



The Meir Amit Intelligence and
Terrorism Information Center

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**The International Solidarity Movement (ISM) is a network founded by extreme American leftists and part of the campaign to delegitimize Israel. In the second intifada it specialized in hindering IDF counterterrorism activity, indirectly supporting terrorism. Its senior figures founded FGM, which plays a central role in the Gaza Strip flotillas.
(full version)**



Anti-Israeli demonstration held by ISM activists in Britain (indymedia.org.uk website). The ISM participates in anti-Israeli activities all over the world, usually without identifying itself.

Overview



ISM logo

1. **The International Solidarity Movement (ISM) is a network of anti-Israeli activists founded in the summer of 2001** by a group of young, extreme leftist Americans. They were joined by leftist Palestinian activists (primarily Christian) and several extreme leftist pro-Palestinian Israelis. The founders recruited volunteers from various Western countries, some of them Jews, on a platform of hostility to Israel and its policies towards the Palestinians.
2. **The ISM's stated objective is to give international support to the Palestinian cause** and to demonstrate solidarity **by using non-violent tactics which it refers to as "direct action"** (a term taken from the lexicon of extreme leftist revolutionary and human rights movements).
3. **Between 2001 and 2005, the years of the second intifada (the Palestinian terrorist campaign), ISM volunteers who came for short periods of time waged intensive activities in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip** (the Palestinian Authority-administered territories, henceforth *the territories*). The volunteers began arriving in December 2001. They did not merely make do with helping the Palestinian population, **but specialized in hindering IDF operational activities.**
4. Their activities included: participating in Palestinian protest demonstrations and rallies, serving as human shields for terrorist operatives wanted by the Israeli security forces, locating themselves near IDF roadblocks throughout Judea and Samaria, providing the Palestinians (including terrorist operatives and their families) with financial, logistic and moral support, hindering the razing and sealing of houses of suicide bombers, holding protests along the security fence from Jenin to Jerusalem, etc.
5. **Two of what they considered their peak activities** (according to the movement website) **were sending activists to serve as human shields at the entrances to the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem and to Arafat's headquarters in Ramallah** (in April 2002, during Israel's anti-terrorist Operation Defensive Shield).
6. **After the second intifada senior ISM activists moved the center of their operations to the Gaza Strip**, where Hamas was gaining a foothold before its violent takeover in June 2007. Four senior American ISM activists **were key in founding an international pro-Hamas umbrella organization called the Free Gaza Movement**

(FGM),¹ which currently focuses on sending ships to the Gaza Strip for the stated purpose of "breaking the siege," but in fact their actual objectives were to strengthen the de facto Hamas administration in the Gaza Strip and intensify the delegitimization of Israel.

7. Since 2008 senior ISM figures have devoted their time and energy to promoting FGM flotillas to the Gaza Strip, as well as engaging in routine organizational activities. The highlight of the project and particularly successful in FGM-ISM eyes was the last flotilla to the Gaza Strip, led by the pro-Hamas Turkish organization IHH, which ended in a violent confrontation between IHH operatives and IDF soldiers (May 31, 2010). **Since then the FGM (and the ISM through it) has been preparing an upgraded flotilla as a new political-propaganda project to challenge Israel.**

8. **Besides its involvement in the flotillas, since the end of the intifada the ISM has been active in two main fields:**

A. **Sending volunteers to protest demonstrations at focal points of Palestinian-Israeli friction, such as Bila'in:** The activities are held in conjunction with local **Palestinian popular committees and sponsored by the Palestinian Authority.** At the sixth Fatah conference, held in August 2009, the Palestinian Authority adopted a policy of "popular resistance," which it has employed since. **The "popular resistance" is represented as non-violent, but in reality it often employs well-organized, "soft" violence,** such as throwing stones at and physically assaulting IDF soldiers, and the occasional Molotov cocktail. In many instances there have been casualties among both demonstrators and Israeli security forces. The "softly" violent activities are committed by Palestinians, but the presence of ISM and other foreign activists at the friction points heightens the tension, whips up emotions and encourages the demonstrators to violence, making it difficult for the Israeli security forces to act.

B. **Participation in anti-Israeli activities in the United States and European and other countries worldwide:** The activities include calls for boycotting Israel and its products and protests against its policies toward the Palestinians (especially a demand to lift the so-called "siege" of the Gaza Strip and to destroy the security fence). In protest demonstrations in various countries, Israel is repeatedly represented as racist, oppressive and employing a "policy of apartheid," done to demonize Israel, subvert its legitimacy and turn it into a pariah state. **Anti-Israeli activities include**

¹ The four are **Huwaida Arraf** (the central figure of both the ISM and FGM), her (Jewish) husband **Adam Shapiro**, **Greta Berlin** and **Paul Larudee** (who quarreled with the FGM and established a new organization on the West Coast called the Free Palestine Movement (FPM)).

demonstrations in various cities, agitation on campuses, initiating pro-Palestinian "cultural" events and attempts to influence the centers of political power in various countries. ISM activists engage in anti-Israeli hate propaganda in the visual and digital media, via the Internet, and in books and plays.



ISM activists in London demonstrate in front of a store selling Israeli Ahava cosmetics (ISM website, March 14, 2010).

9. **The following conclusions regarding ISM emerged as a result of this study:**

A. **The ISM is a network without a formally defined hierarchy:** Like other umbrella organizations which belong to the global anti-Israeli coalition, **the ISM is a network without an established organizational structure. It has a hard core of senior activists who formulate policy and direct the anti-Israeli campaigns activities** of its supporters and volunteers in the territories and around the world. **The ISM does not receive government funding** and its volunteers pay their expenses out of their own pockets (except for large projects like the IHH-led flotilla, in which ISM activists were part of a coalition which exploited Turkey's political capabilities). **Its activity is based in and focused on the United States** (primarily the West Coast), **the territories** (Ramallah, East Jerusalem, Beit Sahour and Gaza City), **several European countries** (especially **Britain, France and Sweden**), and **Australia** and **Canada**. The ISM's website has a list of 22 "support groups" in many countries, but most of them are small and have a limited number of members.

B. **It has an anti-Israeli ideology:** The ISM frequently represents itself as against violence and in favor of human rights, as respecting international law and UN resolutions, and as striving for a "just peace." However, an examination of its official papers and the statements made by its senior figures indicates that **its orientation and ideology are anti-Israeli and anti-Zionist**, adopting the Palestinians' most extreme demands. Its hostility to Israel is often **based on a critical worldview of the United States and its policies, especially regarding the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq after the September 11 attacks**. The ISM not only rejects

the policies of every Israeli government ("the Israeli apartheid in Palestine"), but also **the existence of Israel as a national homeland for the Jews**. Publications and statements of ISM activists stress the implementation of the Palestinian refugees' "right of return" to Israel, **reject the Oslo Accords, and make no mention of a two-state solution**. However, **the ISM is often somewhat vague about its basic positions, which makes it easier to find a common denominator with human rights and peace activists, including Jews, some of whom do not deny Israel's right to exist but strongly oppose its policies toward the Palestinians**.

C. **The concept of "non-violence" as opposed to the ISM's justification of a Palestinian "armed struggle:"** In its internal documents, on its website and in statements made by its senior figures and activists, **the ISM continually stresses that it is in favor of non-violence**. The media often call its activists "peace activists." While ISM activists do not directly participate in terrorist attacks against Israel, both in its manuals and in statements **its senior figures have justified the Palestinian's armed campaign, even at the height of the Palestinian suicide bombing attacks** (during the second intifada). In addition, an analysis of ISM activities on the ground showed that **ISM activists sheltered a Palestinian Islamic Jihad operative involved in suicide bombing and shooting attacks, and in laying IEDs**. They also hindered IDF counterterrorism activities, including the detonation of an explosives laboratory where bombs used in suicide bombing attacks were made. Moreover, in addition to activities to support the Palestinians, **ISM activists participated in events which included "soft" violence where both Palestinian demonstrators and IDF security forces suffered casualties**. ISM activists, fully aware of the risks involved, carried out activities in war zones where the IDF was operating against Palestinian terrorists, risking their own lives. In 2006 several ISM activists holding weapons were photographed arriving in Judea and Samaria. In our assessment **it was an exceptional event which did not reflect the organization's policies**.

D. **Deliberate violation of Israeli law:** On several occasions, **ISM volunteers in the territories, deliberately and in accordance with briefings they had received, broke Israeli laws**. They attempted to deceive the Israeli authorities when they entered the country, entered areas declared closed military zones and methodically worked to hinder IDF counterterrorism activities. Internal ISM manuals show that **activists sent to the territories had participated in workshops where they received security briefings about ways of deceiving the Israel authorities** (they implemented the instructions in the manual by pretending to be

simple tourists, changing personal details on their passports and denying links to the ISM). **They also received legal briefings** about how to behave with the Israeli security forces and in Israeli courts. An examination of the indictments brought against ISM operatives detained by Israel indicates that they applied what they had been briefed to do.

E. The links between the ISM and the other bodies and organizations in the anti-Israeli coalition: The ISM is joined at the hip to the FGM, one of the central umbrella organizations in the coalition responsible for launching some of the flotillas to the Gaza Strip. **The FGM was founded by senior ISM figures in 2006. Three ISM founders and senior figures currently hold top positions in the FGM:** **Huwaida Arraf** (an American citizen whose father is an Israeli Arab and whose mother is a Palestinian), her husband **Adam Shapiro** (American and Jewish) and **Greta Berlin** (American). Another ISM/FGM co-founder is the American Paul Larudee, who left the FGM after quarrels and **founded the Free Palestine Movement (FPM)**. The FPM operates on the West Coast and also plans anti-Israeli projects, currently focusing on an upgraded flotilla and sending a plane to the Gaza Strip. Since the last flotilla senior FGM figures have apparently been investing their efforts in organizing the upgraded flotilla and other showcase projects intended to challenge Israel, to a certain extent at the expense of their ISM activity. The line between ISM and FGM activities is not always clear even to the two organizations' activists.

F: The ISM's media policy: The ISM regards broad media coverage of its anti-Israeli activities as extremely important, and its internal documents deal with the issue extensively. **Its volunteers in the territories are routinely accompanied by media activity directed by media coordinators in the ISM office in Ramallah.** To inculcate its messages and whitewash its support for Palestinian terrorism and violence, **ISM launders the vocabulary it uses in its training workshops, which are compulsory for volunteers leaving for the territories.**² For example, they are instructed not to use the word "**violence**," but rather "**resistance**" (the terrorist organization euphemism). They are taught not to use the word "**terrorism**," which refers to the Palestinians, but rather the expression "**state terrorism**," which refers to the State of Israel (For details of the ISM glossary, see Appendix V).

Methodological Notes

10. **Analyzing the nature and activity of the ISM presented certain methodological difficulties.** One resulted from the organization's discretion, which generally keeps it from

² Every volunteer attends a compulsory two-day training workshop before leaving or immediately on arrival.

publicizing concrete, reliable information about its structure, activists and methods. There is also **an enormous discrepancy between the way the ISM publicly represents itself** (through its website and statements made by senior figures) **and the way it operates on the ground**. In addition, there is a lack of reliable and detailed information about the organization during its different periods of activity. Its publications or publications about it often suffer from various forms of tendentiousness and bias.

11. To overcome the difficulties, a comparison was made between the information the ISM has made public about its activities and the way it actually operates in the territories. The study used the ISM's internal publications, which contained information not meant for release to the public. It also used a variety of other sources. A glimpse into the way ISM activists think and act was found in the book about Rachel Corrie published by her family.³

12. **In preparing this study the Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center used three manuals from training workshops given to ISM activists in the territories and abroad.** One was given to a journalist by an **ISM activist in East Jerusalem** at the end of 2010. An American journalist named Lee Kaplan, who has spent several years exposing the ISM, gave the ITIC manuals used in training workshops in California (2004) and London (2005). There is a great deal of overlap among the three.⁴

Study Structure

13. The study examines the ISM and its activities as follows:

A. Appendix I – The ISM's ideology and modus operandi

- 1) Hostility to Israel
- 2) Opposition to American policy: the case of Rachel Corrie
- 3) Slogans of "non-violence" vs. support for the armed Palestinian campaign
- 4) Direct action methods
- 5) ISM awareness of the high risks involved in direct action

B. Appendix II – Portrait of ISM's Key Figures

³ *Let Me Stand Alone: The Journals of Rachel Corrie*, edited by the Corrie family, Norton and Company, New York and London, 2008.

⁴ There is no date on a manual received from East Jerusalem. However, the instructions and articles it contains are clearly updated to 2003 and apparently not since. There is a considerable amount of overlap among the all the manuals regardless of workshop date. In the body of the study they will be referred to as the East Jerusalem manual, the London manual, the California manual.

- 1) General description
- 2) Portraits of senior ISM figures

C. Appendix III – The ISM's modus operandi since its founding

- 1) Training activists
- 2) Funding activities
- 3) Activity on the ground during the Palestinian terrorist campaign (the second intifada)
- 4) Participation of ISM activists in Bila'in-style protests at focal points of friction after the second intifada
- 5) Involvement in flotillas
- 6) ISM modus operandi through the perspective of the Israeli legal system

D. Appendix IV – The deployment of ISM and its support groups

- 1) Overview
- 2) ISM presence in Judea and Samaria and its links with local organizations
- 3) ISM support groups around the globe

E. Appendix V – The ISM's media policies

F. Appendix VI – Videos featuring appearances by Huwaida Arraf, senior ISM and FGM figure, briefing activists who took part in the voyage of the *Challenger 2*.

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Appendix I

The ISM's Ideology and Modus Operandi

Hostility to Israel

1. **The ISM is an international which is anti-Israeli and anti-Zionist. Its origins lie in extreme American leftism and even anarchism.** The Americans were joined by Palestinian activists (primarily Christians) affiliated with the Palestinian left, and a group of extreme leftist pro-Palestinians from Israel. Over the years others activists joined them, mainly from Western countries, including human rights, peace, social, anti-globalization and even ecological activists.

2. To the best of our knowledge, the ISM does not have a well-defined cohesive ideological platform, but **it identifies completely with the Palestinian side and is hostile to Israel.** Its anti-Israeli ideology is evident in its internal documents, public statements made by senior figures, and sometimes in information appearing on its website.

