansky is a former Prisoner of Zion who spent nine years in Soviet jails. He was Israel's Minister for Diaspora Affairs and Deputy Prime Minister. He served as Chairman of the Jewish Agency for Israel and was recently named as Chair of The Institute for the Study of Global Antisemitism and Policy.*



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## **BDS Discrimination is Not Freedom of Speech**

**By Alan Dershowitz**



For years, I have been making the case against the notorious and discriminatory Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions (BDS) campaign. I did so out of my conviction that BDS violated core principles of human rights, harmed the prospects for a peaceful resolution to the Middle East conflict, and promoted antisemitism by singling out Israel for condemnation as the worst offender in the international community. I have claimed that it is essentially a 21st century version of the blood libel against the nation state of the Jewish people.

Three years ago, the international community came to an important consensus on defining antisemitism – in the form of the IHRA Working Definition. Since then, 15 countries and the EU have formally adopted the definition. The United States also uses the definition. The IHRA Working Definition does not curtail criticism of Israel. It does not silence anybody. What it does is to identify speech that may be antisemitic, just as racists and other forms of bigoted speech have been identified and condemned in the marketplace of ideas.

BDS is an antisemitic tactic directed only against Jewish citizens and supporters of Israel. Its purported protest is not against Israeli policies but a protest against Israel's very existence. It has nothing in common with a grassroots protest campaign, because it is led by a small number of extremely well-funded and closely coordinated organizations, who together decide on strategies and tactics – hiding behind a façade of promoting international law and human rights.

If one looks at the foundation documents of the BDS campaign, one will realize that it reeks of bigotry. First, it calls to end the so-called “colonization of all Arab lands,” denying the Jewish people any right to self-determination in their historic homeland. Second, calling for a return of all Palestinian refugees including descendants and other relatives to their “homes” and properties in reference to UN Resolution 194, would in fact mean, the end of the State of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state.

As shown in this report, many leaders of Palestinian organizations created under the guise of promoting human rights and for the purpose of strengthening the idea of an “active Palestinian civil-society” have disseminated and endorsed antisemitic rhetoric and motifs. The relentless delegitimization and demonization of



the Jewish State directly or indirectly contributes to the stigmatization against Jews as individuals.

I myself have been subject to several antisemitic caricatures published by supporters of the BDS campaign. Moreover, the founder of BDS refused an invitation from the Oxford Union to debate me, on the grounds that I – a non-Israeli Zionist – am subject to the boycott.

It never ends with words. Incitement and violent speech often lead to action. If antisemitism had only been confined throughout history to words and speech only, it would have been a problem of much smaller magnitude. History is proof that bigoted words lead to lethal actions.

As a professor of law and criminal defense attorney, I know how to protect myself from such bigots. However, intimidation and harassment of students who speak on behalf of Israel has become a commonplace on university campuses around the world. Much effort is needed to ensure that those who publicly take a stand in favor of the world's only Jewish state, are protected from violence, intimidation and denial of their right to free speech.

Prohibiting acts of discrimination against Israelis, Zionists and Jews does not infringe freedom of speech. Bigots have the right to advocate such discrimination just as they have the right to advocate discrimination against Blacks, Muslims, women, gays and other groups. But they do not have the right to practice or engage in such discrimination.

This year, the German Parliament took a significant decision with its resolution on antisemitism. Not only did the Bundestag refer to the special historic responsibility of Germany towards Israel but it also highlighted the antisemitic arguments and methods used by the BDS campaign. The Bundestag was absolutely right in its perception that calling for a boycott of Jewish businesses or artists remind us all of the most terrible phase of German history and inevitable kindle memories of the Nazi parole "Do not buy from Jews."

My experience has taught me that if governments take the fight against antisemitism seriously – as so many governments have said they do – they need to confront the BDS campaign, hold it accountable for violation of anti-discrimination laws and policies, and expose its antisemitic agenda.

As someone who has held sacred the right to freedom of expression and assembly all of my life, it is important to say: Discrimination based antisemitism is not an exercise of free speech. It is an offense. And it should concern every person of good will.

*Alan Dershowitz is Professor of Law Emeritus at Harvard Law School*

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Hiding behind the mask of advancing Palestinian human and civil rights, the Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions (BDS) movement, led by the Ramallah-based BDS National Committee, is engaged in an ongoing campaign of delegitimization against Israel, which includes the use of antisemitic rhetoric and images.

The BDS movement is a global campaign that aims to undermine the legitimacy of the State of Israel through a relentless attack on it within Western civic society. It is not engaged in legitimate criticism to promote political change or advance peace, rather its ultimate goal is to bring about the dissolution of the State of Israel. For its part, the State of Israel values and guarantees freedom of expression and assembly and is home to a diverse and robust political discourse.

This report is the product of a comprehensive review of open-source content of leading BDS activists and organizations that highlights their use of antisemitic tropes and motifs. The report was prepared by The Ministry of Strategic Affairs, which is responsible for coordinating the Government of Israel's response to delegitimization and the boycott campaign. The report is part of an ongoing effort by the Ministry to better understand and expose the strategy and methods of the BDS movement and the leading activists who run it. Earlier this year, the Ministry has revealed the deep links between designated terrorist organizations, in particular Hamas and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and key activists in BDS-promoting organizations.

This report documents some 80 examples in which leading BDS activists or organizations disseminated content that qualifies as antisemitic based on the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) Working Definition of Antisemitism. This internationally accepted definition was formulated and unanimously approved in 2016 and has since been formally adopted by 15 countries and the European Union. The examples cited in this report are divided into three main sections: expressions of classic antisemitism; Holocaust inversion; and denial of the Jewish people's right to self-determination – all forms of antisemitism under the IHRA Working Definition.

The report also cites statements by Western leaders and officials, noting the connection between the BDS movement and antisemitism and highlights the watershed resolution passed in the German parliament, branding the argumentation patterns and methods of the BDS movement as antisemitic.

The report's main findings point to the following relation between the BDS movement and antisemitic discourse:

- the relentless delegitimization and demonization of the State of Israel by the BDS movement invariably results in the stigmatizing of Jews worldwide and in Israel;
- some members of the BDS movement leadership spread content or make statements which are antisemitic, including key members of the BDS National Committee (BNC), that sets the worldwide agenda and tone of the boycott campaign against Israel;
- the argumentation patterns and methods of the BDS movement are antisemitic, such as denying the right of Jews to self-determination in their ancestral homeland and singling out the Jewish State for boycott.
- The BDS leadership's adamant and unequivocal denial of the Jewish people's right to self-determination in Israel, within any borders, is an expression of antisemitism. Omar Barghouti, BDS co-founder and leader, has repeatedly declared "definitely we oppose a Jewish state in any part of Palestine."

The report further shows how, under the guise of legitimate political criticism, the BDS movement has been able to use antisemitic tropes and motifs relating to Israel with impunity, and that, as a result, the West has become desensitized to antisemitic discourse when it appears in an anti-Israel context.

This report aims to show that, through its campaign to delegitimize Israel, which, as documented here, includes Israel-focused antisemitic rhetoric, the BDS movement is an important contributor to contemporary antisemitism. Furthermore, the extremist worldview of the BDS movement leadership trickles down to rank and file activists who adopt antisemitic discourse.

This, at a time when antisemitism, in all its forms, is rising dangerously, and when there is growing concern over evidence which shows that, if left unchecked over time, hate speech and stigmatization can be a catalyst to physical violence.

The following are examples of antisemitic content disseminated by leading BDS activists and organizations:

\*\*\* Waltham Forest Palestine Solidarity Campaign  
תמונה חדשה  
19 בדצמבר 2018



A Facebook post by a branch of the Palestine Solidarity Campaign, the leading BDS organization in the UK, showing, over the caption, "Sowing the Promised Land," a demonic skull-capped Jew sowing a field with grenades rather than seeds.



Salah Khawaja, a member of the secretariat of the BDS National Committee (BNC), posted on his Facebook page this image of Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, outsized, flanked by ultra-Orthodox Jews, wielding a bloody butcher's ax and wearing a bloody apron as he confronts stone-throwing Palestinians.

Sana's Abed Daoud added a new photo.  
June 7, 2010 ·



Sana Daoud, who served as national board member of American Muslims for Palestine (AMP), posted the image above on Facebook, depicting the erasing the Jewish people / Jewish state, symbolized by the Star of David.



This caricature, of a bearded Jew holding a bloody pitchfork and new keys to homes, standing on a 1948 war monument atop dead Palestinian children and scattered skulls, won second place and a cash prize in an illustration contest by the BDS-promoting organization, BADIL.

In view of the findings of the report, the State of Israel calls on governments and international and national institutions:

- to be vigilant for statements made by BDS organizations and activists that may be consistent with the IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism and to take appropriate action against them;
- to follow the lead of the German parliament, and to expose the connection between the BDS movement and antisemitism, underscoring that the delegitimization and demonization of the State of Israel invariably leads to stigmatization and increased antisemitism against Jews as individuals;
- to end funding to NGOs that promote BDS or that publish content that is antisemitic;
- to call on financial platforms not to provide services to BDS organizations that publish antisemitic content or that have links to terror;
- to demand that social media platforms remove antisemitic BDS content.

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## METHODOLOGY

The Ministry of Strategic Affairs has been tasked by the Government of Israel to coordinate the response to the ongoing delegitimization and the boycott campaign. Israel finds itself in an unprecedented situation in which a nation is experiencing an assault on its right to self-determination with the aim of bringing about – not changes in its policy – but an end to its existence.

In studying the rhetoric of the BDS movement, the Ministry found repeated instances of antisemitism in the BDS movement's discourse – accompanied by vigorous attempts of the BDS leadership to deny and decry any accusation of antisemitism.

As a result, the Ministry conducted a comprehensive review documenting some 80 examples where leading BDS activists or organizations disseminated content that qualifies as antisemitic based on the IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism.

The report is based on open source information in English, Spanish, and Arabic, online and in the media, reviewing interviews, comments, placards at demonstrations and posts and tweets on social media, most of them from the last few years. Emphasis in bold was added to the original text to highlight the most relevant phrases or sentences. All links in the footnote citations were accessed in August 2019.

This report is part of an ongoing effort by the Ministry to better understand and expose the strategy and methods of the BDS movement and its leaders. In a report published earlier this year, the Ministry revealed the deep links between designated terrorist organizations, in particular Hamas and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and key activists in organizations promoting BDS. The report also points out their attempts to disguise these connections.

The examples cited in this report are divided into three main sections: expressions of classic antisemitism; Holocaust inversion; and denial of the Jewish people's right to self-determination – all forms of antisemitism under the IHRA Working Definition. When an individual or organization is mentioned in the report, a short description of their role in the BDS movement is included; more details about many of the organizations and individuals cited in this report can be found in the Ministry's earlier report, "Terrorists in Suits."<sup>1</sup>

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1 "Terrorists in Suits" report by the Ministry of Strategic Affairs, Feb. 2019, <https://bit.ly/2HsQDWe>

This report does not aim to describe the phenomenon or assess the full scope of antisemitism today. It does not weigh into the important theoretical debate on the overlap between anti-Zionism and antisemitism or analyze the phenomenon by which the antipathy toward the "Jew" has been replaced by antipathy toward the "Jewish State," providing fertile ground for the expansion of the BDS movement in the West.<sup>2</sup> Further, this report does not insinuate that anyone who supports the BDS movement (or a boycott of Israel) is antisemitic. Likewise, a boycott which does not single out a specific country or is not intended to undermine a nation's legitimacy and bring about its eventual dissolution is not, in and of itself, antisemitic.

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**Israel finds itself in an unprecedented situation in which a nation is experiencing an assault on its right to self-determination with the aim of bringing about – not changes in its policy – but an end to its existence**

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Yet it is equally essential to point out the causality between the BDS movement and antisemitism: The BDS movement's relentless attacks and attempts to stigmatize and delegitimize the State of Israel, Zionism (the movement for Jewish self-determination which brought about the state) and those Jews and non-Jews who support it, invariably contribute to the overall global surge in antisemitism and to the current climate in which Jews around the world feel increasingly at risk.

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<sup>2</sup> See Robert Wistrich's *A Lethal Obsession*, pp. 929-938 and pp. 494-514 and *Anti-Judaism, Antisemitism, and Delegitimizing Israel*.



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# INTRODUCTION

## BDS and the Mainstreaming of Israel-Focused Antisemitism

The delegitimization campaign against Israel and the Zionist movement dates back to before the inception of the Jewish State. With the failure of Arab armies to eradicate the nascent Jewish State by military force in 1948 and in subsequent attempts thereafter, Arab states tried to undermine the State of Israel by other means. Most prominent among these efforts was a full economic boycott of Israel in which Arab countries not only boycotted Israeli goods but boycotted any company doing business with Israel.

Another effort to undermine the Jewish State was a relentless delegitimization campaign, replete with explicit antisemitism. For decades – and to the present day – the Israeli state, Israeli leaders and Israelis have been portrayed in Arab media and public discourse generally, including now on social media, in blatantly antisemitic terms. Caricatures of the Jewish State, its leaders and its military are comparable with the most virulent antisemitic tropes of all time, including those of the Nazi regime. Unrestrained over decades, this state-sponsored antisemitic rhetoric and delegitimization campaign, propagated through Arab media and civil society, succeeded in substantially deepening animosity within the Arab world toward both the Jewish State and Jews more generally.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, and unsurprisingly, the highest levels of antisemitism today are to be found in the Arab world.<sup>4</sup>

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**Classic antisemitic tropes and motifs once directed at “the Jew” are now directed at “the Jew among the nations,” the State of Israel**

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Following the UN Durban Conference in 2001, a new strain of delegitimization against Israel emerged, drawing a false and insidious parallel between Israel and the Apartheid regime in South Africa. The BDS movement was formally founded in 2005 by the Boycott Divestment, Sanctions National Committee (BNC), based in Ramallah, incorporating within it the Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (PACBI) which had been launched a year earlier following several academic boycott efforts, mainly at UK universities, giving Palestinian validation and legitimacy to such efforts.

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3 “Reclamation” by Joseph Braude, <https://bit.ly/2zq6rYm>, pp.3-32.

4 See ADL Global 100: An Index of Antisemitism <https://bit.ly/2MBDaQ1>

Thus, the BDS National Committee (BNC) began its vigorous, coordinated international campaign to delegitimize and boycott Israel – economically, culturally and academically.<sup>5</sup>

The BDS National Committee is made up of a coalition of 28 Palestinian organizations; the first listed constituent of this coalition is the Council of National and Islamic Forces in Palestine,<sup>6</sup> also known as the Palestinian National and Islamic Forces (PNIF), which includes US and European Union-designated terrorist organizations, Hamas, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Islamic Jihad.<sup>7</sup> (See Appendix C.)

BDS co-founder and leader, Omar Barghouti, is adamant in the denial of the Jewish people's right to self-determination in Israel, within any borders, with a vehemence similar to the terrorist organizations which are part of the BDS National Committee coalition umbrella:

"Definitely, most definitely we oppose a Jewish state in any part of Palestine."<sup>8</sup> Barghouti recently repeated this statement in a July 2019 *New York Times* interview: "Asked if that means Jews cannot have their own state, he said, 'Not in Palestine'."<sup>9</sup> It can be argued that this adamancy in rejecting the Jewish right to self-determination in any part of Israel, a position shared by all leaders of the BDS movement, makes the movement a priori antisemitic.<sup>10</sup>

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**The BDS movement's relentless attacks on the State of Israel invariably contribute to the overall global surge in antisemitism**

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Barghouti and the BDS National Committee set the overall strategy and discourse relating to both the boycott and the delegitimization of Israel worldwide, leading a loose-knit network of BDS organizations around the world to advance the boycott of Israel.

Under the guise of advancing Palestinian human and civil rights, the BDS National Committee orchestrates an ongoing delegitimization campaign, harnessing civil society against the Jewish State. The BDS movement found fertile ground in the anti-Zionist sentiment that long existed in certain parts of academia, among progressive social justice groups, and among international organizations and multinational institutions.<sup>11</sup> Already in 2002, Harvard University President Lawrence

5 BDS movement official website <https://bit.ly/2b07lw3> and <https://bit.ly/2Nzilo7>

6 BDS movement official website <https://bit.ly/2a5UIzG>

7 See "Terrorists in Suits" p. 16, <https://bit.ly/2HsQDWe>

8 Dag Hammarskjöld Society, Vimeo, <https://bit.ly/2zrvxDf>. According to the IHRA Working Definition "denying the Jewish people the right to self-determination, e.g., by claiming that the existence of the State of Israel is a racist endeavor" is an example of antisemitism.