3. The result of this study is that the ISM **rejects not only Israel's policies regarding the territories** (what it calls "the Israeli apartheid in Palestine"), **but also the very fact of Israel's existence as a national homeland for the Jewish people.** An analysis of internal documents and public statements indicates that **the organization does not support the solution of two states for two peoples, opposes the Oslo process, supports an armed Palestinian campaign** (and did so during the second intifada as well, at the height of suicide bombing terrorism) **and emphasizes the implementation of the "right of return" of the Palestinian refugees to Israel as a means of destroying the State of Israel as a Jewish, Zionist country** (while ignoring the expulsion of the Jews from the Arab countries, which turned them into refugees).

4. ISM activists **use various forums to vilify Israel**, part of the campaign being waged to delegitimize it, and compare Israel's policies to those of Nazi Germany and South Africa's apartheid.⁵

5. The ISM does not publicly go into detail regarding its views as to a solution for the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, instead describing its objectives in terms of a struggle for

⁵ The training manuals from Northern California and East Jerusalem contained material which was anti-Zionist material and depicted Israel as a colonial country established by force (for example, an article written in 2001 by Tim Wise called "Reflections on Zionism from a dissident Jew." The author is described as an activist, lecturer and author from Nashville, Tennessee (mediamonitors.net website, May 30, 2002).

"Palestinian rights." It demands the implementation of UN resolutions and represents itself as striving to end the "Israeli occupation" in the territories, and achieving "a just and viable peace" (the nature of which is vague). **Using such vague terminology makes it possible for the ISM to appeal to a broad common denominator around the world, which includes Israelis, Jews and human rights activists, some of whom do not necessarily deny Israel's right to exist but strongly oppose its policies toward the Palestinians.**

6. For example, the manual used in training workshops in East Jerusalem and a document summing up workshop given to activists in Northern California **express strong objections to the Oslo Accords, although the ISM is careful not to attack the Palestinian Authority** (in whose territory it operates.)⁶

7. According to the manuals and documents, the Oslo Accords created autonomous Palestinian Authority regions similar to the Indian reservations in the United States or the Bantustans in South Africa. Responsibility for the outbreak of the second intifada is laid firmly at Israel's doorstep. The documents denounce Israel for sending its military forces into Palestinian cities during Operation Defensive Shield (2002) and for the "murders," "torture" and "detentions" allegedly carried out by the IDF. **The documents are one-sided and slanted against Israel and for the Palestinians, and ignore Palestinian suicide bombing terrorism, which peaked during the second intifada.** At that time, during the intifada, the ISM's website also **did not hold Palestinian terrorism responsible for the escalation of the confrontation with Israel**, but instead focused on conducting a smear campaign against Israel and calling for solidarity with the Palestinians who confronted Israel.

Opposition to American Policy: The Case of Rachel Corrie

8. **The ISM is also hostile to the United States and its policies.** Examples of its hostility appear in statements made by senior ISM figures and in the way the organization is run. A perusal the journal of Rachel Corrie, an American ISM activist who became a symbol after she was killed trying to hinder IDF counterterrorism activities activity along the Philadephi route, **clearly illustrates the deep hatred ISM activists have for American policy in Afghanistan and Iraq.** The criticism, whose roots may, in our assessment, lie in anti-war movement during Vietnam, is the result of the ISM's deep identification with Muslims, whom they view as victims of American policy. Criticism of the United States does not end with its foreign policy. **Rachel Corrie writes that "the United States, possibly one of the most**

⁶ Northern California and East Jerusalem training manuals. For the ISM's objections to the Oslo Accords, see Rachel Corrie's *Journal*, p. 225.

racist countries in the world, loves to make-believe that all sorts of other people are full of blind hatred and racism – at least when it's politically expedient."⁷

9. During her studies in Olympia, Washington, Rachel Corrie formulated a worldview which aspired to global justice, was hostile to American policies and considered the United States as one of the world's racist countries (Israel's activity in the territories was regarded as an expression of American policy). After the events of September 11, 2001, she joined a peace activist demonstration in Olympia protesting American policy in Afghanistan and Iraq.⁸

10. During her stay in Rafah, Rachel Corrie participated in local protests against American policy in Iraq. At the beginning of February 2003 she participated in a demonstration held in Khan Yunis to show solidarity with Iraq.⁹ On February 15, 2003, she participated in a demonstration held in Rafah to protest American policy in Iraq and "Palestine." There were between 100 and 150 Palestinian demonstrators and nine ISM activists. Rachel Corrie (who was the ISM's local spokesperson) wrote that she marched with children, shouting "freedom for Palestine, freedom for Iraq."¹⁰ In a media briefing she issued, she wrote that a "US national" had burned an American flag. Photographs of the event showed that she herself was the "US national."

Rachel Corrie burns the American flag at a demonstration in Rafah, Gaza Strip



Cleveland.indymedia.org website



Godlikeproductions.com website

⁷ Rachel Corrie's journal, p. 233. She and other ISM activists demonstrated in Rafah against the oppression of demonstrators in New York (p. 261). On the other hand, she identifies with the Muslim society she visited in Rafah, and wrote at the time that the "Qur'an gives women many rights" (p. 249).

⁸ See for example Rachel Corrie's *Journal*, pp. 169-70, which deal with her activities in the Olympia Movement for Justice and Peace (OMJP); also see pp. 172-174, 210.

⁹ Rachel Corrie's *Journal*, pp. 245-246.

¹⁰ Rachel Corrie's *Journal*, pp. 264-265.



4.bp.blogspot.com website

Slogans of "Non-Violence" vs. Support for the Principle of an Armed Palestinian Campaign

11. **During the Palestinian terrorist campaign (the second intifada) the ISM gave its ideological support to the "armed Palestinian struggle" (which was expressed on the ground by suicide bombing attacks.) although without directly participating in the terrorist attacks against Israel (no terrorist operatives were identified among its activists in the territories). The ISM repeatedly expressed support, in principle, for the armed Palestinian struggle: on its website, by briefing volunteers who were sent to the territories, and through public statements made by senior figures. Practically speaking, it conducted its own activities on the ground, which consisted of repeated attempts made by ISM activists to serve as human shields for Palestinian terrorists and their families and to hinder the activities of Israeli security forces (alongside ISM activities intended to support the Palestinian population).**

12. **In September 2006 American journalist Lee Kaplan, who specializes in monitoring the ISM, disclosed pictures taken in Jericho of organization volunteers in Judea and Samaria holding weapons.** The ISM's website responded by saying that when the photographs were taken the people involved were not ISM activists and had gone to Jericho without discussing their plans with any senior ISM figure (ISM website, September 16, 2010). It is our considered opinion that **the pictures document an exceptional event which did not reflect ISM policy. However, in our assessment, it does illustrate the activists' deep identification with the armed Palestinian campaign,** which led them, in several cases, to support terrorist operatives (See Appendix IV).



Photographs disclosed by American journalist Lee Kaplan: ISM activists proudly holding automatic assault rifles (Stoptheism.com website)

13. After the second intifada (apparently in 2005) the ISM removed its website posting giving support, in principle, of an armed Palestinian struggle, noting that the organization supported passive, non-violent resistance. The following is the posting, which appeared on the ISM website at least between 2002 and 2003.



What is the ISM?

The International Solidarity Movement is a Palestinian-led movement of Palestinian and International activists working to raise awareness of the struggle for Palestinian freedom and an end to Israeli occupation. We utilize nonviolent, direct-action methods of resistance to confront and challenge illegal Israeli occupation forces and policies.

As enshrined in international law and UN resolutions, **we recognize the Palestinian right to resist Israeli violence and occupation via legitimate armed struggle.** However, we believe that nonviolence can be a powerful weapon in fighting oppression and we are committed to the principles of nonviolent resistance.

- **We support the Palestinian right to resist the occupation, as provided for by International Law;**
- We call for an immediate end to the occupation and immediate compliance and implementation of all relevant UN resolutions;
- We call for immediate international intervention to protect the Palestinian people and ensure Israel's compliance with International Law.

The ISM website, December 2003, at the height of the Palestinian terrorist campaign (the second intifada); ITIC emphasis throughout.

14. During the media briefings of ISM volunteers, **they were coached on how to express understanding for suicide bombing attack terrorism and in fact to justify it.** The following is an example from the briefing given to volunteers in London in 2005¹¹ (See below for details, Appendix VI):

For example, if a journalist asks an ISMer: **"Well, you can't deny that Israeli civilians are also being killed by Palestinians suicide bombers, what do you have to say about Palestinian terrorism and the accusation that you are defending terrorists?"**

SAMPLE Answer: **"I am opposed to all violence directed at innocent civilians.** If we want to stop the killing of both Palestinians and Israelis, **we must address the root of the killing, the violence and terror, and the is that Israeli occupation of Palestinian land and the oppression of the Palestinian people.** End terror, end the occupation. That's what I'm working for." Followed by: "This is what I strongly believe, and why I came to join the International Solidarity Movement. If you want an official ISM statement to your question contact ISM centre."

15. In addition, **senior ISM figures publicly stated their support for the armed Palestinian campaign and understanding for the suicide bombers' motives.** For example:

A. **Huwaida Arraf, ISM co-founder and senior activist,** participated in an anti-Israeli conference held by the Palestine Solidarity Movement (PSM), an anti-Israeli, US-based student organization, at North Carolina's Duke University between October 15 and 17, 2004. The conference was attended by activists and students. She held a workshop where she called on students to join the ISM. She said that the ISM used tactics of **hindering IDF soldiers' activities,** spreading anti-Israeli propaganda and "voicing support for others **who engage in armed resistance against Israel.**" Another ISM activist at the conference, an Israeli student named Ran Bar-Or, said **"There is always violence under occupation"** (ITIC emphasis throughout) (From an article called "Duke University: Target of Anti-Israel Activists," Anti-Defamation League website, October 20 2004).

B. **ISM co-founder Dr. Paul Larudee** occasionally visited Judea and Samaria in 2002 and 2003 and took an active part in the organization's anti-Israeli activity. He visited the wife of a suicide bomber (given the alias of "Amer Nablusi") and later wrote an article called "Sleeping in the bed of a suicide bomber." The article ended with **Larudee's expressing his full understanding of suicide bombers, despite the**

¹¹ From the London training manual. Volunteers received the same information on June 9, 2004, in San Francisco (from the "ISM Training Session in California").

fact that he wrote that suicide bombing attacks against non-combatants were war crimes. He wrote that Palestinian terrorist operatives were not motivated by religious fanaticism but were "pushed to desperation" and to carry out acts of self defense by the increasing pressure of what he called Israel's "ethnic cleansing." He ended by asking the question, "**Is there a proud people anywhere that might not be driven to such measures to defend themselves?**"¹² (ITIC emphasis).

16. **An internal ISM document given to a journalist at the end of October 2010 supports the principle of the armed Palestinian campaign.** The document (in our assessment updated to the period of the second intifada) claims that "most of the Palestinians" conduct the struggle peacefully. According to the East Jerusalem manual, "The Palestinian response over the years has been some **attempts at armed struggle**¹³ (**as is their right**), but mostly peaceful protests..." (ITIC emphasis).

Direct Action Methods

17. **The term *direct action* appears in many ISM internal documents.** According to the ISM's website in December 2003, the organization was using direct action methods to confront and challenge the Israeli "occupation forces." According to ISM files of organization's support group in Northern California, the ISM uses "...the proactive tactics of **non-violent direct action** epitomized by Gandhi, Archbishop Tutu, Dr. Martin Luther King, and other practitioners of creative non-violent resistance..."¹⁴ (ITIC emphasis). The 2010 East Jerusalem training manual's Chapter Four contains articles on direct action methods (pp. 47-67).

18. The term ***affinity group*** refers to is a small, non-hierarchical group of between 5 and 20 individuals who work together on direct action or other projects. They have a common background of friendship, community, place or work or organization,¹⁵ and reach decisions by consensus. The East Jerusalem training manual's Chapter Five has material about affinity groups' making decisions through consensus (pp. 68-89).

19. **The ISM's website (January 2006) gave examples of various direct action methods,** such as "...challenging crippling checkpoints and curfew, confronting tanks and demolition equipment, removing roadblocks, participating in nonviolent demonstrations,

¹² ISM website, June 13, 2006.

¹³ "[S]ome attempts at armed struggle" considerably downplays Palestinian terrorism, especially the suicide bombing terrorism rife at the time the manual was written. **Suicide bombing terrorism murdered 525 Israelis between 2000 and 2005, the majority of them civilians.**

¹⁴ From the Northern California Support Group of the International Solidarity Movement. The ITIC received the documents from American journalist Lee Kaplan.

¹⁵ "What is an affinity group?" an article taken from documents of an ISM support group in Northern California, from the freedomrising.org website.

accompanying farmers to their fields and protecting families whose homes are threatened with demolition." The use of such methods, noted the website in December 2001, would create resistance to the "Israeli occupation" and Israel would eventually be forced to withdraw from Judea and Samaria, the Gaza Strip and East Jerusalem (for implementing the methods see Appendix IV). **The methods are described as "non-violent" and do not include the direct participation of ISM activists in terrorist attacks.** However, their implementation on the ground sometimes led to casualties and indirectly supported terrorist activities (See Appendix III).

20. ISM activists who enrolled in the San Francisco workshop in June 2004 were briefed on the implementation of such direct action methods, as follows:

"Roadblock Removal: ISM members will help to dig out piles of rocks and dirt that the IDF uses as roadblocks. Occasionally by hand, but the local coordinators usually try to arrange for a bulldozer when possible...ISM works with local Palestinians or without them..."

"Human Shields: ISM members will join Palestinians in sneaking around checkpoints, breaking curfew, and protests. The point is that soldiers will be less likely to shoot or use violence when Westerners are present. Usually they also carry a camera or video camera, because filming soldiers often makes them leave..."

21. The training manual used in East Jerusalem in 2010 calls the **checkpoints and roadblocks "important targets"** for direct action because their existence disrupts the Palestinians' daily lives. **The manual makes no reference to the security situation which led to their erection. The checkpoints and roadblocks were erected by the IDF because of security considerations which were strengthened during the Palestinian terrorist campaign (the second intifada).** During the past two years many were dismantled as the security situation in Judea and Samaria improved, the result of successful IDF and Palestinian Authority counterterrorism activities.

Various Uses of Direct Action Methods



ISM and Palestinian activists lying in front of an IDF armored bulldozer near Ramallah (Osama Silwadi for Reuters, December 18, 2006).



ISM activists try to stop an IDF tractor (Omer Cusini for Reuters, November 6, 2006).

22. The concept of direct action as a means for promoting social and political changes developed within the context of revolutionary struggles: direct action was used by Lenin, Che Guevara, Martin Luther King, the American Civil Rights Movement and others. **The ISM represents it as non-violent, however, in reality, during demonstrations and riots in Bila'in, Ni'lin and other areas of friction where ISM activists participate, "soft" violence is often employed.** Firearms are not used but stones are thrown, slings are used to propel stones and sharp pieces of metal, Molotov cocktail are sometimes tossed, and Israeli security forces are physically assaulted.

23. The examination of the ISM manual distributed in East Jerusalem in 2010 clearly indicates that **the ISM is aware that the participation of its activists in direct action is liable to endanger not only their safety (see below) but also to result in their detention.** The section (written in May 2002) dealing with the legal training of ISM volunteers describes a number of situations in which activists may be detained by the Israeli security forces. The first situation is the implementation of direct action methods and the third is presence in closed military areas.¹⁶

24. Senior ISM figures defined their objective as "breaking the siege" on the Gaza Strip through non-violent direct action. However, the affair of the Mavi Marmara, which ended in a violent confrontation, again **proved direct action's potential for violence and the**

¹⁶ Training manual given to a journalist in East Jerusalem in 2010, p. 96.

enormous gap between slogans of non-violence and the brutal violence employed by pro-Palestinian activists who define themselves as "human rights activists."

ISM Awareness of the High Risks Involved in Direct Action

25. During the second intifada ISM activists operated in areas of confrontation where IDF forces carried out intensive anti-Palestinian counterterrorism activities. After the intifada they continued operating at points of friction between Palestinians and Israeli security forces where "soft" violence was employed (see below). **Internal ISM documents show that the organization was fully aware of the personal danger to which its activists exposed themselves during direct action**, especially during the second intifada. In point of fact, **during ISM activity in the territories two of its activists were killed** (Rachel Corrie and Tom Hurdall, both killed in the Gaza Strip) **and two others were critically injured** (*Haaretz*, February 11, 2010), **while other volunteers sustained non-critical injuries**.

26. ISM volunteer Rachel Corrie often mentioned the danger she had exposed herself to in her activities in the area around Rafah (where she was killed). Before she left for the Middle East she told her family, "I'm really scared."¹⁷ In Rafah she wrote that the situation was fairly dangerous because the IDF was operating in the area.¹⁸ In one instance she noted that the IDF was shooting nearby.¹⁹ ISM activists discussed the possibility of an Israeli invasion of the Gaza Strip as a result of the American invasion of Iraq.²⁰ However, elsewhere she wrote that she felt herself relatively safe and that "the most likely risk" would be an arrest in case of "a large-scale incursion."²¹

27. The embassies of the United States and other Western countries in Israel were aware of the risks ISM activists took by engaging in unlawful activities in confrontation areas. An article summing up the death of Rachel Corrie noted that the ISM appealed to the American consulate [in Jerusalem], asking it to warn the IDF that international "peace activists" were being shot at by Israeli forces and requesting them to act with restraint. According to the article, the consulate representative Ingrid Barzel refused, saying that **"We do not accept any responsibility for any one who ignores our travel advisories and illegally enters the Gaza Strip"**²² (ITIC emphasis). A similar appeal to the British consulate had the same result.

¹⁷ Rachel Corrie's *Journal*, Introduction, p. XIV,

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 236. For the fighting in the Rafah area where there were ISM activists, also see pp. 245, 253 and 260.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 239.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp 242, 245.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 266, 267.

²² Henry Michaels, March 19, 2003, "Rachel Corrie: A victim of Israeli policy and US complicity," (WSWS.org website).

Briefing ISM activists

28) In briefings given to ISM activists about various issues concerning the organization and its activities in the territories, **the question of the level of danger to which they are exposed is raised:**

21) **"What is the danger level?"**

Although past delegations have been *mostly* free of serious injuries, obviously, **the situation has gotten riskier**. You should remember that **you are entering a war zone**, and it's difficult to predict exactly what you will face. The Palestinians who live in the West Bank and Gaza are at much higher risk than you, simply because you will have a foreign passport. **But, again, we cannot predict the dangers you will face.**²³ (ITIC emphasis; ISM italics)

29. Volunteers at a training workshop in London in 2005 were told that participation in a direct confrontation with Israeli soldiers and settlers **entailed risks** that not everyone was prepared to take: "Obviously not everyone is **comfortable taking the same risks or participating in direct confrontations with soldiers, police and settlers**. Therefore, local committees²⁴ will determine various roles and levels of participation for all, so that there is something to do for everyone." (ITIC emphasis).

30. The East Jerusalem training manual also included relevant medical information for volunteers participating in direct action (pp. 106-110). That may indicate the assumption that direct action puts ISM volunteers at risk of physical injury.

²³ Training manual fro East Jerusalem, p. 131 (taken from Q and A relating to ISM activity, valid for June 2003).

²⁴ A reference to the Palestinian popular committees with which the ISM collaborates.

Appendix II

Portrait of ISM's Key Figures

General Description

1. The ISM was founded by **radical leftist American activists** who continue to fill key positions in the organization's leadership to this day. **Four of them, all of them residing in the United States, are particularly prominent.** They are **Huwaida Arraf** (ISM's most prominent personality), her husband **Adam Shapiro**, **Paul Larudee** and **Greta Berlin**. Currently, they focus their operations on launching flotillas. They fill key positions – to a great extent at the expense of their activities in the ISM – **in various anti-Israeli organizations which belong to the international coalition which sends flotillas to the Gaza Strip and wages the campaign to delegitimize Israel** (mainly the Free Gaza Movement (FGM) and the Free Palestine Movement (FPM)).

2. There are **many prominent senior Jewish and Israeli figures in the ISM, and/or those who have some connection to the Jewish people and are proponents of anti-Israeli, anti-Zionist ideology:** **Adam Shapiro**, one of the founders, is American, Jewish and married to **Huwaida Arraf**, the most prominent ISM personality. Her father is an Arab who was born in Israel and settled in Detroit. **Neta Golan**, another founder and senior activist in the territories, is an Israeli woman who married a Palestinian and lives in Ramallah. **Greta Berlin**, also a founder, was married to a Jewish man. The ISM's website claims that between 15% and 20% of its activists are Jewish, either from Israel or elsewhere.²⁵ In addition, the ISM is in contact with extreme leftists in Israel, some of whom are anarchists. They participated in ISM activities during its first years until they split and joined an organization called "Anarchists Against Fences" (also known as "Anarchists Against the Wall" (See Appendix V).

3. **The ISM's activity is based on a small core of permanent activists who focus on the United States, Judea and Samaria. They direct large groups of volunteers** who work without pay and who are required to fund the activities themselves. Generally speaking the volunteers remain in the territories for relatively short periods of time (from a number of weeks to a number of months), **so the rate of turnover has been high.**

²⁵ The statistics might be exaggerated to indicate publicly that the ISM has many Jewish and/or Israeli activists, providing a kind of "kosher stamp" for its activities and hostility to Israel.

4. **The exact number of ISM activists and volunteers is unknown.** The ISM's **website and its global networks do not usually publish information about the activists** (one of the many aspects of the organization keeps secret). According to our information, at the height of the ISM's activity, 2002-2005, during the Palestinian terrorist campaign (the second intifada), **an average of about 150 volunteers arrived each year.** Since the end of the intifada the number has declined (according to an article in the Israeli daily *Haaretz* in February 2010, there were about 20 ISM activists in Judea and Samaria and four in the Gaza Strip).²⁶ In our assessment **most of them were American and some were European (particularly from Britain and Sweden).** A small number were from Japan, Australia and South Africa.

5. According to an internal, handwritten ISM list of **160 activists** who were about to be sent to the territories between July 2002 and June 2004,²⁷ **93** were American. Thirty-one were from **Britain** and 22 were from **Sweden**, two European countries where the ISM is very active. Activists from **other countries** included three from Italy, three from Ireland, two each from Germany, France and Denmark, and once each from Spain, Holland and Greece. **In addition**, there were five from Canada and one each from Israel, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa.

Portraits of Senior ISM Figures

Huwaida Arraf

6. **Huwaida Arraf is one of the ISM's founders and to this day the most important figure.** Her position in the organization is defined as coordinator and spokesperson, **but in reality she is its most prominent figure and moving spirit.** In addition to her ISM activities she also plays a central role in the Free Gaza Movement, the pro-Hamas umbrella organization which specializes in sending convoys to the Gaza Strip (she is currently on the FGM's interim board of trustees).

7. Huwaida Arraf's family were Christian Arabs who moved to Detroit in 1975. She was born in 1976, the first of five children. Her father, who worked for General Motors, was born in Israel, in one of the villages in the Galilee. Her mother, a nurse, was born in Beit Sahour, a Christian town east of Bethlehem, where the ISM has a permanent presence.²⁸

²⁶ *Haaretz* website, February 11, 2010, "IDF twice raids Ramallah office of pro-Palestinian group," by Nir Hasson.

²⁷ The list was provided by Lee Kaplan, an American journalist. The volunteers' personal details include date of birth, nationality, passport number and date of departure for the territories.

²⁸ Two of ISM's founders have their roots in Beit Sahour (see below).



Huwaida Arraf and her husband, Adam Shapiro, both ISM founders
(archive.frontpagemag.com website)

8. Huwaida Arraf has a degree from the University of Michigan, where she majored in political science, Arabic and Jewish studies. She has a Masters degree in law and specialized in human rights, international law and war crimes. In 2007 she received a PhD in law from the American University in Washington. She taught human rights issues and humanitarian law at Al-Quds University in Jerusalem.

9. After she finished her studies in 1998 she worked to promote the rights of American Arabs at the Arab-American Institute in Washington. In 2001 she began working for Seeds of Peace, which, according to its website, "is dedicated to empowering young leaders from regions of conflict with the leadership skills required to advance reconciliation and coexistence."²⁹ That same year she arrived in Jerusalem with Seeds of Peace and became the coordinator for the organization's Center for Coexistence in Jerusalem. While working for the organization she met Adam Shapiro from Brooklyn and they married in 2002.

10. **Huwaida Arraf is hostile to Israel and denies its right to exist.** In the past she justified Palestinian violence. In January 2002, at the height of the suicide bombing terrorism, she and Adam Shapiro wrote an article which appeared on the ISM website. It was in response to an article in the online Palestine Chronicle, and said that "**The Palestinian resistance must take on a variety of characteristics – both nonviolent and violent. But most importantly it must develop a strategy involving both aspects. No other successful nonviolent movement was able to achieve what it did without a concurrent violent movement.**"³⁰ Speaking at Duke University in North Carolina at a conference held between October 15 and 17, 2004, she expressed her support for the Palestinians engaged in what she called "armed resistance" against Israel (see Appendix I).

11. **In 2001 Huwaida Arraf and Adam Shapiro helped found the ISM.** A short time after its founding they began working for the organization full time. The training manual used in Northern California contains a picture of Huwaida Arraf, her face painted in the colors of

²⁹ <http://www.seedspeace.org/about>.

³⁰ <http://netwmd.com/anti-ism/ISM%20by%20any%20means.htm>.

the Palestinian flag, standing in front of an officer of the Israeli Border Police (The picture was taken by AP, December 31, 2001). In April 2002 she headed a group of ISM activists who helped wanted terrorist operatives who had barricaded themselves in the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem by bringing them food and water (see Appendix III). She was detained because of her activities in Judea and Samaria a number of times by the Israeli security forces.

12. In 2004 she helped edit *Peace Under Fire*, a book of personal statements written by ISM volunteers. In the summer of 2006, during the Second Lebanon War, she and Adam Shapiro went to Lebanon to coordinate support for the residents of south Lebanon. In 2009 she was a member of a National Lawyers Guild delegation which went to the Gaza Strip to "document" what it called "violations of international law and Israel war crimes" during Operation Cast Lead.

13. **In 2006 Huwaida Arraf was one of a group of senior ISM figures who established the Free Gaza Movement, an anti-Israeli pro-Hamas umbrella organization** which specializes in organizing flotillas to the Gaza Strip in collaboration with the ISM. In 2008 she participated in an FGM flotilla to the Gaza Strip. On May 31, 2010, she participated in the IHH-led flotilla which ended in a bloody, violent confrontation aboard the *Mavi Marmara*. She participated in organizing the flotilla with a coalition of other anti-Israeli groups and organizations. **On May 16, 2010, she participated in the preparatory coalition meeting held in Istanbul by the vice president of IHH, where arrangements were made for the flotilla.**

14. She began the flotilla aboard the FGM's yacht, the *Challenger 2*. **Video clips indicated she was the moving spirit, organizing and leading the activists aboard the ship.** The videos indicate that she was well-respected by the activists, in our assessment because of her seniority in the FGM and her experience in previous confrontations with the IDF during her ISM and FGM activities. A technical difficulty forced the *Challenger 2* to put into port in Cyprus, and Huwaida and several other activists transferred to the *Mavi Marmara*.



Huwaida Arraf briefs activists aboard the *Challenger 2*

15. According to the videos, during the day or two before she sailed with the *Challenger 2* she stayed in a hotel in Cyprus, where she gave detailed briefings to the activists who were going to join the flotilla. She briefed them on a variety of subjects, including what was waiting for them in the Gaza Strip, how to act with Palestinians, various scenarios of Israeli action, how to behave if detained and questioned in Israel, possible punishments, legal issues and the role of the consulates of the activists' various countries of origin. She also instructed them about behavior on board the ship, including division into teams, how to bar the path of IDF forces when they boarded the ship (including how to prevent them from reaching the wheelhouse and engine room), and the need for teams to film the events for the sake of documentation. During the voyage she continued briefing and instructing the activists aboard the yacht (for video clips see Appendix VI).

Paul Larudee

16. **Paul Larudee, who today calls himself Paul Wilder**, is an extreme leftist, anti-Israeli, pro-Hamas activist from the United States. He was one of the founders of the ISM and of the ISM support group in Northern California. He was active in the FGM, quarreled with organization activists, and founded the Free Palestine Movement (FPM), which operates mainly in California. Apparently most of his activity today focuses on the FPM.