9 New York Times, July 19, 2019 <https://nyti.ms/32WFIgH>

10 According to senior Holocaust historian Prof. Yehuda Bauer, the BDS basic demands, including the right of return for all Palestinians "is a clear case of antisemitism. Moreover, this is an antisemitism which strives for the genocide of the Jewish people." <https://bit.ly/2zqpYVr> (translated from Hebrew)

11 See Robert Wistrich, *A Lethal Obsession*, pp. 408-418, 465-493.

Summers noted: “profoundly anti-Israel views are increasingly finding support in progressive intellectual communities. Serious and thoughtful people are advocating and taking actions that are antisemitic in their effect if not their intent.”<sup>12</sup>

Classic antisemitic tropes and motifs once directed at “the Jew” are now directed at “the Jew among the nations,” the State of Israel.<sup>13</sup> And just as classic antisemitism led to persecution, pogroms and eventually the annihilation of Jews, contemporary Israel-focused antisemitism, were it to achieve its ultimate goal, would culminate in the dissolution of the Jewish State. However, because Israel-focused antisemitic rhetoric is directed against a country, it provides the guise of would-be legitimate political criticism. Thus, contemporary Israel-focused antisemitism has developed immunity from the condemnation reserved for classic antisemitism, and has evaded responsibility for the harmful effect it has on Jews around the world and in Israel.<sup>14</sup>

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**It can be argued that rejecting the Jewish right to self-determination in any part of Israel, a position shared by all leaders of the BDS movement, makes the movement a priori antisemitic**

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The BDS movement leadership argues that those calling them out are trying to muffle their criticism of Israel and to limit their right to free speech and, at the same time, vocally denies any allegations of antisemitism, insisting it repudiates all forms of hate, including antisemitism.<sup>15</sup> No matter how typically antisemitic its portrayal of the Jewish State and its leaders, the BDS movement insists it is within the spectrum of legitimate political criticism and free speech. Though it disavows physical violence, the BDS regularly engages in violent rhetoric, incitement and verbal harassment.

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- 12 Harvard University President Lawrence Summers <https://bit.ly/2ktaZGy>  
“The Nazi-Zionist parallel has also been encouraged by seemingly respectable academics, journalists and Middle East experts... the respectability given by the academia and the media to such irresponsible comparisons has made it easier to legitimize them. Such vile propaganda has become self-reinforcing through the sheer power of repetition, greatly magnified by the Internet.” *A Lethal Obsession*, p. 934.
- 13 Or, as Abba Eban put it: “Classical antisemitism denies the rights of Jews as citizens within society. Anti-Zionism denies the equal rights of the Jewish people to its lawful sovereignty within the community of nations ... all that has happened is that the discriminatory principle has been transferred from the realm of individual rights to the domain of collective identity.” Op-ed by Abba Eban “Zionism and the UN” in the *New York Times*, Nov. 3, 1975  
Also see Robert Wistrich’s writings. Particularly succinct here, <https://bit.ly/2PjaDAQ>
- 14 This is the logic of the Bundestag resolution, quoted above, which states that: “comprehensive call for boycott leads, in its radicalism, to a stigmatization of Israeli citizens and citizens of Jewish faith as a whole.” See also *The Anti-Israeli Boycott as Discrimination against Jewish Groups and Israeli Persons* by Talia Naamat: “The calls for broad-spectrum bans of Israeli products, academic institutions and persons, adversely affect, and create a hostile environment for the Jewish individuals and communities living in that country.” <https://bit.ly/2KY1auQ> p. 7.
- 15 See for example <https://bit.ly/2bVYyuW>. Yet at the same time, the BDS leadership is unwilling to accept the IHRA definition or the fact that there is such a thing as antisemitism relative to the Jewish State. In other words, from the BDS movement perspective, Jews as practitioners of a religion are legitimate and entitled to full protections; Jews as a people, with a historical homeland and a right to self-determination, are illegitimate. Thus, the anti-Zionist Jew is the good Jew and the Zionist Jew can be subject to stigmatization, harassment and antisemitism on the basis of his “political views.”

Its effects can, for example, be seen on U.S. campuses, where, according to a Brandeis University study, one of the strongest predictors of perceiving a hostile climate toward Israel and Jews is the presence of an active Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) branch, the lead BDS organization on campus;<sup>16</sup> and where, according to an AMCHA Initiative study, the likelihood of anti-Jewish hostility increases significantly on campuses where faculty sponsor pro-BDS campus events.<sup>17</sup> The U.S. House of Representatives, in a bipartisan resolution opposing BDS, noted that the BDS movement “leads to the intimidation and harassment of Jewish students and others who support Israel” on American campuses.<sup>18</sup> In Canada, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau noted the link between BDS and Jewish students feeling “unsafe on campus because of their religion.”<sup>19</sup> And in Europe, Jewish university students are known to be particularly susceptible to antisemitic harassment from their fellow students, often expressed in the form of anti-Israel discourse, according to an analysis of the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights’ recent survey on antisemitism.<sup>20</sup>

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**Contemporary Israel-focused antisemitism has developed immunity from the condemnation reserved for classic antisemitism, and has evaded responsibility for the harmful effect it has on Jews around the world and in Israel**

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The sequence of caricatures below illustrate how the gamut of classic antisemitic tropes and motifs flow seamlessly over time – from the classic European antisemitism, to Nazi Germany, to the Arab world – and finally to present-day Israel-focused antisemitism in Western media and social outlets. As the late antisemitism scholar Robert Wistrich noted: “The Jew-hatred of yesteryear has not only mutated but is actively fueling the Middle East conflict and re-exporting its poisonous fruits to Europe and beyond.”<sup>21</sup>

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16 Brandeis University, Hotspots of Antisemitism on U.S. Campuses, <https://bit.ly/2ZlqwLE>

17 AMCHA Initiative, The Impact of Academic Boycotters of Israel on U.S. Campuses, <https://bit.ly/2yGNHNS>

18 US Congress H.Res.246 - Opposing efforts to delegitimize the State of Israel and the Global Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions Movement targeting Israel, <https://bit.ly/2JNhTQW>

19 Town hall at Brock University, January 15, 2019 <https://bit.ly/2LaAgyx>

20 European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, <https://bit.ly/2XwZlrf> p. 26

21 Wistrich, A Lethal Obsession, p. 938

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## ANTISEMITIC MOTIFS FROM CLASSIC EUROPEAN ANTISEMITISM TO THE DEMONIZATION OF ISRAEL IN THE WEST TODAY

The series of caricatures below illustrate how various antisemitic motifs were used in Europe and in the Nazi era; and, more recently, as part of the demonization and delegitimization campaign against Israel – in the Arab press and in the West by BDS supporters.

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### ANTISEMITIC MOTIF: JEWS AS CHRIST KILLERS

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Peter Lombard,  
Commentary on the  
Psalms, 1166 CE



Der Stürmer, "Jüdischer  
Racheschrei," 1939



Al Hayat Al Jadida,  
Via Palestinian Media  
Watch, 2000



Mohammad Sabaaneh,  
Electronic Intifada, 2015

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### ANTISEMITIC MOTIF: JEWS AS DEVIL/ANTI-CHRIST

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Exchequer Receipt Roll,  
England, 1233



Der Stürmer, "Wirtschaft  
und Judentum," 1937



Al-Watan, 2002



BDS activist Carlos  
Latuff, Boykot-Israil.org  
and Artintifada, 2002



## ANTISEMITIC MOTIF: JEWS AS OCTOPUSES



Der Stürmer, 1935- 1943,  
by Josef Plank

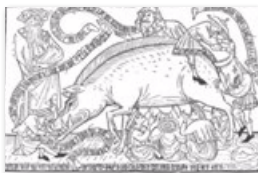


Al-Raya, 2017,  
by Umayya Juha



BDS activist Carlos Latuff 2010

## ANTISEMITIC MOTIF: JEWS AS PIGS



Woodcut, "Die Judensau,"  
"The Jewish pig," 15th  
century



Sandstone relief  
Stadtkirche Wittenberg,  
"Judensau," ca. 1440



Al-Watan, Moving the  
American Embassy to  
Jerusalem," 2018



BDS activist Roger  
Waters, The Wall Live  
Tour, 2013, pig balloon  
with the Star of David,  
Jerusalem Post

## ANTISEMITIC MOTIF: JEWS AS NAZIS



Vecherniaia Moskava,  
"Idols and their Fans,"  
1972. From The Israeli-  
Arab Conflict in Soviet  
Caricatures, 1967-1973  
by Yeshayahu Nir,  
Tcherikover Publishers,  
1976



Popular Front for the  
Liberation of Palestine  
terrorist organization:  
"Zionism and Nazism:  
Two Sides of the Same  
Coin," 1980; Liberation  
Graphics



Posted by Luton branch of the Palestine Solidarity  
Campaign, Facebook, 2014

This process of adopting blatantly antisemitic motifs to characterize the State of Israel should leave little room for arguing that this type of criticism is anything other than antisemitic.

The BDS movement helped make antisemitic rhetoric focused on Israel acceptable, and thus succeeded in desensitizing the West to antisemitism when it appears in an anti-Israel context.

This process of desensitization to antisemitism in the Israel context saw its low point to date in the April 2019 publication of what the *New York Times* itself declared to be an antisemitic cartoon in its international edition.



New York Times, April 25 2019, by Antonio Moreira Antunus

The *New York Times* editorial board wrote of the danger inherent in the phenomenon:

The appearance of **such an obviously bigoted cartoon in a mainstream publication is evidence of a profound danger – not only of antisemitism but of numbness to its creep**, to the insidious way this ancient, enduring prejudice is once again working itself into public view and common conversation...

**[A]nti-Zionism can clearly serve as a cover for antisemitism – and some criticism of Israel, as the cartoon demonstrated, is couched openly in antisemitic terms.**<sup>22</sup>

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22 The New York Times, April 30, 2019, <https://nyti.ms/2GUCIII> emphasis added



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# CHAPTER 1

Growing International Consensus  
on BDS and Antisemitism

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On May 17, 2019, the German parliament passed a precedent-setting resolution stating that the “argumentation patterns and methods of the BDS Movement are antisemitic.”

On July 23, 2019, the U.S. House of Representatives passed a bipartisan resolution stating that the BDS movement targeting Israel is “about undermining the very legitimacy of the country and its people.”

## Defining Antisemitism

Today, the internationally accepted definition of antisemitism is the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) Working Definition of Antisemitism. The Working Definition has its roots in the Second OSCE (Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe) Conference on Antisemitism, held in Berlin in 2004, and in an EU report from the same year titled, *Manifestations of Antisemitism*, which explored the question of whether anti-Israel or anti-Zionist attitudes constitute antisemitism; the overlap between anti-Zionism and antisemitism was described in the report as a "crucial question."<sup>23</sup>

The report culminated in the January 2005 publication of a non-binding working draft definition of antisemitism by the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia, and known as the EUMC definition. This definition also includes several examples of antisemitism in relation to Israel that were incorporated in the IHRA Working Definition.<sup>24</sup>

In the United States, the State Department formulated its definition of antisemitism in 2010 based on the EUMC definition, including a specific section entitled, "What is Antisemitism Relative to Israel."<sup>25</sup>

A decade later, working off of the EUMC definition, IHRA's Committee on Antisemitism and Holocaust Denial came to an international consensus around a non-legally binding working definition of antisemitism, which was adopted in May 26, 2016 by representatives of all 31 member countries. The motivation for coming to an agreed-upon definition was based on the premise that "in order to begin to address the problem of antisemitism, there must be clarity about what antisemitism is."<sup>26</sup>

Like the EUMC definition which preceded it, the IHRA definition takes into account both old, "classic" forms of antisemitism and new, "contemporary" antisemitism directed at the Jewish State. This recognition is anchored in the notion that manifestations of antisemitism can also include the targeting of the State of Israel, conceived as "a Jewish collectivity."<sup>27</sup>

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23 EUMC, *Manifestations of Antisemitism in the EU 2002-2003*, <http://bit.ly/30MOMTX> published April 2004

24 EUMC Definition of Antisemitism <https://bit.ly/2U5Re58> Among them, the EUMC includes the following as manifestations of antisemitism  
 "Drawing visible comparisons between policies held by the state of Israel to those of Nazis.  
 Placing responsibilities of actions done by the state of Israel directly or indirectly on the Jews as a whole.  
 Application of extreme and more than average measure to the state of Israel in relative comparison with other nations with the same status."

25 U.S. Department of State, <https://bit.ly/2hEUFOo>.

26 IHRA, <https://bit.ly/2ArCQfi>

27 Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, <https://bit.ly/2ZtWccU>



## The IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism

In the spirit of the Stockholm Declaration that states: “With humanity still scarred by ...antisemitism and xenophobia the international community shares a solemn responsibility to fight those evils” the committee on Antisemitism and Holocaust Denial called the IHRA Plenary in Budapest 2015 to adopt the following working definition of antisemitism.

On 26 May 2016, the Plenary in Bucharest decided to: **Adopt the following non-legally binding working definition of antisemitism:**

**“Antisemitism is a certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred toward Jews. Rhetorical and physical manifestations of antisemitism are directed toward Jewish or non-Jewish individuals and/or their property, toward Jewish community institutions and religious facilities.”**

To guide IHRA in its work, the following examples may serve as illustrations: Manifestations might include the targeting of the State of Israel, conceived as a Jewish collectivity. However, criticism of Israel similar to that leveled against any other country cannot be regarded as antisemitic.

Antisemitism frequently charges Jews with conspiring to harm humanity, and it is often used to blame Jews for “why things go wrong.” It is expressed in speech, writing, visual forms and action, and employs sinister stereotypes and negative character traits.

Contemporary examples of antisemitism in public life, the media, schools, the workplace, and in the religious sphere could, taking into account the overall context, include, but are not limited to:

- Calling for, aiding, or justifying the killing or harming of Jews in the name of a radical ideology or an extremist view of religion.
- Making mendacious, dehumanizing, demonizing, or stereotypical allegations about Jews as such or the power of Jews as collective — such as, especially but not exclusively, the myth about a world Jewish conspiracy or of Jews controlling the media, economy, government or other societal institutions.
- Accusing Jews as a people of being responsible for real or imagined wrongdoing committed by a single Jewish person or group, or even for acts committed by non-Jews.
- Denying the fact, scope, mechanisms (e.g. gas chambers) or intentionality of the genocide of the Jewish people at the hands of National Socialist Germany and its supporters and accomplices during World War II (the Holocaust).

- Accusing the Jews as a people, or Israel as a state, of inventing or exaggerating the Holocaust.
- Accusing Jewish citizens of being more loyal to Israel, or to the alleged priorities of Jews worldwide, than to the interests of their own nations.
- Denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination, e.g., by claiming that the existence of a State of Israel is a racist endeavor.
- Applying double standards by requiring of it a behavior not expected or demanded of any other democratic nation.
- Using the symbols and images associated with classic antisemitism (e.g., claims of Jews killing Jesus or blood libel) to characterize Israel or Israelis.
- Drawing comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis.
- Holding Jews collectively responsible for actions of the state of Israel.

**Antisemitic acts are criminal** when they are so defined by law (for example, denial of the Holocaust or distribution of antisemitic materials in some countries).

**Criminal acts are antisemitic** when the targets of attacks, whether they are people or property – such as buildings, schools, places of worship and cemeteries – are selected because they are, or are perceived to be, Jewish or linked to Jews.

**Antisemitic discrimination** is the denial to Jews of opportunities or services available to others and is illegal in many countries.

The rapid adoption of IHRA's Working Definition marks the growing consensus around the definition, and an acknowledgement that antisemitism exists in both its classic and contemporary, i.e. anti-Israel, forms. In addition, the Working Definition has been adopted by municipalities, national student unions, universities and political parties.

The countries which have adopted the IHRA working definition are:

1. The United Kingdom (December 2016);
2. Israel (January 2017);
3. Austria (April 2017);
4. Romania (May 2017);
5. Germany (September 2017);
6. Bulgaria (October 2017);
7. Belgium (December 2018);

8. Lithuania (January 2018);
9. Republic of North Macedonia (March 2018);
10. Slovakia (November 2018);
11. Republic of Moldova (January 2019);
12. Czech Republic (January 2019);
13. Hungary (February 2019);
14. France (February 2019);
15. Canada (June 2019).<sup>28</sup>

In June 2017, the European Union adopted the Working Definition, calling on its "Member States and the Union institutions and agencies to adopt and apply the working definition" and to appoint a Commissioner tasked with combating antisemitism.<sup>29</sup>

UN Secretary-General António Guterres noted the important efforts of countries to work jointly through IHRA "on a common definition of antisemitism. Such a definition can serve as a basis for law enforcement, as well as preventive policies," he said.<sup>30</sup> The United Nations Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Religion or Belief is preparing a report on antisemitism that will be delivered to the UN General Assembly in the autumn of 2019.<sup>31</sup>

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In August 2019, the US State Department confirmed that the U.S. now uses the IHRA Working Definition and "has encouraged other governments and international organizations to use it as well."<sup>32</sup>

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28 IHRA, <https://bit.ly/2IDrDn4>

29 IHRA Working Definition was adopted by the European Parliament by Resolution 2017/2692 of 1 June 2017. European Commission Combatting Antisemitism, Definition of antisemitism

30 United Nations, <https://bit.ly/2ZijVx5>

31 OHCHR, <https://bit.ly/2TVRwho>

32 U.S. Department of State, <https://bit.ly/31oEVTW>

## Germany's Actions Against the BDS

On May 17, 2019, the German parliament passed a precedent-setting resolution stating that the "argumentation patterns and methods of the BDS-Movement are antisemitic". The resolution urged Germany's Federal government as well as German states and municipalities not to support any event or project of the BDS movement or groups which actively supports its goal; it instructed institutions under parliamentary jurisdiction not to financially support any organization which "question Israel's right to exist."

The resolution points to the fact that the constant delegitimization of Israel by way of constant call for boycott have the effect of **"a stigmatization of Israeli citizens and citizens of Jewish faith as a whole. This is unacceptable and must be most strongly condemned."**<sup>33</sup> In other words, as mentioned earlier, it recognizes that the effect of continual attack on the Jewish State inevitably leads to a denigration of Jews as individuals. The resolution continues:

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**The calls of the campaign to boycott Israeli artists as well as "Don't buy" stickers on Israeli goods remind us of the most terrible phase of German history**

**Bundestag Resolution, May 2019**

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The calls of the campaign to boycott Israeli artists as well as "Don't buy" stickers on Israeli goods, which shall discourage from the purchase, remind us of the most terrible phase of German history. "Don't buy"-stickers of the BDS-movement on Israeli products inevitably kindle memories of the Nazi (NS) parole *"Kauft nicht bei Juden!"* (Don't buy from Jews).<sup>34</sup>

All the centrist parties in the German Bundestag, including Chancellor Angela Merkel's Christian Democratic Union (CDU) the Christian Social Union (CSU), the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD), the Free Democratic Party (FDP) and The Greens voted for the resolution, which passed with overwhelming support.<sup>35</sup> (See Appendix B for the entire text of the Resolution.)

Foreign leaders came out in support of the German parliamentary resolution, among them UK Foreign Secretary Jeremy Hunt who tweeted, "Boycotting Israel – the world's only Jewish state – is antisemitic. I salute Germany for taking a stand."<sup>36</sup>

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33 Bundestag Resolution 19/10191, <https://bit.ly/2ZkA4qc>; the full German original text <https://bit.ly/2NzI4Ni> unofficial translation to English <https://bit.ly/2Laat9J>

34 ibid

35 Deutsche Welle, <https://bit.ly/341vA6N>

36 Jeremy Hunt, Twitter, <https://bit.ly/2ZhoP1X>



A year earlier, in January 2018, the German parliament passed a resolution condemning antisemitism and any undermining of Jewish life in Germany. The resolution called on the German government "to confront the global BDS movement with determination."<sup>37</sup> The resolution also created the position of a Federal Government Commissioner for Jewish Life in Germany and the Fight Against Antisemitism. The Commissioner, Dr. Felix Klein, was blunt in his assessment of the BDS movement: "The BDS movement is antisemitic in its methods and goals. The activists are trying to isolate Israel and to defame it as an alleged apartheid state. The Jewish state is thereby to be delegitimized step by step."<sup>38</sup>

Germany has also been active against the BDS movement on the local level on the grounds of antisemitism. The cities of Berlin, Munich and Frankfurt each passed resolutions forbidding support or cooperation of their municipalities with the BDS movement, including funding of BDS organizations or the hosting of BDS events on city-owned property. Baden-Württemberg, Germany's third largest state, also condemned BDS, and its security service concluded in a report that it viewed the boycott effort against Israel as "a new form of antisemitism."<sup>39</sup>

## Statements by World Leaders on BDS and Antisemitism

In France, President Emmanuel Macron declared: "Anti-Zionism is one of the modern forms of antisemitism. Behind the negation of Israel's existence, what is hiding is the hatred of Jews."<sup>40</sup> Regarding the BDS Movement, French Economy and Finance Minister Bruno Le Maire said: "Clearly there are political intentions behind the boycott movement. The antisemitism which is on the rise recently also in France takes a form of anti-Zionism, and the people who seek the weakening and disappearance of the State of Israel want the same for the Jews of France. Anti-Zionism is a new form of antisemitism."<sup>41</sup>

UK Prime Minister Boris Johnson agreed about the link between BDS and antisemitism, stating in a July 2019 interview: "I think it often stems from that syndrome [antisemitism], definitely."<sup>42</sup>

His predecessor, Prime Minister Theresa May likewise decried the BDS movement: "I couldn't be clearer: the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions movement is wrong; it is unacceptable, and this party and this government will have no truck with those who subscribe to it."<sup>43</sup> She also acknowledged that rabid anti-Israel positions and delegitimization often translate into hatred toward Jews: "If we are to

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37 Bundestag Resolution, January 2018, <https://bit.ly/2JgfaQw>

38 Judische Allgemeine, <https://bit.ly/2Huog19>, published March 15, 2019

39 Baden-Württemberg Office for the Protection of the Constitution report <https://bit.ly/2WphKaF>

40 The Telegraph, <https://bit.ly/2Ztm5hm>, published February 21, 2019

41 European Leadership Network, <https://bit.ly/2ZmqW4E>

42 Jewish News, <https://bit.ly/2ZtfAb>

43 Theresa May's speech to the Conservative Friends of Israel, December 14, 2016. <https://bit.ly/2UdvOmU>



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"Antisemitism has also manifested itself not just in the targeting of individuals but... against the State of Israel... So, yes, I will continue to condemn the BDS movement."

**Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau**

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stand up for the values that we share - then one of the things we need to do is give young Jewish people the confidence to be proud of their identity - as British, Jewish and Zionist too... Criticizing the government of Israel is never – and can never be – an excuse for hatred against the Jewish people.”<sup>44</sup>

Canada's Prime Minister Justin Trudeau indicated that the BDS movement increased insecurity among Jews:

Antisemitism has also manifested itself not just in the targeting of individuals but it is also targeting – a new antisemitism – against the State of Israel... We have to recognize that there are things that aren't acceptable, not because of foreign policy concerns but because of Canadian values. It's not right to discriminate or to make someone feel unsafe on campus because of their religion, and unfortunately the BDS movement is often linked to those kinds of frames. So, yes, I will continue to condemn the BDS movement.<sup>45</sup>

Finally, US President Donald Trump's Special Envoy to Monitor and Combat Antisemitism, Elan Carr, characterized the BDS movement as "dedicated to strangling the Jewish state out of existence." Any movement which aims to deny Israel's legitimacy is antisemitic, he said adding that, "hatred of the Jewish state is hatred of the Jewish people.”<sup>46</sup>

## The United States Congress Condemns BDS

In the United States Congress, action was taken against the BDS movement in both the House and the Senate. In January 2019, the Senate passed a bill in support of legislation in 27 U.S. states, which, in most cases, prohibit the state from doing business with companies engaged in a boycott of Israel.

On July 23, 2019, the U.S. House of Representatives overwhelmingly passed (with 398 in favor, 17 opposed) a bipartisan Resolution, "Opposing efforts to delegitimize the State of Israel and the Global Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions Movement targeting Israel." The resolution notes that the BDS movement "does not recognize, and many of its supporters explicitly deny, the right of the Jewish

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**In contrast to protest movements that have sought racial justice and social change, the Global Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions Movement targeting Israel is not about promoting coexistence, civil rights, and political reconciliation but about questioning and undermining the very legitimacy of the country and its people**

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- US House of Representatives, July 2019

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44 BBC News, <https://bbc.in/2KYUc8T>, published December 17, 2018

45 Town hall at Brock University, January 15 2019 <https://bit.ly/2LaAgyx>

46 The Washington Post, <https://bit.ly/2Pehony>

people to national self-determination." On campuses it "leads to the intimidation and harassment of Jewish students and others who support Israel." And generally, "promotes principles of collective guilt, mass punishment, and group isolation, which are destructive of prospects for progress towards peace."<sup>47</sup>

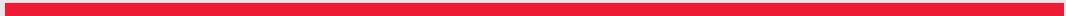
Finally, and importantly, the resolution points out the difference between BDS and other movements that have sought justice and social change:

in contrast to protest movements that have sought racial justice and social change, the Global Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions Movement targeting Israel is not about promoting coexistence, civil rights, and political reconciliation but about questioning and undermining the very legitimacy of the country and its people.<sup>48</sup>

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47 H.Res.246 - Opposing efforts to delegitimize the State of Israel and the Global Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions Movement targeting Israel, <https://bit.ly/2JNhTQW>

48 *ibid*



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# CHAPTER 2

## The BDS Movement and Classic Antisemitism

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The BDS movement uses the basest classic antisemitic motifs to characterize actions of the Jewish State and its citizens: **the blood libel** – where Jews were accused of murdering Christian children and using their blood for religious rituals; Jewish responsibility for the crucifixion of Jesus; and Jews poisoning water wells



## Introduction

This chapter is dedicated to examples in which BDS activists and organizations use classic antisemitic motifs to describe Israel, its leaders, citizens, and the Jewish people.

The BDS movement draws on the most sinister of antisemitic tropes, including the blood libel, in which Jews were accused of murdering Christian children and using their blood for religious rituals; the poisoning of water sources, based on the accusation that Jews in the Middle Ages poisoned water wells bringing about the Black Plague; and Jews being responsible for the crucifixion of Jesus.

The abundant examples researched and presented in this chapter are clustered in five groups.

The first set of examples is of instances where BDS has drawn on the above classic antisemitic tropes to portray Israelis as bloodthirsty, as poisoning Palestinian water sources and as crucifying the Palestinians.

Another set of examples portray Israelis using the antisemitic trope of Jews as Satanic, demonic or evil.

The third set of examples relate to dual loyalty of Jews – where Jews are accused of being more loyal to fellow Jews or to Israel than to their home countries.

The fourth set of examples draw on classic menacing or derogatory imagery of Jews – such as the pig, spider, cockroach and octopus, brought to prominence in the Protocols of the Elders of Zion.

The final set of examples relate to the antisemitic trope of a Jewish conspiracy advanced by a sinister Jewish/Israel lobby.

The examples in this chapter are consistent with the following examples in the IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism:

- Using the symbols and images associated with classic antisemitism (e.g., claims of Jews killing Jesus or blood libel) to characterize Israel or Israelis.
- Making mendacious, dehumanizing, demonizing, or stereotypical allegations about Jews or the power of Jews as a collective – such as, especially, but not exclusively, the myth about a world Jewish conspiracy, or of Jews controlling the media, economy, government or other societal institutions.
- Accusing Jewish citizens of being more loyal to Israel, or to the alleged priorities of Jews worldwide, than to the interests of their own nations.

## Propagating Classic Antisemitic Blood Libel

The **BDS National Committee (BNC)** based in Ramallah, serves as the headquarters and mastermind of the international BDS movement, setting the agenda, campaigns and the overall tone of the discourse worldwide relating to the boycott and the delegitimization of Israel. The BNC has a strong online presence, under the umbrella website [bdsmovement.net](http://bdsmovement.net), as well as representatives in key countries worldwide, thus creating a unified strategy and messaging for an otherwise loosely-knit network of organizations that promote BDS globally. (See Appendix C)

BNC leaders have also engaged in antisemitism.



**Salah Khawaja**, is a member of the BNC secretariat, and a former Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine terror organization operative who serves as a member of the Palestine National and Islamic Forces leadership, a leading member of the BDS National Committee. Since 1983, Khawaja has been arrested on seven occasions due to his involvement in terrorist activities. His last incarceration was in 2016, when he was sentenced to one year in prison for contacts with a hostile entity.<sup>49</sup>

In the Facebook post below, Khawaja used classic antisemitic imagery of the Jewish blood libel to portray Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, flanked by ultra-Orthodox Jews (in this case political leaders), wielding a bloody butcher's ax and wearing a bloody apron, in a confrontation with Palestinian stone throwers.<sup>50</sup>



(Salah Khawaja, Facebook, November 29, 2013)

49 See "Terrorists in Suits" <https://bit.ly/2HsQDWe>, p. 17

50 Salah Khawaja, Facebook, <https://bit.ly/2KXIA5L> ; Artist: David Dees

**Electronic Intifada (EI)**, founded in 2001 by Ali Abunimah, who still serves as the website's editor,<sup>51</sup> is an alternative news website that claims to be an "educational resource" that focuses on "Palestine, its people, politics, culture and place in the world."<sup>52</sup>

In fact, Electronic Intifada serves as a platform for some of the foremost figures in the BDS campaign, and the BNC itself publishes articles on EI.<sup>53</sup> These articles are often republished on a variety of platforms including BDSmovement.net, the primary resource center and organizing platform for the BDS movement worldwide.<sup>54</sup>

In a tweet from 2019, Ali Abunimah **accuses Israel of poisoning the Palestinians' water supply**,<sup>55</sup> an accusation that dates back to the antisemitic blood libel of the Middle Ages in which Jews were accused of poisoning the wells of Europe and were held responsible for the Black Plague.