Paul Larudee waits for authorization to enter Israel (photo from the organization website)

17. Paul Larudee is American, Christian and of Iranian extraction, and lives in El Cerrito, California. He is married and has two children, and has a doctorate in linguistics from Georgetown University. He works as a piano tuner and imports (or imported) organic olive oil products. He spent 14 years in Arab countries as an advisor for various American administrations, including the supervision of a Ford Foundation project in Lebanon and playing an advisory role in Saudi Arabia.

18. Since 1965 he has visited the territories many times. **Between 2002 and 2003 he visited four times as part of his ISM activities.** At the height of the Palestinian terrorist campaign (the second intifada) he occasionally spent time in Judea and Samaria and

participated in the ISM's anti-Israeli activities. He visited the wife of a suicide bomber in Nablus and wrote an article entitled "Sleeping in the bed of a suicide bomber," in which **he expressed understanding for the suicide bombers' motives**. He was one of the ISM activists who entered the refugee camps in Bethlehem and Nablus during Operation Defensive Shield, and was wounded.

19. On June 4 2006 Paul Larudee flew to Israel from the United States (with an open ticket) to participate in ISM activities, using a passport issued in the name of Paul Wilder. He did not arrive as an ISM activist, but rather used a cover story of having come to Israel to examine the possibility of opening a piano-tuning company or the commercial prospects for importing products such as olive oil to the United States. Directly questioned at the airport, he admitted to being an ISM activist and having come to Israel to participate in protest activities against the "Israeli occupation," and to prepare for the organization's "summer campaign." The Israeli ministry of the interior refused him entry, but when an El Al plane arrived to return him to the United States he resisted violently and was held in custody at the airport. He left Israel two weeks later, after his appeal against deportation was rejected by the court.³¹

20. During the Second Lebanon War (2006) he visited Lebanon to promote a plan to send ISM activists to serve as human shields. **In 2009, on a visit to the Gaza Strip, he received a medal of honor for his activities from Ismail Haniya.**



Paul Larudee, Greta Berlin and Ismail Haniya, head of the de facto Hamas administration in the Gaza Strip

21. As part of his FGM activities Paul Larudee participated in a number of flotillas. The last was in May 2010 and led by IHH, where he was a passenger on the *Sfendoni 8000*, which joined the flotilla representing pro-Palestinian organizations in Greece and Sweden as part of the European Campaign to End the Siege on Gaza (ECESG). He carried an American passport issued to "Paul Wilder," No. 7121815849. Today he boasts of being a "flotilla survivor."

³¹ For further details see the judgment handed down by Dr. Drorah Pilpel, at the Tel-Aviv-Jaffa District Court, July 5, 2006.



Paul Larudee's invitation to a fundraiser in California, where he represented himself as *Mavi Marmara* "survivor" (YouTube, August 22, 2010)

22. On August 8, 2010, he held an FPM fund raiser in California where he talked about planned projects. **He also talked about them during an interview with Hezbollah's Al-Manar TV and on the FPM website**, representing them as part of his hate-propaganda "PR war" against Israel, which, he said, Israel could only lose. The projects included **organizing an upgraded flotilla, sending a plane to the Gaza Strip**, flying 200 Palestinians to Israel's Ben-Gurion International Airport to demand the "right of return," and a concert for "Palestine" which would be twinned with Nelson Mandela's concert in 1987 (to identify the campaign against Israel with the South African struggle against apartheid).

Paul Larudee interviewed by Al-Manar (homepage of the Al-Manar English website)

Adam Shapiro



Adam Shapiro (abarvoices.net website)

23. **Adam Shapiro was one of the ISM's co-founders and is active in the organization to this day. He is also one of the members of the FGM's interim board of trustees.** He is an American Jew who defines himself as an atheist. He was born in Brooklyn, New York, in 1972, and in 1993 received a BA in political science from Washington University in St. Louis. He studied Arabic for a year in Yemen and afterwards studied Arabic at Georgetown University in Washington, where he received an MA. He is working on his doctoral thesis at the American University in Washington.

24. In 1997 he began working for Seeds of Peace in New York. Between 1999 and 2002 he was in Judea and Samaria. With the founding of the center in Jerusalem in 1999 he moved there to run it. He met Huwaida Arraf at the center and the two of them founded the ISM in 2001. Since his work with Seeds of Peace prohibited him from involvement in politics, at first he only helped the ISM with logistics (typing media announcements and raising funds). A short time later he left Seeds of Peace. He married Huwaida Arraf and became a full-time ISM activist.

25. In January 2002, at the height of the suicide bombing terrorism of the second intifada, Adam Shapiro and Huwaida Arraf wrote an article justifying Palestinian violence and terrorism, claiming that there was already extreme violence on the ground and that the so-called Israeli "occupation" was the violent party. (The article appeared as a rebuttal to an article calling for Palestinian non-violence, and was posted on the ISM website.) He justified the second intifada to Paula Zahn on CNN on May 10, 2002, and in The Star on July 14, 2003.

26. During the ISM's first years Adam Shapiro and Huwaida Arraf lived in Ramallah. In April 2002, during Operation Defensive Shield, he and other ISM activists went to Arafat's so-called "presidential" compound (the Muqata'a) in Ramallah when Israeli forces surrounded it. He stayed there for 24 hours, helping Arafat with public relations (see Appendix IV). During other activities in the territories he and some of his comrades chained themselves to an IDF roadblock, for which they were detained and deported from Israel.

27. In recent years he has produced documentary films. In 2004 he was part of a group which produced a documentary about the American occupation of Iraq. In 2006 he and his colleagues produced a documentary which investigated the history of the confrontation in Darfur. He also participated in a movie called "Darfur Diaries." His most recent movie was a six-episode series about Palestinian refugees around the world called "Chronicles of a Refugee," which was shown on Al-Jazeera TV's documentary channel in May 2009.

Greta Berlin

28. **Greta Berlin is a senior ISM figure, anti-Israeli and pro-Hamas, and a member of the FGM's interim board of trustees.** She was born in Detroit, Michigan in 1941, and today lives in Los Angeles. In college she majored in mass media and theatre arts, and has an MA in theatre. She was married to an Arab from Safed, but is divorced. Her two children are described as "Palestinian-American" (FGM website). After her divorce she married Dr. Alvin Berlin, a Jewish scientist, and divorced him as well. She formerly owned a company which specialized in designing presentations.



Greta Berlin (camera.org website)

29. She claims to have begun her anti-Israeli activity after the Six Day War, when she and her husband founded Pal-Aid International, one of Chicago's first NGOs dedicated to the Palestinian cause. In 2003, at the height of the Palestinian terrorist campaign, she joined the ISM, working at the ISM office in Beit Sahour. During Operation Defensive Shield she lived in Jenin, the "suicide bombers' capital." She returned to Judea and Samaria in 2005 and again in 2007.



Greta Berlin at an pro-Palestinian demonstration in San Francisco during Operation Cast Lead (Lea Suzuki for the *SF Chronicle*, payvand.com website)

30. **Greta Berlin was one of the founders of the FGM in 2006, and has continued as an important activist in the organization** (currently serving as its spokesperson). She participated in the first FGM flotilla in August 2008 and succeeded in entering the Gaza Strip; she helped organize the following flotillas. She was one of the organizers of the May 2010 flotilla and was photographed aboard the *Rachel Corrie*, which arrived late and was stopped by the Israeli Navy. During the flotilla she was at the FGM headquarters in Cyprus and was a media liaison person. On November 2, 2010, she announced that the FGM was going to close its headquarters in Nicosia and **move them to London**, the result of the Cypriot decision to prohibit ships to sail from its territory to the Gaza Strip (*Jerusalem Post*, November 9, 2010).



Greta Berlin (second from right) aboard the *Rachel Corrie*, named for an ISM activist killed while trying to interfere with an IDF activity along the Philadelphi route (along the border between Egypt and the Gaza Strip) (mycatbirdseat.com website).

31. On August 13, 2007, she told Radio Free Europe that **it was ridiculous that only because of the United States, Israel and the European Union people don't like Hamas' objectives and they are suddenly called terrorists**. She also said that the United States was helping Israel to "occupy, kill, starve, humiliate and deport the population for the sake of white European colonialism." In another interview she said, in reference to the flotilla, that **the only illegal presence in the region was Israel**, and that the flotilla's mission was not only to bring humanitarian assistance to the Palestinians but to **break the Israeli "siege"** (Agence France-Presse, May 27, 2010).

Senior ISM Figures in Judea and Samaria

Neta Golan

32. **Neta Golan was one of the ISM's founders.** Born in Tel Aviv in 1969, she is Israeli and pro-Palestinian. For the past ten years she has lived in Ramallah with her husband, Nizar Kamal, a Palestinian from Nablus. They have three daughters, whom she describes as Palestinian with a Jewish-Israeli mother. Her pro-Palestinian activity in Judea and Samaria began after the outbreak of the first intifada (1987).

33. During the second intifada she worked at the ISM's office in Beit Sahour, a town east of Bethlehem. She was Rachel Corrie's instructor at a training workshop in January 2003. In April 2002, during Operation Defensive Shield, she and other ISM activists located themselves in Arafat's compound in Ramallah to hinder the IDF's entrance.

34. After the second intifada she also participated in the activities of the FGM, which was founded by senior ISM members. In October 2008 she participated in the flotilla to the Gaza Strip, sailing aboard the *Dignity*, which was sent by both the FGM and ISM. She was detained by the Israeli security forces when she tried to leave the Gaza Strip through the Erez crossing, and released two days later.



Neta Golan during the legal deliberations at the court in Israel's southern city of Kiryat Gat (Activestills website)

35. Today she is part of the "Ramallah team" at the ISM's center there. She deals with the media and coordinates protest activities of ISM volunteers at various points of Israeli-Palestinian friction through the Palestinian Authority-sponsored "popular committees."³²

³² From an interview Neta Golan gave to the Alternative Information Center, March 2, 2010 (alterativenews.org website)

Hisham Jamjoun (aka Hisham Jamjoun)

36. **Hisham Jamjoun was one of the ISM's founders, and is today a senior activist in the territories.** He was born in 1958 and lives in East Jerusalem, formerly residing in Hebron. During the 1980s he studied agricultural engineering in Syria. **In the past he represented himself to ISM activists as having been an operative of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine in Lebanon** (for which there is no verification). As far as is known he is not involved in terrorist activity in the territories.

37. "Hisham" was the name given on the organization's website as the liaison person whom volunteers contact when they reach Jerusalem to coordinate their activities. He has three cell phone numbers which volunteers can use. **"Hisham" is Hisham Jamjoun, the ISM's leading instructor in East Jerusalem.** He formerly ran the Faisal Youth Hostel in East Jerusalem, where training workshops were held for ISM volunteers who came to the territories. **Today he has moved the center of his activities to the Palm Hostel, located not far from the Faisal Youth Hostel.**

Dr. Ghassan Andoni

38. **Ghassan Andoni is one of the ISM's founders and was one of its most prominent activists in Judea and Samaria.** He is no longer an ISM activist, and as far as is known was not involved in terrorism.

39. Ghassan Andoni was born in Beit Sahour in 1956. He is Christian and a professor of physics at Bir Zeit University. In the 1970s and 1980s he worked and studied at Bethlehem University. During his studies he was active in a student cell of the Arab Liberation Front, a pro-Iraqi terrorist organization. At that time he was detained a number of times by the Israeli security forces because of his Arab Liberation Front activities.

40. During the first intifada he was involved in riots in Beit Sahour. He was detained and spent several months in administrative detention. In 1988, after his release, he founded the Palestinian Center for Rapprochement between People in Beit Sahour, which represents itself as promoting "non-violent resistance." Huwaida Arraf and other ISM founders were supported by the Center to enlist activists after they established their organization.



Ghassan Andoni (<http://electronicintifada.net>)

41. **In 1995 Ghassan Andoni and George Rishmawi founded a travel agency called the Alternative Tourism Group.** It specialized in organizing tours of Judea and Samaria for tourists who wanted to find out about the pro-Palestinian viewpoint of the conflict. **In reality, it also worked to support the ISM after its foundation,** and many ISM activists used its services to travel to Judea and Samaria (discoverthenetworks.org website). In 2003 Ghassan Andoni helped found the International Middle East Media Center, and in 2006 was in charge of foreign relations for Bir Zeit University.

George Nimr Rishmawi



George Rishmawi and (right) Neta Golan (<http://www.bobmay.info>)

42. **George Rishmawi is also an ISM founder. In the past he was one of its most prominent activists in Judea and Samaria. He is no longer involved with the movement.** As far as is known, he was not involved in terrorism.

43. George Rishmawi was born in Beit Sahour in 1973. He is Christian, teaches computer sciences and has a degree from Bir Zeit University in English language and literature. As a student at the university in the 1980s he belonged to a Communist cell.

44. **He is hostile to Israel and in favor of its annihilation, rejects the two-state solution** and demands the implementation of so-called "the right of return" as a way of

destroying Israel.³³ During the first intifada he participated in throwing stones at Israeli soldiers. In 1989 he was detained for two months. He participated in riots related to the demand to stop paying taxes in Beit Sahour. In the ISM he was responsible for directing volunteer activities and coordinating their training.



George Rishmawi at a demonstration in Bethlehem (<http://www.bobmay.info>)

45. He, along with Ghassan Andoni, established the Alternative Tourism Group, and was its manager (canadafreepress.com website). He was one of the founders and a coordinator for the Siraj Center for Holy Land Studies. Since 1998 he has been a member of the board of directors of the Palestinian Center for Rapprochement between People.

Other ISM Activists

46. The following is information about other ISM activists. The quick turnover of its activists and volunteers may mean that some of them are no longer associated with it or that they renew their association from time to time.

47. **Caoimhe Butterly** – Born in Dublin, Ireland, in 1978. Her stepfather's UN job took the family to Zimbabwe. She grew up in Canada, Mauritius and Zimbabwe, and was involved in social activity in Zimbabwe, the United States and Mexico. She speaks Arabic, and is an ISM and FGM activist. In 2002 she lived in Jenin for a year as part of her ISM activity, and spent 16 days in the Muqata'a in Ramallah, Arafat's headquarters. In November 2002 she was wounded by an IDF soldier in Jenin, and deported by Israel from Judea and Samaria. Before the American invasion of Iraq she protested to the Irish government for letting American forces land in Ireland. After the Second Lebanon War she protested against British policy in the Middle East when Tony Blair visited Lebanon. She was aboard one of the ships during the most recent flotilla to the Gaza Strip, apparently the *Rachel Corrie*. Her name appears on the FGM's list as an ISM liaison person (with a phone number in Greece and an email address in Britain).