(Ali Abunimah, Twitter, February 13, 2019)

**The Palestine Solidarity Campaign (PSC)**, a UK-based organization with over 60 local branches,<sup>56</sup> is the largest and most prominent organization promoting BDS in the UK, organizing numerous boycott campaigns<sup>57</sup> and weekly events.<sup>58</sup> The PSC has organized anti-Israel rallies with thousands of attendees and recently, for example, organized a protest to encourage the boycott of the Eurovision song contest taking place in Israel.<sup>59</sup>

51 Electronic Intifada, <https://bit.ly/31YsuP8>; Electronic Intifada, <https://bit.ly/2Pd5p9H>,

52 Ibid.

53 Electronic Intifada, <https://bit.ly/2ZvT2JS>

54 BDSmovement.net, <https://bit.ly/2zzvvcF>

55 Ali Abunimah, twitter, <https://bit.ly/2kzGYVA>

56 Palestine Solidarity Campaign, twitter <https://bit.ly/2z5KWJG>

57 Palestine Solidarity Campaign, twitter <https://bit.ly/2Zm6q48>

58 Palestine Solidarity Campaign, twitter <https://bit.ly/2Zm6GjC>

59 Palestine Solidarity Campaign, twitter <https://bit.ly/31YsZl0>, published May 10, 2019

**Baroness Jenny Tonge**, former patron of PSC,<sup>60</sup> is a staunch supporter of BDS and considers Israel an apartheid state.<sup>61</sup>

On the Jewish holiday of Passover 2019, Tonge shared an article on Facebook alleging that Israeli forces injured 27 Palestinians including a baby. Tonge commented: **"All to celebrate the Passover?"** suggesting the classic antisemitic trope of using children's blood for baking Matzah for Passover.<sup>62</sup>



(Jenny Tonge, Facebook, April 24, 2019)

**Rev. Dr. Naim Ateek**, member of the board of leadership of **Kairos Palestine** and the founder and director of Sabeel Jerusalem,<sup>63</sup> an ecumenical grassroots liberation theology movement among Palestinian Christians which mobilizes traditional antisemitic Christian themes to attack Israel, wrote an Easter holiday message comparing Israelis to Christ-killers in relation to Palestinians.<sup>64</sup>

Kairos Palestine is a Christian Palestinian movement, born out of the anti-apartheid Kairos Document. Kairos Palestine advocates for ending the "Israeli occupation" and supports boycotts, divestment and sanctions against Israel.<sup>65</sup>

60 Palestine Solidarity Campaign, <https://bit.ly/30yHnr0>

61 Jenny Tonge, <https://bit.ly/2LdYLe8>

62 Jenny Tonge, Facebook, <https://bit.ly/2koAlFH>

63 Friends of Sabeel North America, <https://bit.ly/2ZqCxi9>, published July 27, 2011

64 The Holy Land Christian Ecumenical Foundation, <https://bit.ly/2lTR3Nj>

65 Kairos Palestine, <https://bit.ly/2k0MgsY>

In his Easter message Ateek stated:

The suffering of Jesus Christ at the hands of evil political and religious powers two thousand years ago is lived out again in Palestine... It only takes people of insight to see the hundreds of thousands of crosses throughout the land, Palestinian men, women, and children being crucified. Palestine has become one huge Golgotha. The Israeli government crucifixion system is operating daily...<sup>66</sup>

**"hundreds of thousands of crosses throughout the land, Palestinian men, women, and children being crucified... The Israeli government crucifixion system is operating daily..."**

**Rev. Dr. Naim Ateek, Kairos Palestine**

Gaza-based BDS activist, **Adel Mahmoud**, spreads the centuries-old blood libel, accusing Israel of drinking Palestinian children's blood. He tweeted, "**Drink the blood of our dead children**, bottled in bottles of Israeli juice #BDS #Boycott Resistance"<sup>67</sup>



(Adel Mahmoud, Twitter, 04/01/19)

**Marc Lamont Hill**, a TV news personality and professor at Temple University,<sup>68</sup> is associated with the American BDS organization, **US Campaign for Palestinian Rights (USCPR)**. USCPR is a US nonprofit organization<sup>69</sup> that serves as the umbrella organization of BDS in North America<sup>70</sup> and was until summer 2018, the fiscal sponsor of the BDS National Committee (BNC) in Ramallah.<sup>71</sup>

66 The Holy Land Christian Ecumenical Foundation, <https://bit.ly/2ITR3Nj>, published April 10, 2001

67 Adel Mahmoud, twitter, <https://bit.ly/2IK49ws>

68 Temple University, <https://bit.ly/30B9FB7>

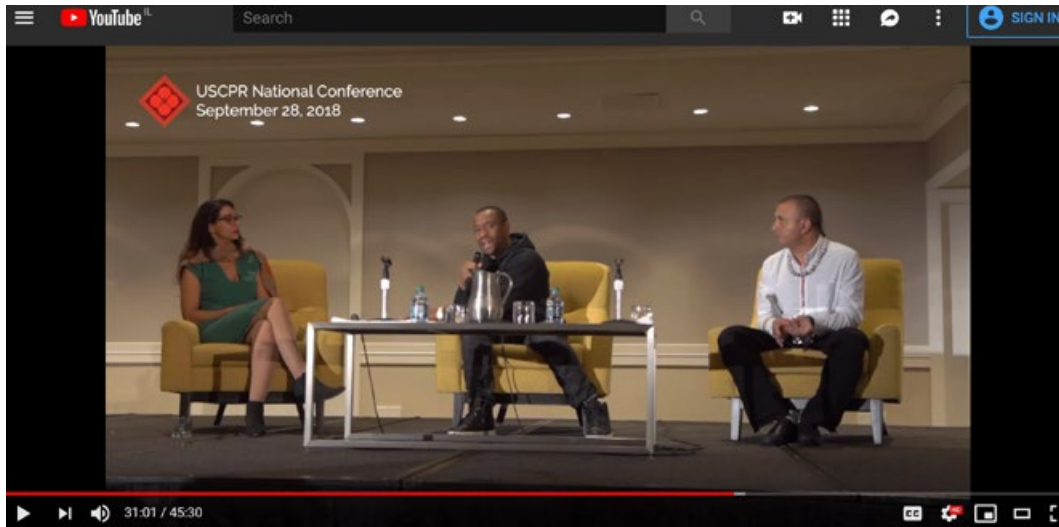
69 GuideStar, <https://bit.ly/2U6YI8f>, AKA as USCPR

70 US Campaign for Palestinian Rights, <https://uscpr.org/about-us/>

71 Armin Rosen and Liel Leibovitz, Tablet Magazine, <https://bit.ly/2SDpUxD>, published June 1, 2018

Speaking at its national conference in 2018,<sup>72</sup> Hill accused Israel of poisoning Palestinian water resources:

when you have a state that is at all moments waging war against you, against your bodies, poisoning your water, limiting your access to water, locking up your children, killing you, we can't romanticize resistance...we've allowed this nonviolent thing to become so normative that we are undermining our own ability to resist in real robust ways.



Marc Lamont Hill speaks at 2018 USCPR Conference: When you have a state... poisoning your water... (USCPR National Conference 2018, YouTube, September 28, 2018)

## Portraying Jews as Satan, Demonic, and Evil

**BADIL Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights**, an organization that claims to be committed to protecting and promoting “the rights of Palestinian refugees and internally displaced persons,”<sup>73</sup> was one of the signatories on the 2005 Palestinian Civil Society Call for BDS.<sup>74</sup>

The following antisemitic caricature won a monetary award for second prize in BADIL’s 2010 Al-Awda Nakba caricature competition. The caricature created by Ahmad Ashraf Ghareeb shows a Jew with a hooked nose and side locks in traditional Hasidic garb, standing above a dead children and skulls, holding a pitchfork dripping with blood.<sup>75</sup> The caricature was later removed from BADIL’s website after it was exposed.<sup>76</sup>

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72 USCPR, <https://bit.ly/2MEGIXk> 31:01

73 BADIL, <http://www.badil.org/en/about-us.html>

74 Bdsmovement.net, <https://bdsmovement.net/call>

75 BADIL, <https://bit.ly/2Zru4vW>

76 NGO Monitor, <https://www.ngo-monitor.org.il/ngos/badil/>



This caricature won second place and a cash prize in an illustration contest by the BDS-promoting organization, BADIL.

source: <https://bit.ly/2Is9Olu>

(BADIL, Archive website, 2010)





Below is a post published in 2018 by the Waltham Forest branch of the **Palestine Solidarity Campaign** (the leading UK BDS organization, mentioned above). Over the caption "Sowing the Promised Land", created by E.H. Shepard, a demonic, hooked-nosed Jew with a skullcap, an image similar to that used in Nazi propaganda, is shown sowing a field with grenades rather than seeds.<sup>77</sup>



(Waltham Forest PSC, Facebook, December 19, 2018)

77 Waltham Forest PSC, <https://bit.ly/34cOjft>; Artist: E.H. Shepard; Date of Publication: July 31st 1946

**American Muslims for Palestine (AMP)** is a prominent U.S. - based BDS organization. Some of its senior members were formerly leading figures in the Holy Land Foundation and the Islamic Association for Palestine (IAP). In 2004, a Federal court found the Islamic Association for Palestine guilty of providing financial aid to Hamas.<sup>78</sup> Currently there is an ongoing lawsuit against AMP alleging that the organization is in fact, IAP, simply repackaged under another name.<sup>79</sup> In 2001, the U.S. Department of Treasury designated the Holy Land Foundation for supporting terrorism,<sup>80</sup> estimating that in the period from 1995-2001, the Holy Land Foundation sent \$12.4 million from the United States to the designated terrorist group, Hamas.<sup>81</sup> Five Holy Land Foundation officials were found guilty by a U.S. court on the charge of providing “material support to Hamas.”<sup>82</sup>

**Hatem Bazian**, is the founder and current chairman of **American Muslims for Palestine (AMP)**<sup>83</sup> and founder of **Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP)**, mentioned below), the leading BDS organization on U.S. campuses. Bazian, a lecturer at University of California – Berkeley, retweeted a post of a pair of caricatures showing a young Jew with sidelocks in Hassidic garb saying, “**Look Mom – I can now kill, rape, smuggle organs and steal the land of Palestinians.**” At the bottom appears the hashtag “**#Ashke-Nazi**”<sup>84</sup> referring to Jews as Nazis. Only after it was exposed, Bazian deleted the retweet.



(Ron Hughes, Twitter, July 31, 2017)

<sup>78</sup> Chicago Tribune, <https://bit.ly/2PctHAP>

<sup>79</sup> Boim et al v. American Muslims for Palestine et al, <http://bit.ly/325WHvw>, United States District Court for the Northern District of Illinois Eastern Division, filed August 18, 2017

<sup>80</sup> U.S. Department of Treasury, <https://bit.ly/2HrsfEs>

<sup>81</sup> U.S. Court of Appeals, <https://bit.ly/2ZlpH5w.p.10>

<sup>82</sup> U.S. Department of Justice, <https://bit.ly/2GwMIM2>

<sup>83</sup> AMP, <https://bit.ly/2NFxZOy>

<sup>84</sup> Ron Hughes, Twitter, <https://bit.ly/2zpw1Kc>, published July 21, 2017

**The Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR)** is a large and prominent advocacy organization for Muslims in the United States. CAIR claims that its mission is to promote “justice and mutual understanding.” In fact, CAIR is also a leading voice in the boycott campaign against Israel in the U.S.<sup>85</sup> Hassan Shibly, Chief Executive Officer of CAIR Florida,<sup>86</sup> called Israel and its supporters “**enemies of God and humanity!**”<sup>87</sup>



(Hassan Shibly, Twitter, August 3, 2014)

## Accusing Jews of Dual Loyalty

**Osama Abuirshaid, American Muslims for Palestine's** National Policy Director and an AMP board member,<sup>88</sup> gave a speech at the 15th annual Muslim American Society (MAS) - Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA) Convention in which he accused American Zionists of dual loyalty, a charge considered antisemitic under the sixth example of the IHRA's working definition. Abuirshaid stated:



Zionist figures who hold an American passport and American citizenship but who suffer from a syndrome called double loyalty where they put the Israeli agenda, the Israeli interest ahead of the American agenda...<sup>89</sup>

Osama Abuirshaid speaks at MAS- ICNA convention: ...Zionist figures suffer from a syndrome called double loyalty (Osama Abuirshaid, YouTube, January 9, 2017)

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85 CAIR, <https://bit.ly/2ztrar3>

86 CAIR Florida, <https://bit.ly/2MDtx3q>; CAIR Florida, <https://bit.ly/2kl5nOw>

87 Hassan Shibly, Twitter, <https://bit.ly/2kq3z75>

88 AMP, <https://bit.ly/2jR96mE>

89 MAS-ICNA Convention, YouTube, <http://bit.ly/2NyuREg>

## Evoking Classic Antisemitic Imagery

**Roger Waters**, the former bassist of Pink Floyd, is perhaps the most well-known celebrity activist to support the BDS campaign.<sup>90</sup> Waters issues public statements supporting BDS and discourages artists from performing in Israel.<sup>91</sup>

At a Waters concert in Belgium in July 2013 a giant pig shaped balloon emblazoned with a Star of David was released into the sky to float above the crowd.<sup>92</sup> The depiction of Jews as pigs is a classic antisemitic stereotype of Jews. Waters went even further by displaying the Star of David, alongside symbols of capitalism, evoking the classic antisemitic conspiracy of Jews controlling the world economy.



(Jerusalem Post, credit: courtesy, 2013)

In the wake of this incident, the Wiesenthal Center included Waters in its 2013 list of "Top Ten Antisemitic/Anti-Israel Slurs".<sup>93</sup> Waters was also included in the Wiesenthal Center's 2018 list of worst antisemitic incidents.<sup>94</sup>

Waters has been criticized repeatedly for antisemitic stereotypes. Munich city Mayor Dieter Reiter stated that "Waters is responsible for growing, intolerable antisemitic statements."<sup>95</sup> In November 2017, five German state television and radio affiliates of the national ARD network announced the cancelation of scheduled public broadcasting of Waters performances following accusations of antisemitism and his

90 BDSmovement.net, <https://bit.ly/2ks4947>; Electronic Intifada, <http://bit.ly/2ZmbxBm>, published November 2, 2016

91 BDSmovement.net, <http://bit.ly/30ElR4i>, published April 24, 2017

92 Jerusalem Post, <https://bit.ly/2Lf6oIQ>

93 Simon Wiesenthal Center, <http://bit.ly/2NKewwz>

94 Simon Wiesenthal Center, <http://bit.ly/2L8LO5m>

95 Die Zeit-online, <http://bit.ly/2UaQKuO>, published June 15, 2018



campaigning on behalf of BDS. Berlin and Brandenburg public radio (RBB), part of the ARD network, said it wanted to send a message to other artists who, complying with BDS, refused to perform in Israel.<sup>96</sup>

**Samidoun**, a leading promoter of BDS, is a North American-based NGO. Samidoun's mission is focused on advocating for the release of Palestinians arrested for their ties to terrorism and in particular to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), a designated terrorist organization,<sup>97</sup> while at the same time including BDS campaigns in its activities.<sup>98</sup> **Joe Catron**, the U.S. Coordinator for Samidoun<sup>99</sup> made use of the classic antisemitic trope of **calling Jews pigs** in his description of Zionists.<sup>100</sup>

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**"Waters is responsible for growing, intolerable antisemitic statements."**

**- Munich Mayor Dieter Reiter**

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(Joe Catron, Twitter, January 13, 2016)

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<sup>96</sup> The Guardian, <http://bit.ly/2NARUhg>, published November 29, 2017

<sup>97</sup> Samidoun, <http://bit.ly/2Nz5QZj>

<sup>98</sup> For example Samidoun promoted the BNC's call to boycott the security company G4S due to its involvement in the construction of detention facilities in Israel <http://bit.ly/2Nwgrod>

<sup>99</sup> Samidoun, <http://bit.ly/2NBv3T5>, published February 25, 2018

<sup>100</sup> Joe Catron, Twitter, <https://bit.ly/2IFkj0j>

**Robert Willem van Norren**, a well-known Dutch boycott promoter<sup>101</sup> displayed an Israeli flag covering a flag of Nazi Germany (with swastika) at an anti-Israel protest at the Dam Square in Amsterdam on June 29, 2017. At another protest on August 19, 2018, he showed an Israeli flag with a cockroach replacing the Star of David,<sup>102</sup> referring to the classic antisemitic imagery of Jews as cockroaches.



(CIDI, Antisemitism; credit: Michael Jacobs)

**National Students for Justice in Palestine (NSJP)** was founded in 2010 by American Muslims for Palestine chairman, Hatem Bazian, to lead and coordinate pro-Palestinian efforts on American college campuses. NSJP claims to be an organization, “centered on freedom, justice and equality for the Palestinian people” that stands against, “homophobia, misogyny, racism, antisemitism, Islamophobia, classism, colonialism, ableism, and bigotry and discrimination of any form.”<sup>103</sup> NSJP is the leading U.S. campus student organization promoting BDS, and as such lobbies for the passing of BDS resolutions on campuses throughout the U.S.<sup>104</sup>

At the 2018 NSJP national conference, keynote speaker **Hatem Abudayyeh** of the Chicago Coalition for Justice in Palestine<sup>105</sup> stated:<sup>106</sup> “Israel, just like white supremacists here [in the US] has been further emboldened by Trump **and that pig son in law of his,**” referring to Jared Kushner, who is Jewish.

At a rally in 2014 convened by **American Muslims for Palestinian (AMP)** and **Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP)** Chicago (both organizations mentioned above), along with other anti-Israel organizations, purportedly in support of the Palestinian people, a protester held a makeshift Israeli flag with a swastika.