³³ Discoverthenetworks.org website. Also see the April 19, 2005 umkahlil blog, where he says that "I believe the right of return is the most important issue because it helps finishing Zionist Israel."

48. **Eva Bartlett** – Comes from a small town near Ontario, Canada. Devotes her time to supporting the Palestinian cause. As part of her ISM activities she spent time in the territories. In 2007 she spent eight months in Bethlehem, Nablus and Ramallah. She was detained in Jerusalem on Christmas Eve 2007 and deported from Israel. In November 2008 she went to the Gaza Strip aboard the FGM ship *Dignity* (with other ISM activists). After she returned from the Gaza Strip she continued her volunteer activities with the ISM and the Red Cross. She went back to the Gaza Strip in December 2008 and was there during Operation Cast Lead. During the most recent flotilla her name appeared on the list of FGM liaison personnel as an ISM liaison person in Gaza (along with her email).

49. The following are the names of some former ISM volunteers and activists. Some of them may no longer be active in the organization, or their activities may be partial and occasional.

A. **Brian Malovany** – American Jew from Oakland, California. Has connections with Paul Larudee. According to our information also holds an Irish passport. Visited Israel at least twice. Has signed petitions advocating the boycotting of Israel.

B. **Adam Taylor** – British. At one point was a media coordinator in the ISM's offices in Ramallah. His name is on a list of ISM interviewees (information valid to 2008).

C. **Sasha [Alexander] Solanas** – American, speaks Russian. Was a media coordinator in the ISM's offices in Ramallah (information valid to 2008).

D. **Joseph Smith, aka Joseph Carr** – ISM activist in the United States, from Kansas City, Missouri. Recruits activists, tours American colleges. Has two aides in St. Louis, Missouri: Magan Wiles and Jennifer Presson. They were both recruited during their college days at St. Louis University (canadafreepress.com website, September 2006). He documented the death of Rachel Corrie. Is also a member of an organization called the US Campaign to End the Israeli Occupation. Entered Israel under a false name. Deported and forbidden reentry for ten years.



Joseph Smith and his assistant, Magan Wiles (<http://www.canadafreepress.com>)

E. **Michael Shaik** – From Melbourne, Australia. Came to the territories as a student to work as an ISM media coordinator. Was active from January to April 2003. Asked to remain in Israel until October but was deported. His appeal to the court to prevent his

deportation was rejected.³⁴ Was involved in sending two FGM ships to the Gaza Strip (*Liberty* and *Free Gaza*). Today is a public counsel for Australians for Palestine.

F. **Kristin (Flo) Rosovski** – Was an ISM media coordinator. Has said that Israel is an illegitimate country, and it is doomed to vanish.

G. **Heddi Epstein** – Born in 1924, Jewish, Holocaust survivor. Lives in St. Louis. Active in Palestinian rights issues. In 2003 was sent by ISM to Judea and Samaria. In August 2008 wanted to sail to the Gaza Strip aboard an FGM ship but cancelled for health reasons. In 2010 wanted to join the May flotilla, but changed her mind at the last minute while in Cyprus.

H. **Jess Ghannam** – American of Arab extraction, MD, lectures at the UC San Francisco medical school. Trained ISM volunteers at UCSF. Since the 1990s has been active in developing medicine in the territories. Was president of the San Francisco branch of the Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee. Is a member of the executive committee of the Al-Awda (which works to promote the so-called "right of return") and other organizations in the United States. We have no updated information about his activities.

³⁴ For further details see the judgment handed down by Judge Tsippora Bar-On, Tel Aviv-Jaffa District Court, August 1, 2003.

Appendix III

The ISM's Modus Operandi Since Its Founding

Training Workshops

1. ISM activists are sent to the territories for various periods (ten days to several months). Most of the volunteers arrive through Israel, although some come via Amman, the Jordanian capital. They are directed to a liaison address in East Jerusalem and from there sent to focal points of friction in Judea and Samaria, where they live among the Palestinians. Most of them are sent for a program called "Freedom Summer," a volunteer activity in the territories during the summer months (a name lifted from the 1960s voter-registration campaign in the American South). The volunteers are advised to participate in training workshops in their own countries, if possible (as far as we know there are workshops in London, San Francisco and New Orleans). However, some of them participate in two-day workshops in East Jerusalem and Beit Sahour.

2. At the workshops the volunteers hear lectures about various topics, including the ISM and its ideology, receive security briefings about how to behave with the Israeli authorities, are instructed how to act with the media and how to behave in Palestinian society,³⁵ and receive printed material about the Palestinians' so-called "right to return," etc.

3. ISM activists sent to the territories first **received a security briefing about methods which could be used to hinder or fool the Israeli authorities at border crossings.** They were told to prepare cover stories (for example, to pretend to be simple tourists³⁶), tamper with their passports or enter Israel under assumed names (some of the ISM's activists have dual citizenships or more than one name³⁷), and deny links to the ISM. Activists once deported by Israel, or whom it was feared might be prevented from entering Israel, had to be doubly observant in following the security guidelines. **In addition, the volunteers were briefed on how to avoid IDF roadblocks, enter forbidden areas using forged documents and how to return to Israel after having been deported.**

³⁵ One of the issues discussed was sexual harassment, apparently after several female volunteers were harassed. The volunteers, both male and female, are asked to dress modestly and not to go to activities dressed in revealing clothing, such as shorts and tank tops. They are also forbidden to engage in sexual relations during their stay in the territory.

³⁶ Cover stories were revealed during appeals lodged by ISM activists in Israeli courts against being deported from Israel.

³⁷ Paul Larudee, for example, uses the name Paul Wilder. According to our information, Paul Larudee found a way to have the American authorities allow him to use the name Wilder.

4. For example, during a training workshop given in New Orleans in 2003, they were given 11 rules to think about before going to Palestine. According to Rule No. 9,³⁸

"Have a "cover story" for when you enter through Israeli border security. Whether you arrive at Ben Gurion airport in Tel-Aviv, or from one of the land borders, you will have to deal with the Israeli border security. Here's the good news: its (usually) not as bad as you're afraid it will be. Thousands of tourists enter Israel daily. As long as you seem like them, you should be fine. But, be prepared!" (Emphasis in the original)

And rule No. 11,

"Don't fly El-Al (the Israeli airline). Three reasons: there is a boycott; it's a hostile and uncomfortable situation to put yourself in; and the security is much harsher.³⁹

5. The following is an example of the security briefing given at the training workshop in San Francisco on June 9, 2004 (**Note:** ITIC emphasis throughout):⁴⁰

Getting into the West Bank/Gaza:

Groups of ISMers, if asked, **should claim to be Christian tour groups on peace missions or something similar. Participants should travel in small groups** (3-4 per service taxi) **and they will not be questioned.** However, some participants are officially barred from entering the territories, and have more problems with travel. They either: 1. **take a private cab together with a driver who knows how to avoid checkpoints (arranged by Hisham, Huwaida, or other coordinators)**⁴¹ 2. take a service cab but with another participant traveling ahead to warn of any unexpected roadblocks/ID checks, or 3. **take a service cab and walk around the checkpoints,** with another one or two ISMers (with permission to travel) going through the checkpoint and coordinating the meeting at the other side.

The third method is easiest, however, the service cab has to go through the checkpoint half-full and then wait on the other side, both of which can arouse suspicion. So the first method is most popular.

ISMers also often travel with members of other groups after meeting at the Faisal Hostel.⁴² For example, if Hisham knows that a single ISM member and two European journalists are all

³⁸ From the East Jerusalem training manual, p. 124.

³⁹ From the East Jerusalem training manual, p. 124.

⁴⁰ From a document entitled "ISM Training Session in California," given to the ITIC by the American journalist Lee Kaplan.

⁴¹ **Hisham Jamjourn**, the ISM liaison person in East Jerusalem (to this day) and **Huwaida Arraf**, the most important ISM figure.

⁴² The hostel in East Jerusalem run by Hisham Jamjourn to which ISM volunteers are directed on arrival.

going to Jenin, he'll put them in contact so that they can travel together. A cover for the ISM volunteer to gain access and make trouble.

Leaving Israel:

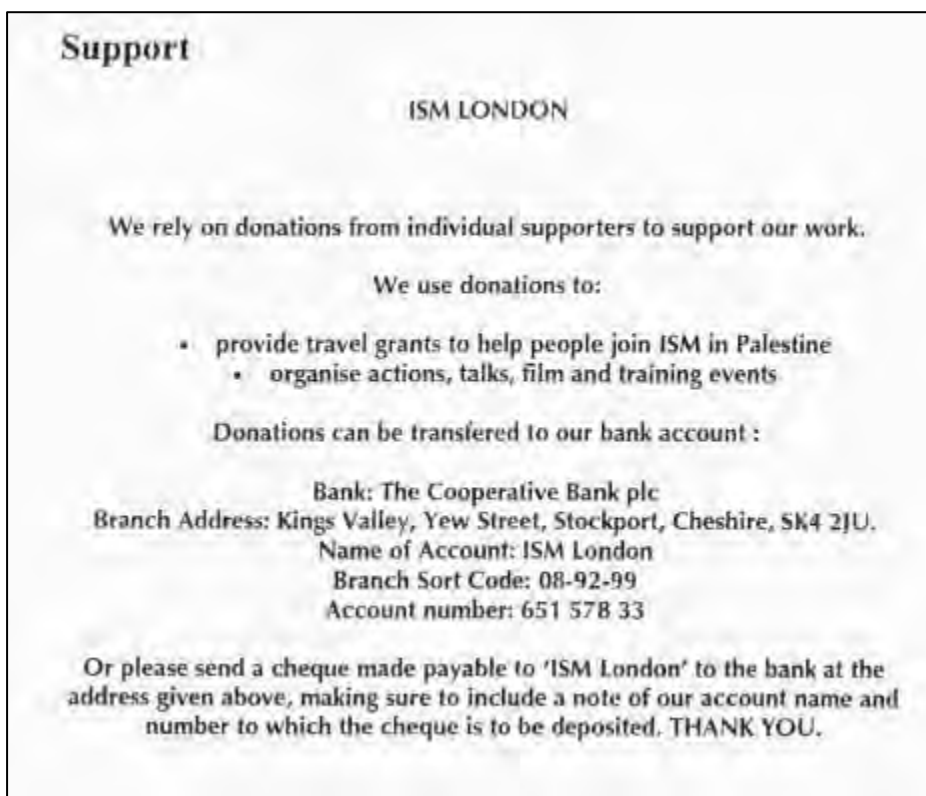
In order to make the "Christian tourists" line as believable as possible, ISMers **will usually break into small groups and spend a day or so actually touring** (usually the Muslim and Christian Quarters of Jerusalem's old city), making sure to take lots of pictures and buy lots of cheap souvenirs. In a more devious method, ISMers will share memorabilia, so that one ISMer's trip to Eilat or the Israel Museum will provide several ISMers with postcards, maps, brochures, etc. All this is to make the inevitable questioning at the airport go more smoothly. Most ISMers aren't questioned directly about what they did or where they went."

6. ISM volunteers also received **a legal briefing from Palestinian and Israeli lawyers**. The following is from the briefing they received in San Francisco on June 9, 2004:

"The next lecture was with a group of Palestinian and Israeli lawyers. They opened their discussion with illustrated instructions as to how to recognize regular soldiers, border police, police, and special forces. Only border police can arrest internationals and Israelis. The usual charge is being in a closed military zone. Always ask to see the paperwork declaring the region a CMZ. If arrested, you won't be strip searched, so it may be possible to sneak in cell phones. In case it isn't, get a phone card. You can ask to have the list of confiscated possessions translated into your native language, this can get you time. So can asking for a translator during interrogation. **The stranger the language, the better the chances that they'll just let you go.** Be cooperative but **say nothing, don't answer questions. Just insist on speaking to your lawyer or embassy first.** Usually you won't be deported on a first arrest. If they decide to deport you, you can fight in court for a compromise/reduced punishment. Anyone on a hunger strike can't be deported by plane, also **making trouble on the plane can get you kicked off the plane.** Even if you are successfully deported **you can change your name and come back.** You will be deported the way you came, so it's good to fly in through Switzerland, since they don't accept deportees. If you aren't deported usually you have temporary travel restrictions. **Don't tell officials that you're with ISM.**"

Funding ISM Activities

7. **The ISM states it does not receive funds from any country, government or organization.** It does in fact exist on donations from activists and supporters in the United States and other countries. Volunteers who join ISM activities are **required to pay their own way** (sometimes with the help of support groups in their home towns). Activists who stay in the territories live with Palestinian families.



Call for donations to ISM London (From the ISM training manual, 2005)

8. According to the ISM's website, donations can be sent via the Internet (details at palsolidarity.org/donate⁴³). **Funds can also be sent to an address in Berkeley, a focus of ISM activity and its support group in Northern California.** According to the ISM website, donations are used to cover "operational expenses in Palestine such as communications, transportation, legal expenses, apartment maintenance expenses and small stipends for key coordination positions." For tax deductible contributions a minimum of \$50 is required, to be sent to the A.J. Muste Memorial Institute.

9. **One project which demands a great deal of money is purchasing ships for the flotillas, which an organization like the ISM may find it difficult to raise by asking for donations from supporters.** In our assessment, that is one of the reasons the ISM has not bought ships for its participation in the flotillas, and why its senior figures founded the FGM. **Organizing the most recent flotilla and purchasing a ship the size of the *Mavi Marmara* required a governmental capabilities,** which were achieved by uniting the FGM and other organizations within a coalition led by the Turkish IHH (which describes itself as an NGO but which in reality is joined at the hip to the Islamic Turkish administration). The fund raising-carried out in the United Arab Emirates by Huwaida Arraf and Adam Shapiro to finance the upgraded flotilla (see below) contradicts the ISM's policy of supporting itself through contributions from its own activists and supporters.

⁴³ As of August 14, 2010.