101 CFCA, <http://bit.ly/2Zl9VHV>, published May 31, 2019

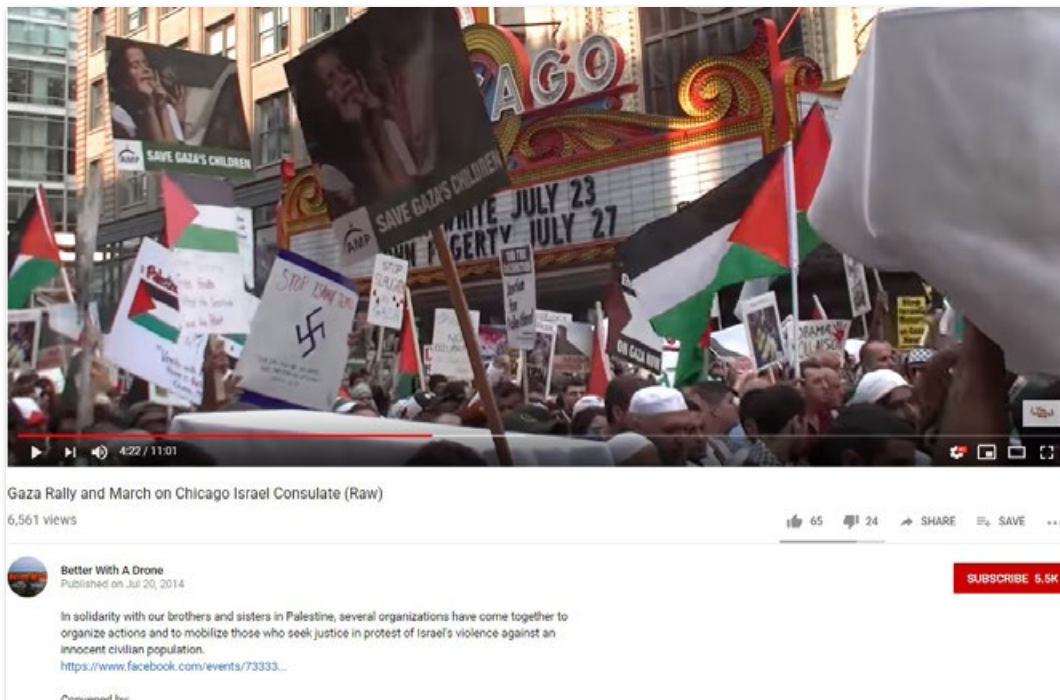
102 CIDI, <https://bds.amsterdam>

103 National Students for Justice in Palestine, <http://bit.ly/2ZgAX3j>

104 National Students for Justice in Palestine, <http://bit.ly/2ZgKVI7>

105 Electronic Intifada, <http://bit.ly/2ZlzkBp>

106 USPCN, <https://bit.ly/2ZvBY7w>



(Gaza Rally and March on Chicago Israel Consulate, YouTube, published July 20, 2014, the video was removed)

## Jewish Conspiracy and Lobby

Founded in 2000,<sup>107</sup> **Al-Awda** (Arabic for “the return”) **The Palestine Right to Return Coalition**, is a U.S. registered non-profit<sup>108</sup> with over 14 branches in the U.S., and additional branches in Europe<sup>109</sup> and Canada.<sup>110</sup> The organization promotes its points of unity,<sup>111</sup> which include a comprehensive boycott against Israel, an “end to U.S. political, military and economic aid to Israel and the “right to return for all Palestinian refugees.”

**Mazen Al Najjar**, a south Florida based Palestinian activist associated with Al-Awda,<sup>112</sup> was arrested and deported from the U.S. for violating his visa and for his ties to Hamas and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ), both U.S.-designated terrorist organizations.<sup>113</sup> He posted on Facebook the antisemitic caricature seen below,<sup>114</sup> showing a hand with a Star of David putting money into the back of a “piggy bank” U.S. congressman, who says, “I vote for Israel,” promoting the antisemitic trope that Jews use money to buy influence.

107 Palestine Right of Return Coalition, <http://bit.ly/2Zlzf79>

108 Discover the Networks, <http://bit.ly/2Zlujsm>

109 Al-Awda Syllogo Athens, <http://bit.ly/2NyogjX>

110 Al-Awda, <http://bit.ly/2ND0mNt>

111 Al Awda San Diego, <http://bit.ly/2NyojW9>

112 Al-Awda, <http://bit.ly/2Zlurb4> ; <http://bit.ly/2ZjxoZZ>

113 Department of Justice, <http://bit.ly/2Zop3EI>, November 24, 2001

114 Mazin Al Najjar, <https://bit.ly/2ZEILs9>





(Mazin Al Najjar, Facebook, March 6, 2019; artist: Carlos Latuff)

**Mahmoud Nawajaa**, the General Coordinator of the BDS National Committee,<sup>115</sup> has also espoused antisemitic content. In one example, he shared an antisemitic podcast called **Radio Anti-Zionist** on his Facebook page asking people to, “share this pleass!! [sic] Listen to the voice of truth.”<sup>116</sup>



(Mahmoud Nawajaa, Facebook, July 10, 2010)

<sup>115</sup> BDSmovement.net, <http://bit.ly/2ZgK9Vf>, published March 21, 2017

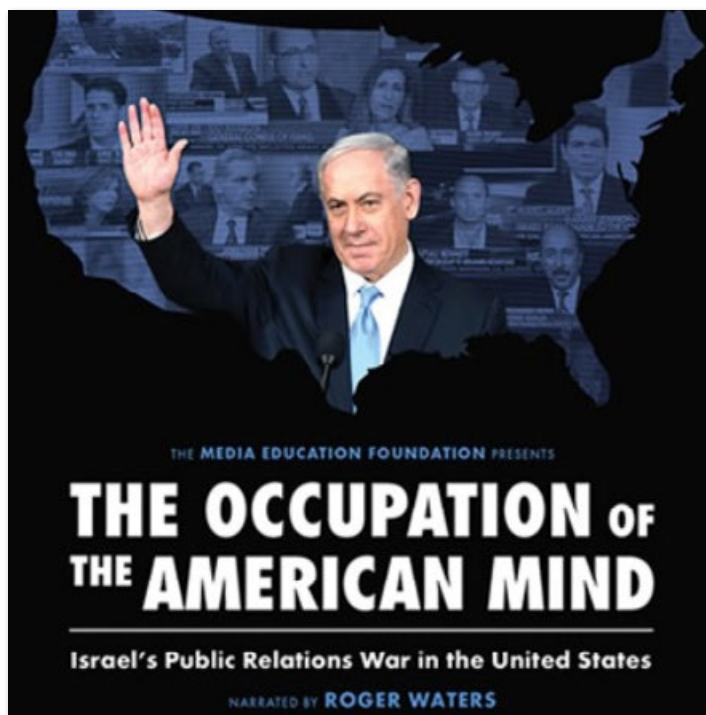
<sup>116</sup> Mahmoud Nawajaa, Facebook, <http://bit.ly/2ZgbUNI>

The episode he shared, titled, “About the struggle in America against Zionism, the foreign bankers, lobbyists and corporations”<sup>117</sup> includes multiple instances of blatant antisemitism, comparing Israeli policies in Gaza to that of the “Final Solution” in Nazi Germany, accuses Zionists of “brainwashing” and controlling U.S. policy, claims that the U.S. supports Israel because of the “vast complexities of the influence of the financial district” and accuses Israel of using “genocidal tactics.”

In a December 2013 interview to CounterPunch magazine, BDS activist and former Pink Floyd bassist **Roger Waters** (mentioned above) said:

**The Jewish lobby is extraordinary powerful** here and particularly in the industry that I work in, the music industry and in rock’n roll as they say. I promise you, naming no names, I’ve spoken to people who are terrified that if they stand shoulder to shoulder with me they are going to get fucked.<sup>118</sup>

Waters also served as a narrator in a documentary film titled “The Occupation of the American Mind.”<sup>119</sup> The documentary claims to explain how the Israeli “propaganda machine” influences Americans. In the film, Israel is described as a “genocidal colonial state” and presents Jewish leaders in the U.S. as plotting to influence news coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, thus manipulating and controlling American news media.



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117 Blog Talk Radio, <http://bit.ly/2Zj9SfH>

118 CounterPunch, <http://bit.ly/2ZiwOvR>

119 Occupationmovie.org, <http://bit.ly/2Ny45fi> ; production of Media Education Foundation (MEF)

**Hatem Bazian**, founder of Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP), organized a protest on the UCLA campus in 2002. Speaking to the crowd, he pointed out the Jewish donor names engraved on school buildings, saying: **“Take a look at the type of names on the buildings around campus—Haas, Zellerbach—and decide who controls this university.”**<sup>120</sup>

**Osama Abuirshaid**, American Muslim for Palestine’s National Policy Director and board member (mentioned above),<sup>121</sup> tweeted about the “Zionist propaganda machine.”<sup>122</sup>

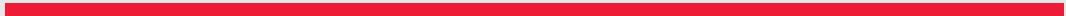


(Osama Abuirshaid, Twitter, published May 25, 2019)

120 Tower Magazine, February 2016, <https://bit.ly/1P7T794>

121 AMP, <http://bit.ly/2Nyhdlr>

122 Osama Abuirshaid, Twitter, <http://bit.ly/2NFF55E>



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# CHAPTER 3

## THE BDS MOVEMENT AND HOLOCAUST INVERSION

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Comparing the Jews or the Jewish State to Nazi Germany is the ultimate form of demonization. It seeks to deny Israel its moral legitimacy and portray it as an evil entity that, like Nazi Germany, should be dissolved.

## Introduction

Holocaust inversion is the portrayal of Israel and Jews as Nazis.<sup>123</sup> It aims to create an inverted reality where Israelis are the new "Nazis" and Palestinians the new "Jews," and an inverted moral construct in which the Holocaust serves as a moral lesson for, and a moral indictment of, the Jewish State.<sup>124</sup>

The victim-perpetrator inversion strategy advances several untruths: it advances an antisemitic portrayal of Jews as perpetrators of crimes that they themselves suffered; it trivializes the Holocaust by equating alleged Israeli "crimes" to those of the Nazis; it represents the establishment of Israel as Western reparation to the Jews for the Nazi genocide at the expense of the Palestinians; and it obfuscates the history of the alliance between the Arabs, including Palestinians, and the Nazi establishment during the 1930s and 1940s.

In a word, blaming the Jewish citizens of the Jewish State for actions similar to those committed against the Jews by Nazis during the Holocaust, serves to undermine and deny Israel's moral legitimacy. With the Nazi as the contemporary metaphor for ultimate evil, comparing the Jews or the Jewish State to Nazi Germany is the ultimate form of demonization. It seeks to portray Israel as an immoral and pariah state, that, like Nazi Germany, is inherently evil and should be dissolved.<sup>125</sup>

The International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance refers to Holocaust inversion as "a tendency to politicize and weaponize history to suit all manner of political ends, and a growing tendency to relativize and personalize historical truths out of an iconoclastic animus that denies the norms, facts, and understandings of the past. Seen over the long term, distortion and denial of the Holocaust... **aids in the completion of the Nazi attempt to eradicate the Jewish people and their history.**"<sup>126</sup>

This chapter is dedicated to examples in which BDS activists and organizations describe Israel as a Nazi state; compare Israeli leaders to Hitler; use the concentration camp or ghetto motif to describe Israeli control over Palestinians; blame Zionism for perpetrating a Holocaust; and draw on Nazi inspiration in calls to destroy Israel.

The examples in this chapter are consistent with the following examples in the IHRA Working Definition:

- Drawing comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis.
- Accusing the Jews as a people, or Israel as a state, of inventing or exaggerating the Holocaust.

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123 Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, <http://bit.ly/2Zqzr9N>

124 Fathom <http://bit.ly/30AXKU9>

125 See also Anti-Zionism and Antisemitism: The Dynamics of Delegitimization edited by Alvin H. Rosenfeld, see p. 175-199, chapter titled "Antisemitism in Guise of anti-Nazism"

126 IHRA, Paper on Holocaust Distortion and Denial, May 2019, [bit.ly/2kuzLpM](http://bit.ly/2kuzLpM) emphasis added

## Israel as a Nazi State

**BDS France** is the French branch of the BDS movement.<sup>127</sup> BDS France is one of the most prominent organizations in the delegitimization network in Europe, and is very active in promoting boycotts against Israel. In August 2014, BDS France activist "Saadia Falastinya"<sup>128</sup> posted an image on Facebook comparing IDF soldiers to Nazis, using a doctored image of a young woman appearing to be an IDF soldier alongside an image of a Hitler Youth member, with a comment that begins, "The Nazis and Zionists are two sides of the same coin."



(Post deleted)

127 BDS France <http://bit.ly/2zpwFqQ>

128 Campagne BDS France Montpellier, <http://bit.ly/2Zu8ZQK>



Branches of the **Palestine Solidarity Campaign** (PSC, the leading UK BDS organization, mentioned above) post virulent and false comparisons of Israel and Israeli policy to that of the Nazis.<sup>129</sup>



(Luton PSC, Facebook, November 10, 2014)



A criticism of the United States (represented by the symbols for the Democratic and Republican parties) which does not tolerate neo-Nazis but accepts purported Nazi-like behavior by Israel (Leeds PSC, Facebook, August 18, 2017, Artist: Carlos Latuff, Published via Mondoweiss)

<sup>129</sup> Sources for the Palestine Solidarity Campaign (PSC) illustrations: Luton PSC, Facebook, <https://bit.ly/2kzPy6K>; Leeds PSC, Facebook, <https://bit.ly/2IYheCu>; Luton PSC, Facebook, <https://bit.ly/2k60HMH>; Luton PSC, Facebook <https://bit.ly/2IUtIQ>.



This image maliciously distorts the situation in Gaza, where Israel tries to prevent the Hamas terrorist organization, which rules the Gaza Strip, from using tunnels for smuggling weapons and terrorists to target Israeli civilians ( Posted by Luton PSC, Facebook, January 11, 2015)



( Posted by Luton PSC, Facebook, September 17, 2015)

In a video broadcast on Facebook, **Omar Barghouti**, co-founder of the BDS movement, interviewed **Roger Waters** (both mentioned above) who accuses Israel of running a “propaganda machine” like that of Nazi Germany and Adolph Hitler’s Minister of Propaganda, Joseph Goebbels:

It’s hard not to go back to Goebbels or to the 30s.... You understand the tactic is to tell the big lie as often as possible over and over and over again ...”<sup>130</sup>



(Roger Waters & Omar Barghouti, Facebook, published July 15, 2017)

On May 22, 2019, the **BDS National Committee** (BNC, mentioned above) led a protest in Ramallah, following the German parliament’s (Bundestag) approval of a resolution that branded the argumentation patterns and methods of the BDS movement as antisemitic. Among the prominent BDS leaders who attended the demonstration was Omar Barghouti,<sup>131</sup> co-founder of the BDS movement, together with BDS National Committee secretariat members Salah Khawaja (mentioned above) and Fadi Barghouti (the representative of the Palestine National Forces on the BNC).<sup>132</sup> At the protest, Khawaja held a photo of U.S. President Donald Trump portrayed as Hitler. Next to Khawaja, Fadi Barghouti held a caricature of a dog, with the Jewish star of David on his collar and its fangs dripping with blood. The Jewish dog’s tail is colored with the colors of the German flag and features the caption, “Shame on the face of Germany.”<sup>133</sup>

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130 BDS National Committee, Facebook, A Conversation with Roger Waters; timestamp 20:30, published July 17, 2017 <https://bit.ly/2IWndI1>

131 Al-Hadath, Protestors in front of the German consulate published May 22, 2019; credit: Muhammad Ghafri <https://bit.ly/2X2iaU7>

132 BDSmovement.net, Israel is Spending Millions of Dollars in Fighting BDS, published January 2018 <https://bit.ly/2DcWQ5n>

133 Khalid Mansour, Facebook, <http://bit.ly/2HrthAk> published May 28, 2019





Left: Fadi Barghouti, Salah Khawaja, Facebook, published May, 2019; Right: Al-Hadath, Protestors in front of the Representative Office of Germany, published May 22, 2019, credit: Muhammad Ghafri

**Sarah Wilkinson**, a member of the **Palestinian Solidarity Campaign**<sup>134</sup> (PSC, mentioned above) shared a tweet, where she refers to Israel as a “ZioNazi occupation” and accuses it of “achieving genocide.”<sup>135</sup>



(Sarah Wilkinson, Twitter, published April 16, 2016)



(Shakeel Syed, Twitter, published May 18, 2019)

**Shakeel Syed**, an **American Muslims for Palestine** board member,<sup>136</sup> (AMP, mentioned above) shared the tweet in response to Germany's Bundestag (parliament) officially recognizing the BDS movement as antisemitic, comparing former Nazi Germany to "current Nazi like" Israel.<sup>137</sup>

<sup>134</sup> Luton PSC, Facebook, <http://bit.ly/33Ziye5> published December 29, 2016

<sup>135</sup> Sarah Wilkinson, Twitter, <http://bit.ly/2U8wvhd> published April 16, 2016

<sup>136</sup> AMP, <http://bit.ly/2NzdGCz>

<sup>137</sup> Shakeel Syed, twitter, <https://bit.ly/2kaNeTB>

**Red Solidaria Contra la Ocupación de Palestina** (RESCOP) is a coalition comprised of more than 40 pro-Palestinian organizations and groups in Spain. It is a network of NGOs that is the biggest BDS coalition in Spain.<sup>138</sup> RESCOP has purported multiple times that there is a parallel between the German Nazi regime and modern-day Israel, such as when it shared the following blog and tweet on its Twitter account which reads: "'The Final solution in Palestine,' a new Holocaust..."<sup>139</sup>



**Translation:**

"The final solution in Palestine" a new Holocaust, article by writer Pilar Aberdi #Idontbuyapartheid.

**BDS Madrid**, the national Spanish chapter of the international BDS campaign,<sup>140</sup> posted on Facebook calling for a boycott of the Eurovision Song Contest, which was held in Israel in May 2019. One commenter wrote: **"Fucking Jews need to stop with all the Hitler and Auschwitz"** while another wrote "Jews" alongside a picture of a pig. To this comment BDS Madrid replied "Better to say Zionists hehehehe."<sup>141</sup>



(BDS Madrid, Facebook, December 6, 2018)

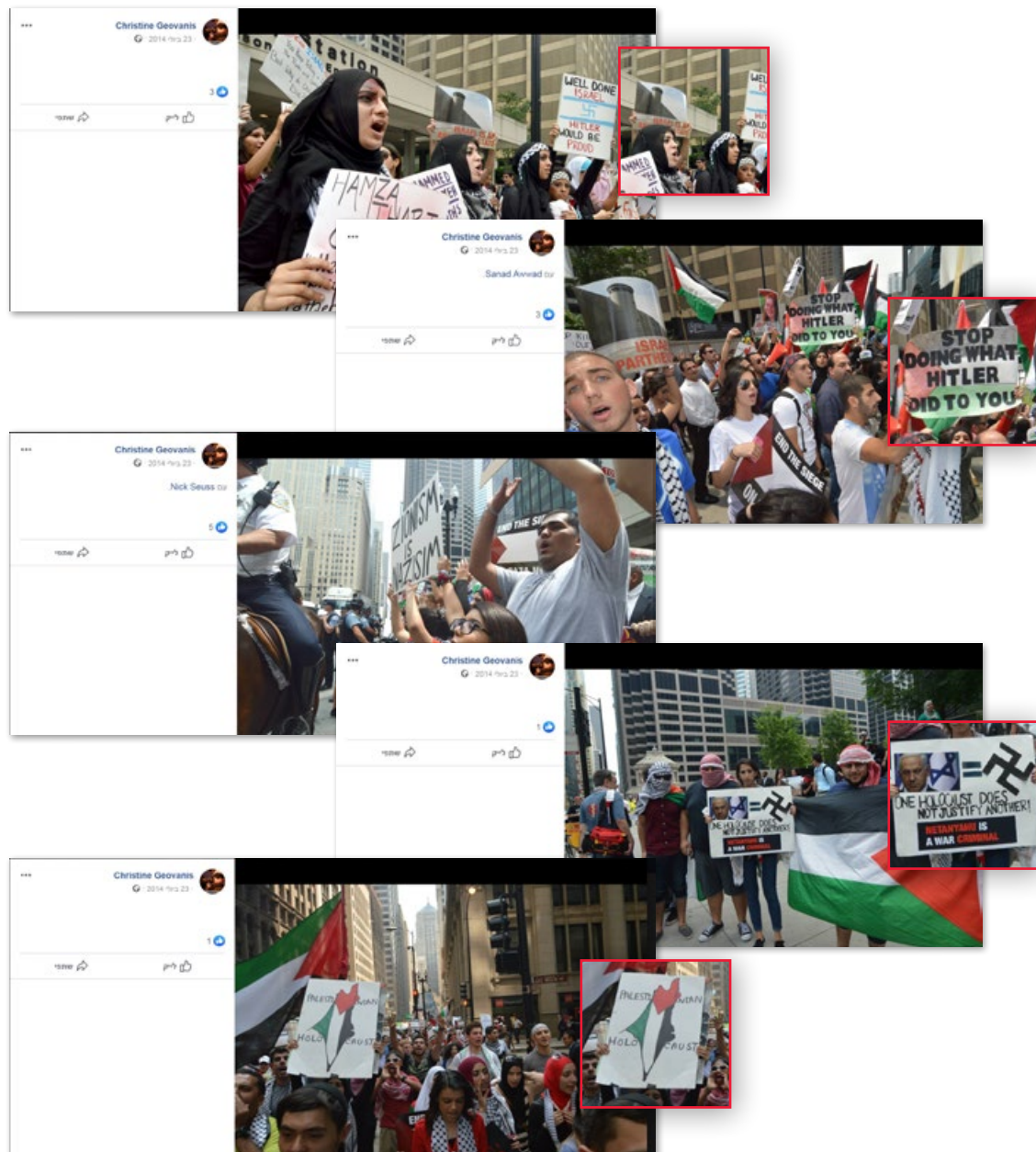
<sup>138</sup> Boicotisrael.net, <http://bit.ly/2ZCmvSI>

<sup>139</sup> RESCOP, Twitter, <https://bit.ly/2lF8GQS>

<sup>140</sup> BDS Website, Member organizations, <https://bit.ly/2kh8mYt>

<sup>141</sup> BDS Madrid, Facebook, <https://bit.ly/2k61Tzf>

**U.S. Palestinian Community Network (USPCN)** is a network that seeks to empower the Palestinian community in the U.S.<sup>142</sup> and supports and endorses the BDS movement.<sup>143</sup> During a rally organized and hosted by USPCN against Israel's Operation Protective Edge in July of 2014 titled, "Stand with Gaza: Protest Zionism in Chicago!,"<sup>144</sup> protesters raised multiple signs, as seen below, comparing the State of Israel to the Nazi regime in WWII Germany.<sup>145</sup>



(Christine Geovanis, Facebook, published July 23, 2014)

142 USPCN <http://bit.ly/2L8NGet>

143 BDS France, <http://bit.ly/30BWxf5> USPCN, <http://bit.ly/2ZLIBAsn> published November 19, 2018

144 USPCN, Facebook, <http://bit.ly/3247jLx>

145 Christine Geovanis, Facebook, <https://bit.ly/2Im2vI>

**Zahra Billoo**, Executive Director of the **the Council on American-Islamic Relations** (CAIR, mentioned above) San Francisco Bay Area office,<sup>146</sup> has compared Israeli policy to that of the Nazis.<sup>147</sup>



(Zahra Billoo, Twitter, July 24, 2010)



(Zahra Billoo, Twitter, May 13, 2014)

**Abbas Hamideh** is a prominent anti-Israel activist in the U.S.<sup>148</sup> who also promotes the BDS campaign.<sup>149</sup> Hamideh is the executive director and co-founder of **Al-Awda**, The Palestine Right of Return Movement-USA.<sup>150</sup> Hamideh has compared Israelis and Zionists to Nazis countless times. Below are a few examples:<sup>151</sup>



(Abbas Hamideh, Twitter, February 3, 2019)

146 CAIR California, <http://bit.ly/2MG0g81>

147 Zahra Billoo, Twitter, <https://bit.ly/2lD56XC>; <https://bit.ly/2k5l10f>

148 ADL, <http://bit.ly/2ZqNpbl>

149 Abbas Hamideh, <http://bit.ly/2ND3xET>

150 Al Awda, <http://bit.ly/30FEwNc>

151 Abbas Hamideh, Twitter, <https://bit.ly/2ktGMHd>, <https://bit.ly/2lCPL9w>





(Abbas Hamideh, Twitter, April 18 2019)

In March 2019, Hamideh led a protest march that started at the White House and finished outside the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) policy conference. Speaking to the crowd, Hamideh proclaimed:

We are not here to be lovey-dovey with the progressive Zionists, because a progressive Zionist is like a progressive Nazi! There's no difference between a progressive Zionist and a progressive Nazi member!<sup>152</sup>



(Abbas Hamideh, Facebook, 03/25/19)

This video was viewed 23,000 times.

152 Abbas Hamideh, Facebook, <http://bit.ly/2KZU3BX> published March 24, 2019



**Joe Catron**, the US Coordinator for Samidoun (mentioned above),<sup>153</sup> has also drawn the antisemitic parallel between Israel and Nazi Germany.<sup>154</sup>



(Joe Catron, Twitter, 07/07/18)

(Joe Catron, Twitter, September 6, 2018)

**Leila Khaled**, a former PFLP terror operative who participated in the 1969 hijacking of a TWA plane and the 1970 hijacking of an El Al plane, is currently a member of the PFLP, in a 'diplomatic' role as a member of the Political Bureau of the PFLP.<sup>155</sup> As part of her current position, Khaled is very visible and active in the BDS movement across multiple organizations. For example, in 2015, Khaled took part in a fundraising tour for BDS South Africa.<sup>156</sup> In a message of support for Palestinian Prisoners Day in Brussels organized by the BDS-promoting organization, Samidoun,<sup>157</sup> Khaled states:<sup>158</sup>

Israeli torture is the new version of the Nazi torture...I call upon you to escalate campaigns in your country, in Brussels and through all means.... from the vicious and new Nazis who are occupying Palestine.

<sup>153</sup> Samidoun, <http://bit.ly/2Zjc8DH> published February 25, 2018

<sup>154</sup> Joe Catron, Twitter, <https://bit.ly/2m5i6p5> ; <https://bit.ly/2lImzOs>

<sup>155</sup> CNSNews.com, <http://bit.ly/2ND6h59> published September 27, 2017

<sup>156</sup> BDS South Africa, Facebook, <http://bit.ly/2Zn7Zij> <http://bit.ly/2Zt82bC>

<sup>157</sup> Samidoun, <http://bit.ly/2MEPpvk> published April 20, 2014

<sup>158</sup> Charlotte Kates, <https://bit.ly/2MOMiky> ,07:35



Leila Khaled in a film published by Charlotte Kates (Samidoun): Israeli Torture is the new version of the Nazi torture (Leila Khaled, YouTube, published April 19, 2014)

**Ali Abunimah**, the editor of **Electronic Intifada** (both mentioned above), authored a piece called "Germany's new Nazis see Israel as a role model," where he claims, "While the brazenness of this alliance may be shocking, it dates back to the early years of both the Zionist and Nazi movements."<sup>159</sup>



(Electronic Intifada, Germany's new Nazis see Israel as role model, June 1, 2019)

In March 2019, **Dudu Masango-Mahlangu**, a **BDS South Africa** (BDS-SA) board member,<sup>160</sup> wrote an article in the Mail & Guardian in which she compared the situation faced by Palestinians to those faced by Jews in Nazi concentration camps:

The wretched of the earth in the concentration camps of the Holocaust raised their fists and embarked on uprisings against the Nazis....Likewise, it is in the Palestinian child who comes out week after week to break out of her ghetto...

159 Electronic Intifada, <http://bit.ly/2ZxKL88> June 1, 2019

160 Mail & Guardian, <http://bit.ly/2L98zq0>

Palestinians are refusing to submit on their knees and are insisting on fighting on their feet – just as people did in Nazi Germany.<sup>161</sup>



(Dudu Masango-Mahlangu, Mail & Guardian, March 6, 2019)

**BDS Colombia** is a local national chapter of the BDS campaign.<sup>162</sup> Through its Twitter account, BDS Colombia has disseminated comparisons between the regime of Nazi Germany and the State of Israel.<sup>163</sup>



**Translation:**

Letter from a Jew to  
Anne Frank: comparisons  
between some aspects  
of Nazism and the Israeli  
occupation of Palestine

161 Mail & Guardian, March 6, 2019, <https://bit.ly/2H1Ih9n>

162 BDSmovement.net, <http://bit.ly/2ZtLHKX> BDS Colombia, <http://bit.ly/30CcJgw>

163 BDS Colombia, Twitter, <https://bit.ly/2IKfkVT>

**Malkah Feldman**, is an activist who supports many BDS organizations, including the radical anti-Israel group CODEPINK<sup>164</sup> and the American BDS organization Jewish Voice for Peace,<sup>165</sup> and works as the Strategic Philanthropy Manager in the organization Grassroots International.<sup>166</sup> Feldman shared images drawing parallels between the situation of the Palestinians and the Holocaust, depicting Israeli soldiers as modern day, child-killing Nazis.<sup>167</sup>



(Malkah Feldman, Facebook, published May 2012)



(RESCOP-BDS, Twitter, July 31, 2014)

**RESCOP**, the leading BDS body in Spain (mentioned above), tweeted a picture of the Israeli flag with a swastika: <sup>168</sup>

<sup>164</sup> Malkah B. Feldman, Facebook, <http://bit.ly/2HH28tp>

<sup>165</sup> JVP Boston, <http://bit.ly/2HH28tp> <http://bit.ly/2LcGJsF> <http://bit.ly/2NALP9M> <http://bit.ly/2NALXWO>

<sup>166</sup> Grassroots International, <http://bit.ly/2PeuYHv>

<sup>167</sup> Malka Feldman, Facebook, <https://bit.ly/2lCmb3Z>

<sup>168</sup> RESCOP, Twitter, <https://bit.ly/2kb6BMk>

## Israeli Leaders as Hitler

The **Luton branch of the Palestine Solidarity Campaign** (mentioned above) compared Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu to Hitler: <sup>169</sup>



(Luton PSC, Facebook, November 15, 2014)

**Abbas Hamideh** (mentioned above) tweeted the following comparison between Hitler and Prime Minister Netanyahu. <sup>170</sup>



(Abbas Hamideh, Twitter, published May 13, 2016)

<sup>169</sup> Luton PSC, Facebook, <https://bit.ly/2lKty9e>

<sup>170</sup> Abbas Hamideh, Twitter, <https://bit.ly/2m6vQ2U>



## Palestinians Jailed in Concentration Camps and Ghettos

**Josh Ruebner**, former National Advocacy Director for the leading BDS organization **U.S. Campaign for Palestinian Rights** (USCPR, mentioned above),<sup>171</sup> alleged that Israel studied "what the Nazis did in the Warsaw ghetto" to inform itself on how to act against the Palestinians in Gaza. He stated:

Israel, military leaders, looked at Nazi plans for the Warsaw Ghetto to learn how to prosecute their war and occupation in the Gaza Strip...Israel is studying the plans of the Nazis to formulate their plans.<sup>172</sup>



Josh Ruebner: ...Israel is studying the plans of the Nazis to formulate their plans (Josh Ruebner, Youtube, April 2012)

**Hatem Bazian**, chairman of **American Muslims for Palestine** and founder of **Students for Justice in Palestine**, (both mentioned above) termed Gaza "an epistemic Warsaw Ghetto..."<sup>173</sup>



(Dr. Hatem Bazian, Twitter, July 13, 2015)

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<sup>171</sup> USCPR, <http://bit.ly/2ZtMziH>

<sup>172</sup> YouTube, <http://bit.ly/3413poE>

<sup>173</sup> Hatem Bazian, Twitter, <http://bit.ly/2HpIIZx>



The official Twitter account of the BDS movement, (operated by the BDS National Committee (BNC), mentioned above),<sup>174</sup> referred to the Gaza strip as a Palestinian "ghetto."<sup>175</sup>



(BDS Movement, Twitter, published June 14, 2019)

**The Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (PACBI,** mentioned above) is the cultural and academic arm of the BNC.<sup>176</sup> In the lead up to the 2019 Eurovision contest in Tel-Aviv, PACBI tweeted that tourists should revolt against Israel's placing of Palestinians in "the Gaza Ghetto."<sup>177</sup>



(PACBI, Twitter, May 5, 2019)

<sup>174</sup> BDS, Twitter, <https://bit.ly/2IRH8I3>

<sup>175</sup> BDS, Twitter, <http://bit.ly/2PfixXr> published June 14, 2019

<sup>176</sup> BDSmovement.net, <http://bit.ly/2U7vGEa>

<sup>177</sup> PACBI, Twitter, <http://bit.ly/2MH615w>

**Haider Eid**, a PACBI senior activist<sup>178</sup> (mentioned above) likened Israeli policy to that of the Nazis and used the terms "Ghettos" and "Concentration Camp" to make the comparison.<sup>179</sup>



(Haider Eid, Twitter, published March 17, 2019)



(Haider Eid, Twitter, August 16, 2017)

In a December 2013 interview to CounterPunch magazine, **Roger Waters** said:

The voice, for instance, of the right wing rabbinate that everybody that is not a Jew is only on earth to serve them and they believe that the Indigenous people of the region, that they kicked off the land in 1948 and have continued to kick off the land ever since, are sub-human. The parallels with what went on in the 30's in Germany are so crushingly obvious...There were many people that pretended that the oppression of the Jews was not going on. From 1933 until 1946. So this is not a new scenario. Except that this time it's the Palestinian people being murdered.<sup>180</sup>

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178 Haider Eid is described here as a senior activist of PACBI, <http://bit.ly/343Azng>

179 Haider Eid, Twitter, <https://bit.ly/2kb74QA> ; <https://bit.ly/2lYn6M2>

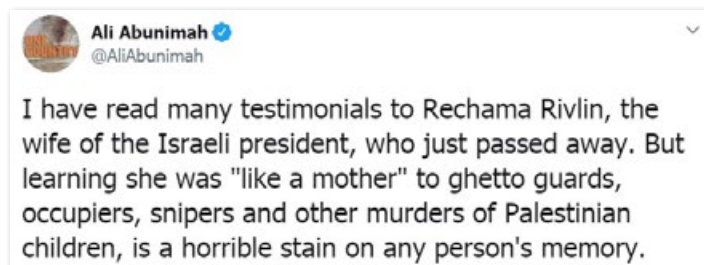
180 CounterPunch, <http://bit.ly/2U8dpcb>

**BDS Amsterdam**, posted on twitter: "Gaza is the world's biggest concentration camp, over 65 years, under [Z]ionist control."<sup>181</sup> (Even the timeframe is wrong as the Gaza Strip, came under Israeli control in 1967 and it unilaterally withdrew in 2005.)