Activity on the Ground during the Palestinian Terrorist Campaign (the Second Intifada)

Overview

10. During the second intifada, when Palestinian terrorism in general and suicide bombing attacks in particular peaked,⁴⁴ **the ISM adopted a modus operandi meant to hamper the IDF's conduct counter-terrorism activities by situating its operatives between Israeli soldiers and the Palestinians.** According to an article by Mica Pollock (June 7, 2006)⁴⁵:

"ISM is a strikingly physical form of transnational activism, even though a large part of ISM work involves ISMers typing email from Palestinian internet cafes and showing slides upon return home. While activists in other movements, networks, or organizations sign web petitions or send letters or money across the borders of nations to solve social problems, **ISM activists transport themselves to place themselves between Israeli soldiers and settlers and Palestinian civilians**, having become convinced that protecting the human rights and enabling the nonviolent demonstrations of this geographically distant population is the activists' own particular kind of power as well as their personal responsibility..."

11. Accordingly, **the ISM conducted intensive activities in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip to hamper the IDF's counter-terrorism activities and provide the Palestinians with practical and public relations support on the international scene.** Such activities, part of the concept of direct action, included disruption of IDF operational activity, **at times, clearly endangering the lives of both the soldiers and the ISM activists** (Rachel Corrie's tragic death is a prime example). Later, when Israel started building the security fence in response to suicide bombing terrorism, **ISM activists joined the Palestinian protests against the fence. They are also engaged in a worldwide media campaign** against what they refer to as the "apartheid fence."

⁴⁴ **1073 Israelis** (334 security forces personnel and 739 civilians) were killed during the second intifada, from September 28, 2000 to late 2004 (IDF Spokesman). About half of the victims died in suicide bombing attacks, the vast majority of which took place in densely-populated cities.

⁴⁵ "Struggling for Solidarity: The 'International Solidarity Movement' as a Snapshot of Transnational Youth Activism" (<http://ya.ssrc.org/transnational/Pollock>).



ISM activists and Palestinians protest against the security fence (Photograph by Mahmoud Shanti for Reuters, August 7, 2004)



ISM activists and Palestinians attempting to force their way through the security fence in the Jenin area (Photograph by Goran Tomasevic for Reuters, July 31, 2004). During the Second Intifada, Jenin was known as the focal point of the suicide bombing attacks.

12. During the Palestinian terrorism campaign (2001-2005), ISM activists employed various measures to hamper IDF activities and assist the Palestinians and terrorist operatives: they deployed themselves as human shields for terrorist operatives or their families; clashed with IDF forces at roadblocks in Judea and Samaria; removed roadblocks and barricades erected by Israeli security forces; violated curfews and entered closed military zones; helped transfer Palestinians to various locations in violation of instructions issued by the security forces; provided financial, logistic and information assistance to terrorist operatives and their families (supplying them with food, mobile communication devices, transportation and information about the position of IDF forces); attempted to prevent the razing or sealing of houses of terrorist operatives who had perpetrated mass-casualty suicide bombing attacks; in some cases, they even (knowingly or unknowingly) assisted terrorist operatives.

ISM Activists' Involvement in Violence and Terrorism

13. In our assessment, Palestinian and foreign ISM activists have not been directly involved in the Palestinian armed struggle since the organization's founding. Their activity, however, which in many instances was in violation of Israeli law, abetted the grave wave of terrorism that deluged Israel and the territories, and disrupted the IDF's counterterrorism activities.

14. In at least two cases (see below), ISM activists, either knowingly or unknowingly, had contacts with terrorist operatives involved in suicide bombing attacks and provided them with assistance. We have no evidence to suggest that the ISM activists were aware of the terrorists' operative involvement in terrorism. However, the modus operandi of ISM

activists suggests the possibility of potential involvement in assisting terrorist operatives, given the ISM's complete support for and sympathy with the Palestinian side and its confrontation (including the armed struggle) and ISM activists' direct contact with terrorists and the environment that supports them.



An Israeli activist from Anarchists Against the Wall, some of whose members took part in early ISM activities (see below), disrupts the operational activity of an IDF soldier (frontpagemag.com, Lee Kaplan and David Bedein, September 2, 2004)

15. The following are examples of various direct action tactics used by the ISM during the Palestinian terrorism campaign (the second intifada).

ISM Activists Deployed as Human Shields in Yasser Arafat's Ramallah Headquarters during Operation Defensive Shield

16. **ISM activists deployed themselves as human shields in Yasser Arafat's Ramallah headquarters (the *Muqata'a*)** when it was besieged by the IDF in Operation Defensive Shield (April 2002). Prominent was ISM co-founder Adam Shapiro, who remained in Arafat's office and conducted propaganda activities for him.

17. The following is from an article on Adam Shapiro in the Israeli daily Haaretz ("I am not a traitor," April 10, 2002⁴⁶):

"At 1 a.m. [Adam Shapiro] was invited up from the first floor of the building where he was staying to the second floor, to Arafat's office... Arafat urged Shapiro to eat and thanked him for what he had done for him. The chairman had a good reason to be grateful. **From inside the besieged compound, Shapiro spoke with dozens of reporters from the whole world and skillfully reported on the plight of those inside.** He told The New York Times that 'all the people here are on the floor, there is no electricity, there is little food, the only illumination is candlelight. I've been inside for five hours and no shots are fired from the compound out. The Israelis keep shooting at the building. No one here goes near the windows. The doctor doesn't have enough medical supplies.' He spoke to Britain's The

⁴⁶ ITIC English translation.

Observer about the shortage of food and water. He told The Daily Telegraph that the supply of medicines was running out... Shapiro's fiancée, Huwaida Arraf, a Detroit-born Palestinian-American, also joined the PR effort. She told the BBC that Shapiro was trapped in the compound and could not leave for fear of his life, and in an interview to Pakistan Today, she described the nighttime meal with Arafat..."

Assistance Extended by ISM Activists to Terrorist Operatives Who Barricaded Themselves in the Church of Nativity in Bethlehem during Operation Defensive Shield

18. In April 2002, ISM activists from various countries arrived at the Church of Nativity in Bethlehem to act as human shields for 39 wanted terrorists. In an interview with CNN, senior ISM figure Huwaida Arraf said that international activists were deployed there as "international human shields" (CNN, May 10, 2002).

19. When IDF forces entered Bethlehem on April 2, 2002, approximately 200 Palestinians, including 39 wanted terrorists, fled to the Church of Nativity. Equipped with light arms and explosives, the terrorist operatives took the people inside the church hostage, including members of the priesthood. IDF soldiers besieged the site. After 39 days, a compromise was reached, the hostages were released and the terrorists were allowed to go to the Gaza Strip (26) and Cyprus (13). When the siege was over, the hostages testified that the gunmen had been extremely violent towards them and that they had looted the church, stealing religious artifacts.



Weapons found in the possession of the terrorist operatives who barricaded themselves in the Church of Nativity (<http://www.fresh.co.il/vBulletin/showthread.php?t=32303>)



The Nativity Church where the terrorist operatives barricaded themselves (<http://www.fresh.co.il/vBulletin/showthread.php?t=323032>)

20. The deployment of ISM activists as human shields for terrorist operatives in Arafat's Ramallah compound and in the Church of Nativity was described on the organization's website (January 2006) in a posting called "Why ISM?" as follows: "In April 2002, with help from Palestinians, **international activists were able to outmaneuver the Israeli military during two of its biggest military operations, entering and providing support to those trapped inside the Presidential Compound in Ramallah and the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem...**"

Attempt to Prevent the Demolition of a Suicide Bomber's House in Nablus

21. British activist Andrew Muncie and Swedish activist Andreas Koninek were detained in August 2003 at the Titi family residence in the Balata refugee camp near Nablus. They had chained themselves to the house to prevent Israeli security forces from demolishing it **due to a family member's involvement in a suicide bombing attack at a shopping center in the city of Petah Tikva (May 27, 2002)**. The two activists were deported from Israel in August 2003 after a legal battle.

The Suicide Bombing Attack at the Em Hamoshavot Shopping Center in Petah Tikva

22. The terrorist attack at the Em Hamoshavot shopping center was carried out by Jihad Ibrahim Saoud Titi, 19, from the Balata refugee camp (near Nablus). According to eyewitness testimonies, the suicide bomber first tried to go into a children's playground at the shopping center. Unable to do so, he blew himself up in a café instead. The terrorist attack was directed by a Fatah Tanzim operational network in Nablus. A woman and a baby (grandmother and granddaughter) were killed in the attack; 30 civilians were injured.

Victims of the Suicide Bombing Attack



Sinai Keinan, one year old, from Petah Tikva.



Ruti Peled, 56, from Herzliya. Survived by her husband and three children.

Disrupting IDF Operational Activity in Tulkarm

23. British activist Charlotte Carson and American activist Radhika Sainath were detained near Tulkarm in 2003 for disrupting IDF soldiers operating against Palestinians who threw Molotov cocktails at them. The two women prevented the Palestinians' detention. **According to the soldiers, the same two women had exposed an IDF ambush several days prior to that by shining a flashlight on them**, jeopardizing the soldiers' lives and disrupting operational activities.

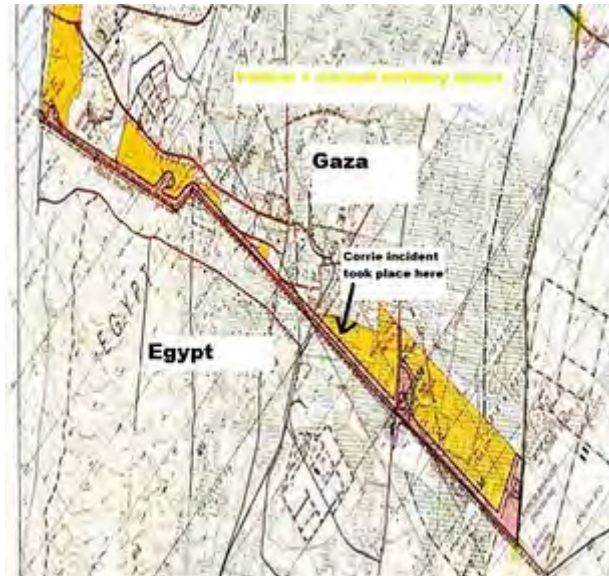
24. Charlotte Carson was detained again in August 2004 while participating in an ISM demonstration near Qalqilya. **During questioning, it emerged that she had changed her name to deceive the border control and evade the ban on her entry into Israel following her actions in 2003.**

Disrupting IDF Operational Activity along the Philadelphi Route: the Case of Rachel Corrie

25. A tragic event which received widespread coverage in Israeli and international media was **the death of ISM activist Rachel Corrie** (March 16, 2003) **during an attempt to prevent IDF bulldozers from working on the Philadelphi Route** (along the Gaza Strip-Egypt border). Rachel Corrie was a social and political activist from Olympia, Washington.

26. Rachel Corrie arrived in Israel on January 25, 2003, after graduating from college. She was sent to the Gaza Strip from the ISM office in Beit Sahour (January 26). On January 27, she and a friend entered the Gaza Strip through the Erez crossing to join other ISM activists. She arrived in Rafah on January 27, where the ISM had a local office. She stayed with a Palestinian family and took part in ISM activities, including humanitarian aid to the local population, attempts to disrupt operational activity conducted by IDF soldiers, and anti-American Palestinian demonstrations.

27. On March 16, 2003, a group of about eight ISM activists, including Rachel Corrie, **attempted to disrupt the activity of IDF bulldozers leveling earth to find IEDs and destroy terrorists' hiding places.** The IDF activity was on the Philadelphi Route, about 50 meters (about 50 yards) from the Egyptian border (see map). Evident was **the ISM's well-known disruption of Israeli security forces counterterrorism activities**, which frequently risks the lives of ISM activists and IDF soldiers.



The site of the incident where Rachel Corrie died (from an article about the resumption of the Rachel Corrie trial, israelseen.com, September 9, 2010)

28. The following is a description of the incident in Rafah in which Rachel Corrie was killed (as they emerged in IDF Military Police investigations at the time and in the opinion provided by the Southern Command Military Prosecutor's Office):

A. **Scene of the incident:** The incident took place on the Philadelphi Route, where prior to the disengagement, the Oslo Accords had give Israel complete civilian and security control. **The terrorist organizations used the Philadelphi Route as a major conduit for smuggling weapons and operatives into and out of the Gaza Strip. According to IDF data, from September 2000 until the incident in which Rachel Corrie was killed, it was the site of intensive terrorist activity in which three Israelis were killed and dozens were injured:** about 6,000 grenades were thrown at IDF forces, about 1,400 shooting and sniping attacks took place, some 150 roadside charges were set, about 200 anti-tank missiles were fired, and over 40 mortar shells were fired. According to IDF data, **from 2001 to the date of the incident 47 tunnels were exposed along the Philadelphi Route from the Israeli side and 64 from the Egyptian side; the tunnels were used, among other things, for smuggling arms and ammunition.**⁴⁷

B. **The site where the IDF's bulldozers operated:** The bulldozers were operating about 50 meters (about 50 yards) from the border **in an empty lot filled with construction debris and weeds.** On March 16, two IDF bulldozers accompanied by an armored vehicle **were searching for IEDs buried in the ground and possible**

⁴⁷ Rachel Corrie's journal makes it clear that she was aware of IDF activity against the tunnels in the vicinity of Rafah (pp. 253-254). She also notes (February 11, 2003) that a group of ISM activists was monitoring, photographing and exhibiting presence in the area where IDF forces conducted their activity (p. 253).

hiding places for terrorist operatives near the Philadelphi Route.⁴⁸ An IDF report illustrated **the excessive danger of the area** and the necessity for IDF operational activity there. According to the IDF operations log, about 40 minutes before Rachel Corrie was killed a live grenade was thrown into the area where ISM volunteers were staying (they remained there nonetheless). Furthermore, about two weeks after Rachel Corrie's death, an Israeli tank hit an IED approximately 100 meters (about 100 yards) from the location of her death. Four soldiers were injured.

C. ISM activists' arrival at the bulldozers' activity site: According to an IDF report, about 12-15 ISM activists arrived at the site where Rachel Corrie was killed soon after, three or four at first and later the rest. According to ISM testimonies, there were eight activists on the scene.⁴⁹ **The activists had been in the area for several months attempting to disrupt various IDF operations.**⁵⁰ They also physically blocked IDF bulldozers operating in the vicinity (**tactics similar to those employed by ISM activists in Judea and Samaria**).

D. Disrupting the activity of IDF bulldozers: ISM activists arrived at the site **to act as human shields and prevent the bulldozers from moving**. Several minutes after the bulldozers went into action they surrounded them from all sides. An IDF force attempted to distance them from the site (by hailing them on loudspeakers and using stun and gas grenades), to no avail.