(BDS Amsterdam, Twitter, published January 1, 2014)

**Ali Abunimah**, the editor of **Electronic Intifada** (mentioned above), posted a tweet, following the passing of the Israeli President's wife, in which he compared Israeli soldiers to "ghetto guards, occupiers, snipers and other murders of Palestinian children."<sup>182</sup>



(Ali Abunimah, Twitter, published June 2019)

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181 BDS Amsterdam, Twitter, <http://bit.ly/2U3XURs> published January 1, 2014

182 Ali Abunimah, Twitter, <http://bit.ly/2PebfaY>

## Zionism as Perpetrating a Holocaust

Ana Sanchez, the **BDS National Committee** (BNC, mentioned above) **International Campaigns Officer**<sup>183</sup> who resides in Spain, tweeted, “From the Nazi Holocaust to the Zionist” and included an article that expands on this antisemitic comparison.<sup>184</sup>



(Ana Sanchez, Twitter, July 21, 2014)

**BDS Madrid** (mentioned above) is a local Spanish chapter of the international Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions campaign.<sup>185</sup> The organization posted the following tweet.<sup>186</sup>



(BDS Madrid, Twitter, published January 8, 2013)

**Translation:**  
Zionism denying the Nakba is the moral equivalent to the denial of the Holocaust.

183 BDSmovement.net, <http://bit.ly/328rrfz>

184 Ana Sanchez (anitajeru), Twitter, <http://bit.ly/2ZqRKM5>

185 Boicotisrael.net, <http://bit.ly/2ZCmvSI>

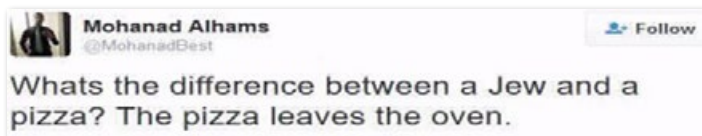
186 BDS Madrid, Twitter, <http://bit.ly/2Pf5jP2>

## Nazi-Inspired Call to Kill Jews

Following are a number of examples in which members of **Students for Justice in Palestine** (SJP, mentioned above) posted antisemitic statements on their social media accounts.

These examples demonstrate how the extremist worldview of the BDS movement leadership trickles down to blatant antisemitic rhetoric among rank and file activists.

All of these posts were subsequently deleted:



In 2017, Samer Owaida, an SJP activist<sup>187</sup> posted on Instagram, “kill your local Nazi.” A follower of Owaida responded, “kill ur local Zionist” to which Owaida replied “same shit.”<sup>188</sup>



(Samer Owaida, Instagram, September 30, 2017)

187 Walid Shami (Samer), Twitter, <http://bit.ly/2HqE7GC> See tweet dated October 3, 2015

188 Samer Owaida, Instagram, <https://bit.ly/2kywiX6>



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# CHAPTER 4

THE BDS MOVEMENT  
DENYING THE JEWISH RIGHT TO  
SELF-DETERMINATION

---

BDS activists and organizations deny the Jewish right to self-determination in the State of Israel – in any borders. The BDS movement willfully ignores and attempts to refute the historical or religious connection of Jews to their homeland.

## Introduction

This final chapter cites examples in which BDS activists and organizations deny the right of Israel to exist as a Jewish State or the right of the Jews to self-determination in the State of Israel, in any borders.

The BDS movement portrays Israel as inherently illegitimate and criminal, and willfully ignores any Jewish historical or religious connection to the Jewish homeland.

In fact, the founding document of the BDS movement calls for Israel to end "its occupation and colonization of **all** Arab lands" clearly implying that the entirety State of Israel is on "Arab lands" and as such must be fully evacuated.<sup>189</sup> In other words, an end to Israel as the Jewish State.

Examples cited in this chapter relate to: Israel as having no right to exist (denial of self-determination); and calls for the dismantling of Israel (the "Zionist project").

The examples in this chapter are consistent with the following example in the IHRA Working Definition:

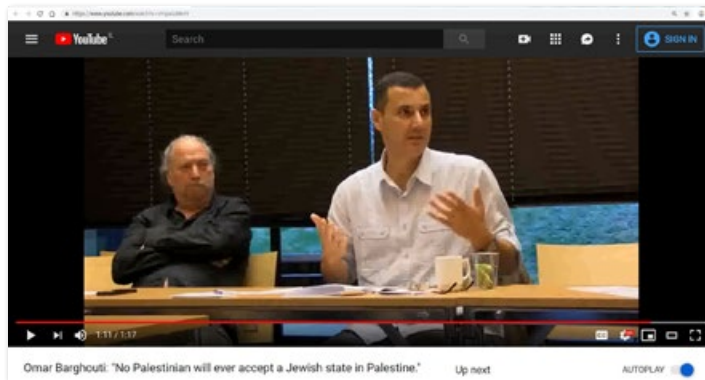
- Denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination, for example, by claiming that the existence of the State of Israel is a racist endeavor

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189 BDS movement official website <https://bit.ly/344KfOK>, emphasis added

## Israel as Having No Right to Exist

**Omar Barghouti**, co-founder of the BDS movement (mentioned above), has repeatedly rejected the acceptance of a Jewish State in any borders of what is currently Israel. In a 2014 lecture he said: "definitely, most definitely we oppose a Jewish state in any part of Palestine. **No Palestinian**, rational Palestinian, not a sellout Palestinian, **will ever accept a Jewish state in Palestine.**" <sup>190</sup>



Omar Barghouti speaks in a 2014 lecture: No Palestinian... will ever accept a Jewish State in Palestine (Omar Barghouti, Youtube, 2014)

In a July 2019 *New York Times* article headlined, "Is B.D.S. Antisemitic?" Omar Barghouti was asked whether the Jews can have their own state. He responded, **"not in Palestine."** <sup>191</sup>

**Hatem Bazian** (mentioned above), founder of BDS-promoting organizations, American Muslims for Palestine and Students for Justice in Palestine (AMP, SJP, both mentioned above), denies the Jewish right to self-determination and any Jewish connection to the Land of Israel, saying of American Jews, in the following tweet, **"you don't have a birthright:"** <sup>192</sup>



(Dr. Hatem Bazian, Twitter, July 26, 2017)

<sup>190</sup> YouTube, <http://bit.ly/2ZnA9ZG>, See 01:08

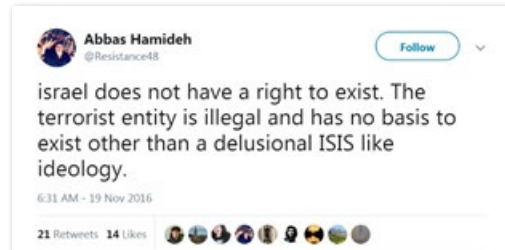
<sup>191</sup> The New York Times, <https://nyti.ms/324C8zD>

<sup>192</sup> Hatem Bazian, Twitter, <http://bit.ly/2U73yCr>

U.S. BDS activist **Abbas Hamideh** (mentioned above) has repeatedly stated that Israel has no right to exist and that Zionism is a racist endeavor.<sup>193</sup>



(Abbas Hamideh, Twitter, 02/24/13)



(Abbas Hamideh, Twitter, 11/19/16)



(Abbas Hamideh, Twitter, 12/11/12)



(Abbas Hamideh, Twitter, 12/12/13)



(Abbas Hamideh, Twitter, 04/27/14)

Hamideh was also one of the many BDS activists who shared an article by the American hacker and activist Jeremy Hammond in the Foreign Policy Journal, claiming that Israel has no right to exist and which called Israel a "fundamentally racist regime."<sup>194</sup>



(Jeremy R. Hammond, Foreign Policy Journal, March 15, 2019)

193 Abbas Hamideh, Twitter, <http://bit.ly/2Hs1YG0>; ibid, <http://bit.ly/2HsMmBZ>; ibid, <http://bit.ly/2Lbrfp2>; ibid, <http://bit.ly/2ZxkneK>; ibid <http://bit.ly/2ZqEs6L>.

194 Abbas Hamideh, Twitter, <https://bit.ly/2lFeUjI>



(Abbas Hamideh, Twitter, March 22, 2019)

**Palestinian Youth Movement** (PYM), an international movement, which says that it's vision is to achieve the "complete liberation of Palestine," promotes the boycott of Israel and was, for example, a partner, along with AMP, in the campaign to boycott Israeli dates to break the fast during the recent Ramadan.<sup>195</sup>



(PYM, Twitter, November 6, 2017)

PYM tweeted: "the Zionist entity has no right to exist."<sup>196</sup>

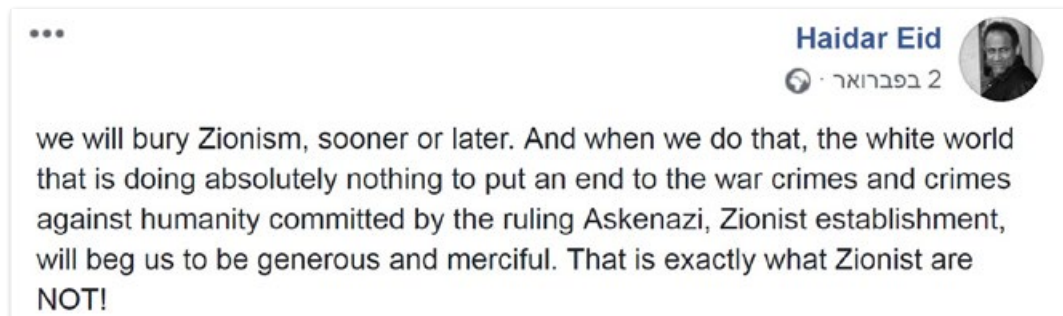
<sup>195</sup> PYM, Facebook, <http://bit.ly/2L0Rdgd>

<sup>196</sup> PYM-USA, Twitter, <http://bit.ly/2ZgaVx0>



## Calling for Dismantling Israel

**Haidar Eid**, a senior activist at the Palestinian Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (PACBI, mentioned above), which is part of the BDS National Committee (BNC, mentioned above),<sup>197</sup> stated in a Facebook post: "**we will bury Zionism** ... and when we do that, the white world... will beg us to be merciful."<sup>198</sup>



(Haidar Eid, Facebook, February 2, 2018)

**American Muslims for Palestine** (AMP) chair and Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) founder Hatem Bazian (mentioned above) published a tweet stating "The 'Jewish Nation' is the central myth of Zionism. **It needs to be dismantled.**"<sup>199</sup>



(Hatem Bazian, Twitter, published April 19, 2018)

197 Maan News Agency, <http://bit.ly/2PfpvjC>

198 Haidar Eid, Facebook, <http://bit.ly/2ZqBBpV>

199 Hatem Bazian, <http://bit.ly/2U3GGUi>

**Sana'a Daoud**, a national board member (as of July 21, 2019) of **American Muslims for Palestine** (AMP, mentioned above)<sup>200</sup> and a board member of the Chicago AMP chapter (AMP Chicago),<sup>201</sup> published the following cartoon in her Facebook profile, depicting the erasing of the Jewish people / Jewish state (symbolized by the Star of David).<sup>202</sup>



(Sana'a Daoud, Facebook, published June 7, 2010)

**Ahmed Moor** is a Palestinian-American BDS activist who was born in the Gaza Strip. A P.D. Soros Fellow, co-editor of *After Zionism: One State for Israel and Palestine*, and co-founder and CEO of liwwa.com, he published an article in *Aljazeera* introducing and supporting the BDS movement under the title: "The rise of Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions."<sup>203</sup>

Moor published an article in *Mondoweiss* under the title, "BDS is a long term project with radically transformative potential". In the article he admits: "Ok fine. So **BDS does mean the end of the Jewish state...**"<sup>204</sup>

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200 AMP, <http://bit.ly/2KWDiHS>

201 AMP-Chicago <http://bit.ly/2MDGiLi>

202 Sana'a Daoud Facebook, <http://bit.ly/2ZqLST3>; The Caricature Daoud shared was published in Al- Raya newspaper in January 31st 2010; Artist: Amya Ghakhya

203 Al Jazeera, <http://bit.ly/2U4hLQo>

204 Mondoweiss, <http://bit.ly/2HsVLts>

"**Boycott Israeli Apartheid Ireland**" is an Irish Facebook group that declares the aim of the page is "to get all Israeli products out of Ireland and stop funding an Israeli economy to murder thousands of innocent and defenseless Palestinian civilians."<sup>205</sup>

"Boycott Israeli Apartheid Ireland" posted a picture in which it crossed out Israel and wrote "Palestine", implying that the State of Israel should not exist.<sup>206</sup>



(Boycott Israeli Apartheid Ireland, Facebook, September 24, 2018)

205 Boycott Israeli Apartheid Ireland, Facebook, <http://bit.ly/2U5EQCh>

206 Boycott Israeli Apartheid Ireland, Facebook, <http://bit.ly/2ZtNHlQ>

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## CONCLUSION

Former Deputy Prime Minister and Prisoner of Zion Natan Sharansky, in the introduction to this report, suggests a useful tool to unmask the antisemitism of the Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions (BDS) movement and differentiate between legitimate criticism of Israel and antisemitic rhetoric. Using his "3D test" – does the rhetoric involve demonization, delegitimization or double standards – one can clearly see that the statements of BDS leadership and organizations cited throughout this report meet all these criteria.

The BDS movement consistently demonizes and delegitimizes Israel and holds no other nation to a similar standard. Its leadership denies the right of Jewish self-determination within any borders, denies any Jewish historical or religious connection to the Jewish homeland, and seeks to create a climate ripe for the dissolution of the Jewish State. In a word, the BDS meets the antisemitism test.

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**The aim of this report is to unmask the BDS movement's antisemitism, demonstrating how it uses antisemitic tropes to advance its practice of stigmatizing and demonizing Israel, with the long-term goal of bringing about the end to Israel as a Jewish state**

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Since its founding, the leadership of the BDS movement has sought to use human rights to create a veneer of legitimate political criticism of Israel, masking its intent of delegitimizing the Jewish State to bring about its eventual demise.

Concealing its true goals is a modus operandi for the BDS movement. Led by the BDS National Committee in Ramallah, the movement's leaders understand the need to be deliberately vague about their true agenda, and, in so doing, hoodwink the West into believing that BDS is a non-violent human rights movement – not a racist, revisionist movement dedicated to the dissolution of an entire nation.

In a previous report, "Terrorists in Suits," the connection between BDS and designated terrorist entities such as Hamas and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine was uncovered.

The aim of this report has been to unmask the BDS movement's antisemitism, demonstrating how it uses antisemitic tropes to advance its practice of stigmatizing and demonizing Israel, with the long-term goal of bringing about the end to Israel as a Jewish state.

As shown in the report, the messages propagated by the BDS movement, constitute antisemitism as defined by the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) Working Definition, which has already been formally adopted by 15 countries and the European Union. The report also points out how the BDS movement makes antisemitic rhetoric acceptable when used in an anti-Israel context, thus desensitizing the West to antisemitism. If left unchecked, this can become a catalyst to the emergence of manifestations of antisemitism against the Jewish citizens of Western countries.

To combat this trend, Germany recently passed a resolution branding the argumentation patterns and methods of the BDS movement as antisemitic and the United States House of Representatives passed a bipartisan resolution opposing BDS. Western leaders also have issued strong statements against the movement.

Further action is needed. Governments of Western democracies must take action to continue to expose the connection between BDS and antisemitism, and pass binding resolutions to combat the movement, deny funding to pro-BDS organizations and remove their antisemitic rhetoric from social media.

## **APPENDIX A –**

### **BDS ACTIVISTS AND ORGANIZATIONS CITED IN THIS REPORT**

#### **Organizations**

Al-Awda- The Palestinian Right to Return Coalition, 50  
Al-Awda, The Palestine Right of Return Movement, 65  
Al-Watan, 20-21  
American Muslims for Palestine (AMP), 12, 45, 46, 50, 62, 72, 82, 84, 85-86  
Artintifada, 20  
BADIL- Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights, 12, 42-43  
BDS Amsterdam, 75  
BDS Colombia, 69  
BDS France, 58, 64  
BDS Madrid, 63, 76  
BDS National Committee (BNC) 10, 11, 12, 16-17, 38, 39, 41, 51, 61, 73, 76, 85, 88  
BDS South Africa (BDS-SA), 67-68  
Boycott Israeli Apartheid Ireland, 87  
CODEPINK, 70  
Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), 46, 65  
Electronic Intifada (EI), 20, 39, 47, 49, 68, 75  
Islamic Association for Palestine (IAP), 45  
Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA), 46  
Kairos Palestine, 40-41  
Muslim American Society (MAS), 46  
National Students for Justice in Palestine (NSJP), 49  
Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (PACBI), 16, 73-74, 85  
Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ), 50  
Palestinian National and Islamic Forces (PNIF), 17,  
Palestine Solidarity Campaign (PSC), 12, 21, 39-40, 44, 59-60, 71  
Palestinian Youth Movement (PYM), 84  
Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), 10, 14, 17, 21, 38, 48, 67, 88  
PSC Leeds, 59  
PSC Luton, 21, 59-60, 62, 71  
PSC Waltham Forest, 44  
Radio Anti-Zionist, 51  
Red Solidaria Contra la Ocupación de Palestina (RESCOP), 63, 70  
Samidoun, 48, 67-68,  
Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP), 19, 45, 49, 53, 72, 77-78, 82, 85  
U.S. Campaign for Palestinian Rights (USCPR), 41-42, 72  
U.S. Palestinian Community Network (USPCN), 49, 64



## ACTIVISTS

Abudayyeh, Hatem, 49  
 Abuirshaid, Osama, 46, 53  
 Abunimah, Ali, 39, 68, 75  
 Adel, Mahmoud, 41  
 Al Najjar, Mazen, 50-51  
 Ateek, Rev Dr. Naim, 40-41  
 Barghouti, Fadi, 61-62  
 Barghouti, Omar, 7, 11, 17, 61, 82  
 Bazian, Hatem, 45, 50, 53, 72, 82, 85  
 Billoo, Zahra, 65  
 Catron, Joe, 48, 67  
 Daoud, Sana'a, 12, 86  
 Eid, Haidar, 74, 85  
 Falastinya, Saadia, 58  
 Feldman, Malkah, 70  
 Geovanis, Christine, 64  
 Hamideh, Abbas, 65-66, 71, 83-84  
 Khaled, Leila, 67-68  
 Khawaja, Salah, 12, 38, 61-62  
 Latuff, Carlos, 20, 21, 51, 59  
 Lamont Hill, Marc, 41-42  
 Lombard, Peter, 20  
 Masango-Mahlangu, Dudu, 68-69  
 Moor, Ahmed, 86  
 Nawajaa, Mahmoud, 51  
 Owaida, Samar, 78  
 Ruebner, Josh, 72  
 Sabaane, Mohammad, 20  
 Sanchez, Ana, 76  
 Shakeel, Syed, 62  
 Shibly, Hassan, 46  
 Tonge, Jenny, 40  
 Waters, Roger, 21, 47-48, 53, 61, 74  
 Wilkinson, Sarah, 62  
 van Norren, Robert Willem, 49

## APPENDIX B

*The following is an unofficial English translation of the Bundestag resolution equating BDS with antisemitism.*

Deutscher Bundestag

Parliamentary Printed Material 19/10191

19th Legislative Period

15 May, 2019

Motion

By the parliamentary factions CDU/CSU, SPD, FDP and BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNEN

### **To confront the BDS-Movement Resolutely – Fighting Antisemitism**

The German Bundestag shall decide:

I. The German Bundestag notes:

The German Bundestag acknowledges unalterably its own promise, to denounce and fight antisemitism in all its forms, and expressly affirms the motion passed by the parliamentary factions of CDU/CSU, SPD, FDP and BÜNDNIS 90/ DIE GRÜNEN “Fighting Antisemitism Resolutely” of 17 January, 2018.

According to the Working Definition of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance, antisemitism is defined as a particular perception of Jews, which can be expressed as hatred towards the Jews. Antisemitism is directed by words or by action against Jewish or non-Jewish individuals, and/or their property, as well as the Jewish community or religious institutions. Furthermore, the State of Israel, which can be understood as a form of Jewish collective, can be subjected to such attacks.

There is no legitimate justification for antisemitic positions. The determined, absolute “No” toward hatred against Jews regardless of their citizenship is part of Germany’s *raison d’état*. Antisemitism has, in its murderous consequences, been the most devastating form of group-focused enmity in the history of our country and in the whole of Europe and is still today a threat for people of Jewish faith as well as for our free democratic order. It is unacceptable that antisemitism has increased in the past years and that the Jewish community feels increasingly insecure.

Whoever defames people because of their Jewish identity, attempts to limit their movement, doubts the right of existence of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state or Israel’s right to its national defense will be met by our utmost opposition.

By way of a special historical responsibility, Germany is committed to Israel's security. The security of Israel is part of the *raison d'état* of our country. We adhere to a two-state solution, as affirmed by the Security Council of the United Nations in numerous resolutions: A Jewish democratic State of Israel and an independent, democratic and viable Palestinian State.

For many years the "Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions"- Movement (in short: BDS) also in Germany, has called for the boycott of Israel, against Israeli products, services, Israeli artists, scientists and athletes. The comprehensive call for boycott leads in its radicalism to a stigmatization of Israeli citizens and citizens of Jewish faith as a whole. This is unacceptable and must be most strongly condemned.

The argumentation patterns and methods of the BDS-Movement are antisemitic. The calls of the campaign to boycott Israeli artists as well as "Don't buy" stickers on Israeli goods, which shall discourage from the purchase, remind us of the most terrible phase of German history. "Don't buy"- stickers of the BDS-movement on Israeli products inevitably kindle memories of the Nazi (NS) – parole "Kauft nicht bei Juden!" (Don't buy from Jews) and respective defacements on facades and shop windows.

The German Bundestag condemns all antisemitic statements and attacks, which are supposedly formulated as criticism of the politics of the State of Israel, but in fact, are an expression of their hate of Jewish people and their religion and will confront such with determination.

II. The German Bundestag welcomes that numerous communities (municipalities) have already decided, to deny the BDS-movement or groups, which promote the goals of the campaign, financial support and the allocation of public rooms.

III. The German Bundestag decides:

1. again to confront all forms of antisemitism from its conception with utmost consistency, to condemn the BDS-campaign and the call for the boycott of Israeli goods and companies as well as Israeli scientists, artists and athletes
2. not to provide rooms and facilities, which are under the authority of the parliament administration, to organizations which make antisemitic statements or question Israel's right to exist. The German parliament urges the Federal Government, not to support any events of the BDS-movement or of groups, which actively support their goals;
3. to unabatedly continue its support to the Federal Government and the Federal Commissioner for Jewish Life in Germany and the Fight against antisemitism, in the area of prevention as well as in the determined fight against antisemitism and any form of racism;

4. not to financially support any organizations, which question Israel's right to exist;
5. not to financially support any projects, which call for the boycott of Israel, or actively support the BDS-movement;
6. calls upon the Länder (states), cities and communities and all public stakeholders, to follow this position.

Berlin, 15 May 2019

Ralph Brinkhaus, Alexander Dobrindt and Parliamentary Faction

Andrea Nahles and Parliamentary Faction

Christian Lindner and Parliamentary Faction

Katrin Göring-Eckhardt, Dr. Anton Hofreiter and Parliamentary Faction

## APPENDIX C

### The Palestinian BDS National Committee (BNC)

The Palestinian BDS National Committee (BNC) is the organization spearheading the international boycott, divestment and sanctions campaign against Israel. It does not recognize Israel's right to exist, opposes the peace process between Israelis and Palestinians, and works to boycott and isolate Israel.

The BDS National Committee has a cultural-academic arm, the Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (PACBI). PACBI employs tactics of harassment and intimidation against artists, actors and other cultural figures who maintain ties with Israel. The BDS National Committee has coordinators located throughout the world, including in Europe (Spain), the United States, South Asia (India), the Middle East and Latin America.

The Palestinian BDS National Committee (BNC) is a coalition of 28 Palestinian organizations, associations and unions, first listed among them is the Council of National and Islamic Forces in Palestine, also known as **the Palestinian National and Islamic Forces (PNIF)**.<sup>207</sup> The PNIF is a signatory to the Palestinian "Call for BDS from 2005"<sup>208</sup> and to the 2007 founding BNC Conference, as well as subsequent BNC conferences. Founded in 2000, its purpose was to lead and coordinate terrorist activities between its various member organizations at the height of Palestinian violence from 2000-2003.<sup>209</sup>

The PNIF is a coordinating framework for 12 Palestinian national and religious factions, **including 5 terrorist organizations, among them designated terrorist organizations Hamas, PFLP and Islamic Jihad**.<sup>210</sup>

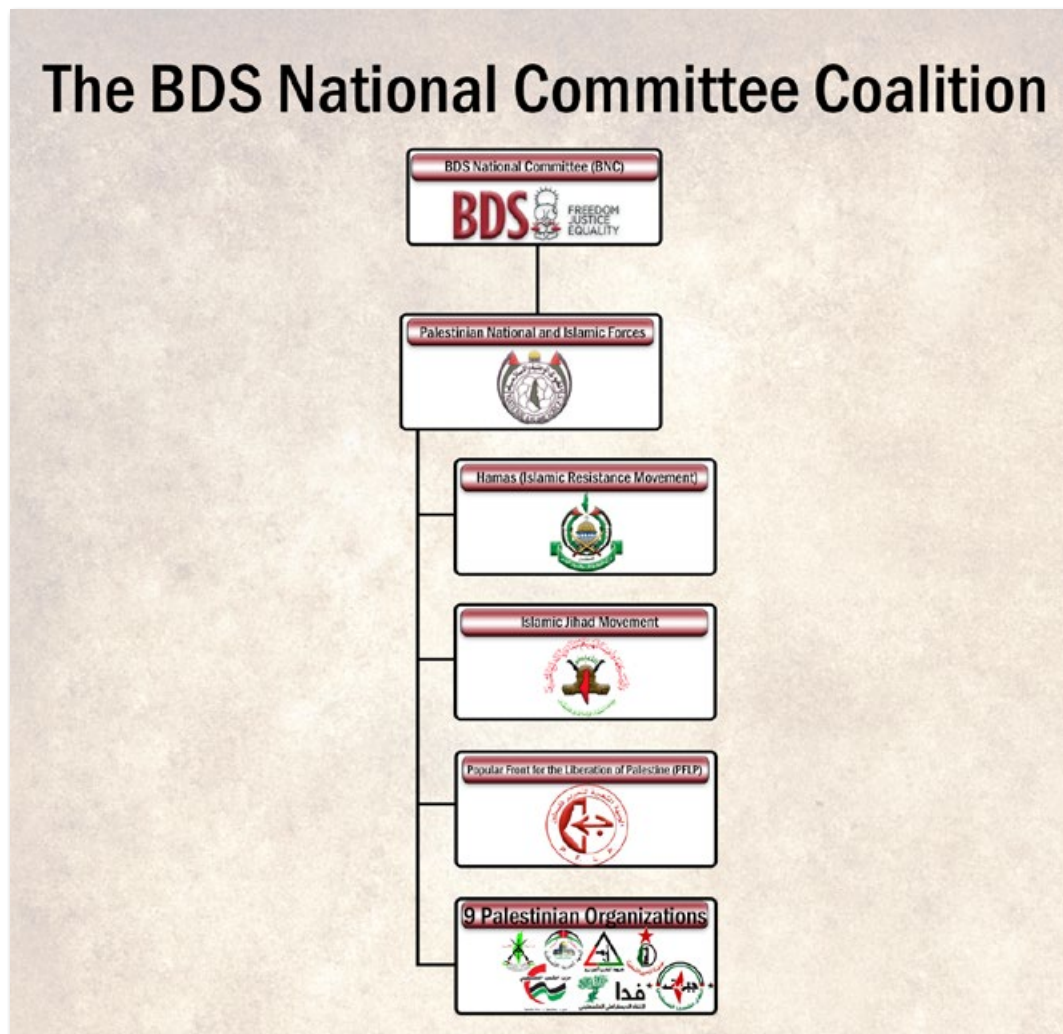
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207 BNC website, "The Annual Conference", <https://bdsmovement.net/bnc>.

208 BNC website, July 9th, 2005, <https://bdsmovement.net/call>

209 PMW, September 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ys-V2gZn0N4>

210 Jerusalem Media & Communication Center ("Al Aqsa Intifada"), February 2001, <http://web.archive.org/web/20051027143846/http://www.jmcc.org:80/banner/banner1/bayan/>



Recently, the PNIF has called for rioting at sensitive flashpoints against Israelis living in the West Bank and, following the move of the U.S. Embassy to Jerusalem, increased its hostility toward the U.S.<sup>211</sup> PNIF consistently glorifies terrorists and their actions. For example, it held a rally in honor of the “Martyrs of Palestine”, Ashraf Na’alwa and Salah Barghouti, both of whom carried out murderous terror attacks at the end of 2018.<sup>212</sup>

The PNIF has consistently called for boycotts of Israeli products, and it continues to regularly promote BDS.<sup>213</sup>

211 News 24, May 2018, <https://bit.ly/2MFEftM>

212 Facebook page of Shehab media agency, <https://www.facebook.com/ShehabAgency.MainPage/photos/a.182662565109505/3118248571550875>

213 Institute for Palestine Studies, <http://www.palestine-studies.org/sites/default/files/mdf-articles/7936.pdf>





**#UNMASKBDS**





**State of Israel**  
Ministry of Strategic Affairs  
and Public Diplomacy

For centuries Jews were persecuted for their faith. Stigmatization and demonization of Jews led to violence, pogroms and ultimately the Holocaust. With the establishment of the State of Israel, a new form of antisemitism arose, where hatred of the Jew was replaced by hatred of the Jewish State.

At the forefront of the delegitimization and demonization of the State of Israel in the West today is the Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions (BDS) movement. Under the banner of human rights and the guise of legitimate political criticism, the BDS movement has relentlessly attacked Israel, including through the use of antisemitic rhetoric. This report showcases nearly 100 examples of leading BDS activists and organizations using antisemitic tropes and motifs.

As Natan Sharansky notes in the foreword to this report, “if we see the same tools of delegitimization, demonization and double standards that were used against Jews in the past being used today against the collective Jew, the Jewish State – we know we are witnessing a new face of the old antisemitism.”

**This report makes clear the need for Western governments and civic leaders to remain vigilant against antisemitism in all its forms, including that practiced by the BDS movement, and to take proactive steps to stem this hate.**

**#UNMASKBDS**