29. The incident in which Rachel Corrie was killed was investigated by the IDF Military Police. The findings of the investigation, concluded by the Southern Command Military Prosecutor's Office (May 22, 2003), were that **the incident was an "unfortunate accident," "where the risk willingly taken by the deceased played a major part, considering how dangerously close she got to the bulldozer."** The report of the Military Prosecutor's Office further states that **"..the limited field of vision, the bulldozer's position on an upward incline, the fact that the deceased was sitting on the ground as the bulldozer was moving, and the fact that she did not reach the top of the dirt mound when she climbed it, as well as the findings of the lie detector test and the forensic autopsy—[all] lend credence to the conclusion that the driver of the bulldozer and his commander did not see the deceased on their path."**

⁴⁸ The findings of an IDF inquiry refute ISM claims that Rachel Corrie was deliberately run over by an IDF bulldozer while trying to prevent a Palestinian family's house from being demolished. An internal ISM document indicates that the organization was aware of the fact that its activity involved hard-to-predict risks (**East Jerusalem Manual**, p. 131).

⁴⁹ According to one testimony in the Rachel Corrie trial currently underway in Israel, there were eight ISM activists in the area. The book written in her memory also states that she stayed in the area with seven other activists.

⁵⁰ The volunteers operated out of the ISM office in Rafah. They slept in the house of a Palestinian family (according to Rachel Corrie's journal).

30. **Based on the findings, the Military Prosecutor's Office decided to close the investigation without taking legal measures against any military factor.** The case is still in Israeli court, since Rachel Corrie's parents filed a civil suit against the State of Israel. **The ISM, for its part, has turned Rachel Corrie into a heroine and role model,** and even named one of the ships from the last flotilla after her (May 2010).

ISM Jenin Office Provides Refuge for a Terrorist Operative Involved in a Deadly Suicide Bombing Attack

31. **On March 27, 2003,** Canadian activist Patricia Katagiri and British activist Aisha Soldana **gave refuge in the ISM Jenin office to a PIJ operative wanted by the Israeli security forces for involvement in a number of suicide bombing attacks, numerous shooting attacks and for setting IEDs. He was apprehended by Israeli security forces in an ISM office** in a building in Jenin. The ISM was then required to remove its office from the building. It was not the first incident of its kind. During the Palestinian terrorist campaign (the second intifada) there were previous cases of terrorist operatives using the facilities of international organizations to hide from security forces.

32. On March 27 the IDF Spokesman announced that IDF forces had conducted a search in a large compound in Jenin where there was a building used by several international organizations: the Red Cross, Medecins Sans Frontières and the ISM. There was intelligence information that the terrorist was hiding in the compound. **According to the IDF announcement, two women belonging to the ISM attempted to help terrorist operative Shadi Mahmoud Sukiya hide from the forces.** A gun was found in the vicinity of Sukiya's hiding place.

33. **Shadi Sukiya, who was born in 1983 and came from Jenin, was a senior PIJ operative in the Jenin area.** He had been involved in the preparation and coordination of several suicide bombing attacks thwarted by the Israeli security forces. They included the September 2002 recruitment and direction of a suicide bomber who was to attack a bus in northern Israel, planning a suicide bombing attack in October 2002 (see below), and planning another using an explosive suitcase in February 2003. He was also involved in planting an explosive suitcase in February 2003, planting IEDs and in numerous shooting attacks targeting Israeli security forces and Israeli villages in the Jenin area (IDF Spokesman, March 27).

34. **Shadi Sukiya is particularly notorious for his involvement in the suicide bombing attack on a No. 841 bus at the Karkur Junction** (south of Haifa). On October 21, 2002, two PIJ terrorists from Jenin **blew themselves up in a car laden with explosives which pulled alongside the bus, killing 14 passengers and injuring 48.**

The terrorist attack was orchestrated by PIJ operatives in Jenin, known as the "suicide bombers' capital" during the Palestinian terrorism campaign (the second intifada).



An Israeli bus goes up in flames at the Karkur Junction (Reuters, October 21, 2002)

35. **Shadi Sukiya was convicted, among other things, for facilitating the Karkur Junction terrorist bombing attack.** According to a verdict issued by the Judea and Samaria Military Appeal Court (September 26, 2006), he introduced the two suicide bombers (who sought his assistance with preparations for the terrorist attack) to a PIJ operative named Sa'id Hussam Toubassi. He was one of the two PIJ operatives in Jenin responsible for planning and directing the suicide bombing.⁵¹ Shadi Sukiya was tried and, following an appeal, sentenced to 30 years of imprisonment.

Attempt by Foreign Activists (Probably Members of the ISM) to Prevent an Explosives Laboratory in Nablus from Being Blown Up

36. On August 19, 2003, a suicide bomber blew himself up on a No. 2 bus in Jerusalem, killing 23 civilians, including children and infants, and injuring 115. Hamas claimed responsibility for the attack. Following the attack, the IDF carried out a series of counterterrorism activities in Hebron, Nablus, Jenin, Tulkarm and Ramallah to expose terrorist networks responsible for the suicide bombings in Jerusalem and other Israeli cities.

37. **On August 21 the IDF launched a large-scale military operation in the city of Nablus**, during which an explosives laboratory was exposed in the old town. According to the Haganah website, IDF soldiers were preparing to blow up the explosives laboratory **when foreign activists (probably members of the ISM) appeared and attempted to stop them.**⁵²

⁵¹ For further information, see our January 1, 2006 Information Bulletin: "Suicide bombing terrorism during the current Israeli-Palestinian confrontation (September 2000 – December 2005)" At http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam_multimedia/English/eng_n/pdf/suicide_terrorism_ae.pdf.

⁵² Haganah website, August 24, 2003; NetWMD website, February 12, 2006).



Photographs from the incident in Nablus: IDF soldiers prepare to blow up an explosives laboratory while foreign activists, most likely ISM members, attempt to stop them. One of the photographs shows IDF soldiers trying to keep a foreign activist away from the scene.⁵³

Attempt to Disrupt IDF Activities Following a Suicide Attack at Tel-Aviv's Carmel Market

38. **On November 1, 2004**, PFLP operative Amer Abd al-Rahim Ahmed Ali Abdallah carried out a suicide bombing attack at the Carmel Market in Tel-Aviv, killing three Israeli civilians and wounding 32.

39. On the same night, an IDF force arrived at the house of Abdallah's family in the Askar refugee camp (near Nablus) to demolish it. **A group of ISM activists refused to leave the area and hindered the demolition. They also acted as human shields for the suicide bomber's father, whom the IDF soldiers intended to detain for questioning.**

⁵³ Haganah website, <http://www.netwmd.com/anti-ism/haganah%20b'internet%20ISM%20No%20compromise%20in%20defense%20of%20bomb%20labs!.htm>

Victims of the Carmel Market Suicide Bombing Attack



Lea Levin, 66, from Givataim. Survived by her husband, four children, and grandchildren.



Shmuel (Sami) Levi, 65, from Tel-Aviv. Survived by his wife, daughter, granddaughter and sister.



Tatyana Ackerman, 32, from Tel-Aviv. Survived by her husband, daughter mother and sister.

ISM Activists Assist Two British Terrorists Who Carried Out a Suicide Bombing Attack at a Pub in Tel-Aviv

40. On April 30, 2003, Asif Mohammed Hanif, a suicide bomber, blew himself up at the entrance to Mike's Place, a pub in Tel-Aviv. Another suicide bomber, Omar Khan Sharif, attempted to do the same but was prevented by a technical failure and fled the scene (his body washed up on the beach about two weeks later). **Both suicide bombers were Muslim British citizens of Pakistani descent.** The attack killed three Israeli civilians and injured 62. About 11 months later, **Hamas claimed responsibility for the suicide bombing** and released a video tape of the two suicide bombers before they left for the attack.

Victims of the Suicide Bombing Attack at Mike's Place in Tel-Aviv



Yannai Weiss, 47, from Holon. Survived by his wife and two sons, parents and brothers.



Ran Baron, 22, from Tel Aviv. Survived by his parents and brother.



Dominique Caroline Hass, 29, from Tel Aviv. Survived by his parents and two sisters.

41. **The two suicide bombers were assisted by several foreign left-wing activists who were staying in the territories to arrange their movements in Israel and the territories.**

42. **Apparently, the two British suicide bombers came to Israel with Alternative Tourism Group, a travel agency used by ISM activists to enter the territories. The travel**

agency was founded by George Rishmawi and Ghassan Andoni, co-founders of the ISM (www.discoverthenetworks.org).

43. **In April the two suicide bombers met with ISM activists**, who in our assessment were unaware of their plans to carry out a suicide bombing attack. **Three meetings were held**: one in Hebron when the two terrorists were visiting the city; another in Rafah, while they were attending a memorial service organized by ISM activists for their colleague Rachel Corrie;⁵⁴ and a third during a trip to Nablus.

Disrupting the Activity of an IDF Checkpoint near Nablus

44. American activist Peter Lowney and Swedish activist Nils Nilsson were detained near an IDF roadblock at the Beit Furiq junction (near Nablus) in July 2004 for attacking soldiers and hampering their operations there. In **August 2004**, Peter Lowney was identified as having incited Palestinian demonstrators during a protest rally against the construction of the security fence in the Jerusalem area. During the demonstration, Lowney climbed the fence, waved Palestinian flags and stirred up the crowd. Later that day he was detained in East Jerusalem. Lowney became combative during his apprehension and broke the windshield of the police car.

Participation of ISM Activists in Bila'in-style Protests at Friction Sites after the Second Intifada

45. Since the end of the Palestinian terrorism campaign (the second intifada), **ISM activists have taken a prominent part in protests and confrontations between Israel and the Palestinians in Judea and Samaria**. The two hotspots are **Bila'in and Ni'lin, near the security fence**.

46. After the sixth Fatah convention (August 2009), the Palestinian Authority turned the two villages into symbols of "popular resistance," using them as leverage to obtain international support for the Palestinian struggle. In addition to Bila'in and Ni'lin there are other friction sites, such as the villages of **Umm Safa and Nabi Saleh** (north of Ramallah), **Al-Maasara and Umm Salmuna** (south of Bethlehem), **Al-Walaja** (south Jerusalem, west of the Gilo neighborhood), and the East Jerusalem neighborhood of **Sheikh Jarrah**. The stated political objective of the protests is "to resist the fence and the settlements," and it is not limited to solving the residents' local problems.

47. The weekly activities in Bila'in, Ni'lin and other focal points of friction **are notable for the participation of radical left-wing and anarchist activists from across the globe**

⁵⁴ Following the suicide bombing attack at Mike's Place, the IDF decided to restrict the movement of foreign nationals to and from the Gaza Strip through the Erez and Rafah crossings (Ynet, May 10, 2003).

and Israel. Among the foreigners are prominent ISM activists who are usually indistinguishable from other activists. According to an Israeli security source, non-Palestinians (foreigners and Israelis) make up some 40 percent of the demonstrators. International activists make up about one tenth of the demonstrators.

48. The foreign activists mingle with the demonstrators, and while they do not directly participate in violent actions, their presence **contributes to fanning the flames on the ground**, encourages the demonstrators, increases tension, causes Palestinian demonstrators to violate public order, and makes the activity of Israeli security forces more difficult. The foreign activists usually carry cameras to document the events for pro-Palestinian propaganda and possibly also in an attempt to deter IDF soldiers. **The Palestinian demonstrators consider the presence of international activists as important, in that they give the demonstrations more weight on the international scene and serve as a restraining factor against a possible reaction by the Israeli security forces to the soft violence employed by the Palestinians.**

49. The "popular non-violent resistance" seen in Bila'in, Ni'lin and other points of friction **is not as non-violent** as it would appear from the public rhetoric of Palestinian Authority leaders and ISM documents. **The demonstrators employ soft, and at times well-organized violence. They stones, use slingshots to pelt the security forces with stones and sharp pieces of metal, and occasionally throw Molotov cocktails. They also systematically try to damage the security fence.** Occasionally, the demonstrators initiate physical confrontations with **Israeli security forces, accompanied by masked Palestinians.**



ISM activists confront an Israeli police officer during a demonstration in Bila'in (August 25, 2006). At the center is an Irish activist known as "Dave." The woman to his left is Jennifer Presson, an ISM activist from St. Louis, Missouri traveling under the alias "Anna" (Lee Kaplan, frontpagemag.com, September 13, 2006).

50. **ISM activity in Judea and Samaria is facilitated by Palestinian "popular committees"** (a term taken from the first intifada) established at the various focal points of friction.⁵⁵ **The popular committees operate under the auspices of the Palestinian Authority and Fatah, and are guided by an overall coordinating committee based in Ramallah.** The "popular resistance" committee in Bila'in (and others elsewhere) **have a well-organized logistical system that deals with registration, the transfer of donations and arrangements for participants to stay with local village families** (bilin-village.org, April 10, 2010). **ISM activists use the system in their Ramallah office.**

51. **The violence employed by the Palestinians in Bila'in and Ni'lin** (encouraged by non-Palestinian activists) **has resulted in numerous casualties among Israeli security forces and demonstrators,**⁵⁶ as well as damage to property caused by repeated attempts to sabotage the security fence.

Attempts to Sabotage the Security Fence



ISM activists with members of Anarchists Against the Wall (an Israeli organization) chain themselves to the foundations of the security fence in Bila'in (wikipedia.org)



Group of ISM activists attempt to sabotage the security fence (<http://lionheartuk.blogspot.com>, October 1, 2007)

⁵⁵ ISM activist Neta Golan's interview with the Alternative Information Center (alternativenews.org, March 2, 2010).

⁵⁶ Between August 2008 and December 2009, 135 Israeli security forces sustained minor injuries; three others sustained moderate injuries. Seven Palestinians were killed, 134 sustained minor injured, 10 were seriously injured, and 8 were critically injured in the clashes. Eleven Palestinians and five members of Israeli security forces sustained minor injuries in the first four months of 2010 (through April).



Demonstrators in Bila'in attempt to destroy the security fence (February 22, 2010) (www.awalls.org, the website of Anarchists Against the Wall)



Demonstrators attempt to destroy the security fence in Ni'lin (September 18, 2009) (www.awalls.org, website of Anarchists Against the Wall).

52. As violent as it is, this "popular resistance" **is marketed by the Palestinian Authority and the ISM as a supposedly non-violent form of protest, such as that employed Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King.** To reinforce the message, Martin Luther King's son and Mahatma Gandhi's grandson were brought to Bila'in in April 2010. The peak of the marketing campaign was a function held in Bila'in on April 21-23, 2010, attended by delegations from all over the globe and named **The Annual Bila'in Conference for Palestinian Popular Resistance.**

53. During the Bila'in conference, Salam Fayyad gave a speech about "popular resistance." Speakers also came from **Spain, Ireland, and France, and letters from Desmond Tutu, Jimmy Carter and the European Parliament were read aloud** (according to the Bila'in village website). On the second day of the conference workshops were held about **boycotting** Israeli products, preventing **foreigners from investing** in Israel, and **imposing international sanctions** against Israel for (alleged) violations of international law.

54. **The conference participants adopted a strategy of an international boycott of Israeli products, a cultural and academic boycott of Israel, international legal action against companies profiting from the so-called "occupation," and the establishment of an international network to support the "popular resistance"** (Ma'an, April 24, 2010). ISM activists work worldwide to realize the strategy.



Foreign delegations from various countries at the international conference in Bila'in (April 2010, ISM's <http://palsolidarity.org>)



Demonstrators in Ni'lin carry flags of Turkey and Venezuela (January 11, 2009)

Involvement in Flotillas

55. Since its establishment in 2001 the ISM has operated mainly in Judea and Samaria. Starting in August 2008, however, it has taken part in sending ships to the Gaza Strip. Unlike other organizations in the coalition responsible for organizing the flotillas, **the ISM has not purchased its own ships (perhaps due to financial considerations). Rather it has acted through FGM, a sister organization established by senior ISM figures.** The ISM's involvement in the flotillas was manifested by the participation of its leaders (**who are also FGM leaders**) in planning and public relations efforts for the flotillas, as well as the participation of its activists in the flotillas themselves.

56. In 2008, the ISM assisted the first FGM flotilla, which set sail from Cyprus and arrived in Gaza on August 23. ISM activists also participated in the last flotilla, led by the Turkish pro-Hamas IHH. Senior ISM and FGM figure Huwaida Arraf **participated in a planning and coordination meeting held by the anti-Israeli coalition in Istanbul two weeks before the IHH-led flotilla was launched. IHH deputy chief Yavuz Dede presided over the meeting.** One of the flotilla ships was named after Rachel Corrie, the ISM activist who was killed on the Philadelphi Route and turned into a symbol. An FGM document found on board the *Mavi Marmara* listed the names of contacts from both organizations, FGM and ISM. Eva Bartlett and Bianca Zammit, two ISM activists, were listed as contacts in Gaza. The e-mail address of the ISM's Gaza office (ismgaza@yahoo.com) was mentioned as well. Caoimhe Butterly, an Irish activist, was also listed as an ISM contact.

57. **Three senior ISM activists, all of them American citizens, participated in the last flotilla organized by the FGM and the ECESG: Huwaida Arraf** first boarded the FGM's *Challenger 2*, where she was the leading figure, and then transferred to the *Mavi Marmara* (apparently because of technical problems); **Greta Berlin** stayed at the FGM headquarters in Cyprus as a member of the flotilla's overall leadership; **Dr. Paul Larudee**

was on board the ECESG's *Sfendoni 8000*. In June 2010, the names of Huwaida Arraf and Dr. Paul Larudee were mentioned in an open e-mail message sent to Secretary of State Hillary Clinton. Titled Peace Action Letter, the e-mail claimed that the two of them had been beaten by the Israelis and demanded that the Secretary of State investigate.⁵⁷ The ISM office in London and FGM released a joint message after the IDF's takeover of the flotilla expressing concern about the detainees.⁵⁸



Left: Huwaida Arraf briefing activists before boarding the *Challenger 2*. Right: Huwaida Arraf at a briefing given to activists at a Cyprus hotel before the flotilla was launched.



Huwaida Arraf on board the *Challenger 2* (<http://info-wars.org>, June 7, 2010)

58. **Encouraged by the results of the flotilla**, FGM leaders (who are also ISM activists) are currently working to organize an upgraded flotilla (for the middle of 2011). Towards that end, **Huwaida Arraf and Adam Shapiro**, two key members of the organizations, **visited the UAE in July 2010** to raise funds. Huwaida Arraf estimated that the UAE had given about \$50,000 to buy a ship. During the visit, she said that **humanitarian aid was not the most important issue of the flotilla: the main objective was to challenge Israeli policy and force Israel to end the so-called "siege" of the Gaza Strip.**⁵⁹

⁵⁷ [Countercurrents.org/peaceaction0906](http://countercurrents.org/peaceaction0906)

⁵⁸ ISM website, June 1, 2010.

⁵⁹ "Free Gaza Movement Wants Boat from the UAE for Next Flotilla," July 10, 2010, intifada-palestine.com.

ISM Modus Operandi through the Perspective of the Israeli Legal System

59. In their attempts to hamper IDF operations in the territories, ISM activists **frequently violated Israeli laws** and were brought before Israeli courts. Based on information from the Israeli security forces, court rulings exposed the activists' attempts to deceive the Israeli authorities **as well as the discrepancy between their non-violent slogans and actual conduct on the ground**, and repeatedly rejected appeals to allow ISM activists entry into Israel.

60. For example, Judge Uzi Landman of the Tel-Aviv District Court rejected an ISM activist's appeal for entry into Israel (June 17, 2004). The appellant was American citizen Brooke Atherton, who worked as an office manager at Stanford University. She said her goal in coming to Israel was to take part in a project initiated by a Palestinian NGO called Holy Land Trust, advocating non-violence based on Mahatma Gandhi's worldview. She denied any association with the ISM.⁶⁰

61. The judge who rejected the appeal ruled that the defense establishment had classified information indicating that Brooke Atherton was an ISM activist. He further added: "The activity of the ISM members **disrupts, so it is claimed, the activity of security forces in the territories, and even makes it difficult for them to fulfill their responsibilities.** The ISM activists have been known to confront IDF soldiers, barricade themselves in terrorists' houses to prevent their demolition, transfer Palestinians to various locations during military curfew, and disrupt the construction of the security fence. This activity, which frequently violates orders issued by the relevant authorities, **hampers the IDF's security activity and at times puts the lives of IDF soldiers in danger.** Most of the organization's activists are foreign nationals who come from abroad to take part in the organization's activity in the territories" (ITIC translation and emphasis).

62. Another example was the verdict in the case of British citizen Theresa McDermott, an ISM activist who came to Israel from Prague for one month (October 30, 2006). She was denied entry into Israel and her appeal was rejected. In delivering its verdict, the court stated that the appellant had come to Israel three times as an ISM activist in 2004-2005; however, she was denied entry each time.⁶¹ The appellant, who was aware of the fact that her name was on the list of people denied entry, took no measures to rectify the situation. Instead, she attempted to misdirect the security authorities by denying her membership in the ISM (even

⁶⁰ **Holy Land Trust (HLT)**, a Palestinian organization established in Bethlehem in 1988, describes itself as committed to the principles of non-violence. It is headed by Jonathan Kuttab, a Jerusalem-born attorney and human rights activist. Kuttab studied law in the United States, came back to Israel and established the Palestinian Center for the Study of Non-Violence, the Al-Haq organization, and the Mandela Institute for Political Prisoners (HLT website).

⁶¹ Verdict issued by Judge Michal Rubinstein at the Tel-Aviv District Court, November 15, 2006.

though she did not deny it in court). Furthermore, **the passport she used in her attempt to enter Israel was not the one she had used when she had previously arrived at Israel's borders.** According to the verdict, that cast suspicion on her motives and led to the conclusion that she had not acted in good faith.

63. The judge further stated that, after looking at classified documents provided by Israeli security establishment, she had concluded that the decision to deny the appellant entry into Israel had a firm legal basis. "Even though the main objective of the ISM is humanitarian activity undertaken for the welfare of Palestinian residents," the judge wrote, "[Israeli] security establishment reports indicate that **the ISM members made frequent attempts to hamper IDF activity in the territories.** Accordingly, the court has ruled that **some of the organization's activities constitute a disruption of and also pose a threat to the activity conducted by the [Israeli] security forces, whether it is by barricading themselves in terrorists' houses to prevent their demolition, taking part in confrontations with IDF soldiers, or transferring Palestinians in various regions during military curfew...**" (ITIC translation and emphasis).

Appendix IV

The Deployment of ISM and its Support Groups

Overview

1. The ISM has a small number of permanent hard-core activists in the United States and in the territories. These activists set the ISM's policy and operate an extensive network of volunteers, supporters and support groups. **ISM leaders, themselves hard-core members, are also senior leaders in other organizations that comprise the international anti-Israeli coalition, mainly the Free Gaza Movement (FGM) and the Free Palestine Movement (FPM).**

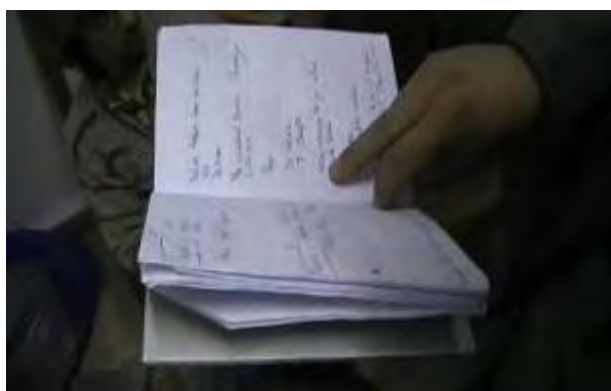
ISM Presence in the Territories and its Connections with local Palestinian Activists, Organizations and Institutes

2. **The ISM has permanent offices in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip.** In addition, the ISM has (or had) flats Palestinian population centers for activists staying in the territories (for example, during the detention of two ISM activists in Ramallah on February 7, 2010, security forces found a list of contact details with the telephone number of a "Nablus apartment"). There are now several permanent activists in Judea and Samaria; the rest are volunteers who come for various periods of time.

3. The ISM also has working relations with local Palestinian bodies, organizations, and local activists operating in Judea and Samaria and in the Gaza Strip. For example, a list of contact details found in the possession of two ISM activists in Ramallah had the names and telephone numbers of **Mohammed Khatib** (one of the demonstration leaders in Bila'in) and **Abdel Karim Dalbah** (a media personality from Tulkarm and an active member of the "popular resistance" who took part in a 2008 demonstration of human rights activists to prevent IDF forces from entering houses in Tulkarm).



The passport photos of the two ISM activists detained by the Israeli security forces in Ramallah on February 7, 2010



A notebook found in an ISM apartment in Ramallah where the two activists resided (February 7, 2010). The notes indicate that they had been monitoring IDF activities.

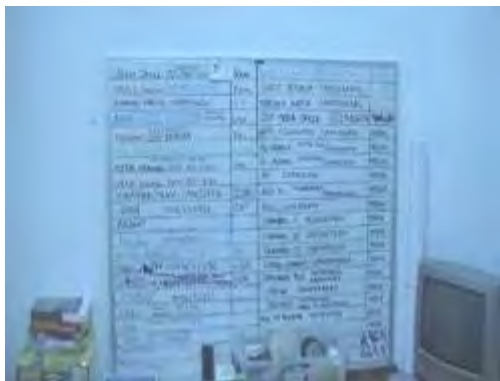
4. The ISM maintains a permanent presence in several sites throughout Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip:

A. **The ISM offices in Ramallah (the "Ramallah team"):** The offices, located in downtown Ramallah, **serve as the ISM's headquarters in the territories.** It is the permanent residence of Neta Golan, an important ISM activist. Other, temporary ISM activists (such as the media coordinator) work there as well. The ISM activists live in apartments near the office.

B. **An office in Beit Sahour** where media activity is (or was) conducted: The ISM's media coordinators work (or used to work) there. In the past, the Beit Sahour office held training workshops for volunteers in the territories (we do not know whether such workshops are still held there).

C. **The Palm Hostel in East Jerusalem** (another establishment, Faisal Youth Hostel, was used by the activists in the past): The hostel is run by **Hisham Jamjoun**, a permanent ISM Palestinian activist. Volunteers arriving in the territories are sent to the hostel, where they undergo two-day training workshops and are dispatched to the

various sites of activity.⁶² According to Hisham Jamjoum, the number of volunteers arriving in Israel increased after the violent incident of the *Mavi Marmara* flotilla, and he now holds workshops for about 10 new volunteers a week, twice as many as before (www.viciousbabushka.com, July 22, 2010).⁶³



List of contacts found on the wall of an apartment in Ramallah shared by two ISM activists detained by the Israeli security forces (February 7, 2010)



A room at the Faisal Youth Hostel in East Jerusalem where ISM activists were formerly sent upon arrival in the territories (they are now sent to the Palm Hostel instead)

D. Apartment (or apartments) in Gaza City: As at May 2010, Maltese ISM activist Bianca Zammit and five other activists resided in an apartment in Gaza City.⁶⁴ The ISM used to have an office in **Rafah** as well. In April 2010, Bianca Zammit was shot in the leg during an ISM protest near the Israeli border against the so-called "siege" of the Gaza Strip. She was treated at the Al-Aqsa hospital in the Gaza Strip and sent back home in May. **Her name appeared as an ISM contact in Gaza on a list of contacts for the last flotilla which was found on board the *Mavi Marmara*.**

⁶² For example, on Friday, February 2, 2007, activists were picked up from the Faisal Youth Hostel and taken to a mosque in the village of Umm Salamuna, where they were to take part in a prayer and a protest demonstration against the construction of the security fence (the so-called " wall of separation"). Activists interested in participating in the activity were told to lodge inquiries with Hisham Jamjoum (Occupation Magazine website, www.kibush.co.il).

⁶³ ISM volunteers apparently also use other hostels and hotels in East Jerusalem and Judea and Samaria. For example, a list of contacts found in the Ramallah flat of two ISM activists contained the telephone number of the Retno Hotel in the same city.

⁶⁴ From an article titled "Journey to Gaza," which appeared on journeytogaza.blogspot.com on May 1, 2010. According to the article the ISM office is located "in a dark flat on the first floor of an old building in the main road of Gaza City," and the activists who stayed with Bianca were from Britain, the United States, Montenegro and Canada. The article claims that she was shot by an Israeli sniper during a demonstration near the Israeli border in Al-Meghazi on April 25. Gideon Meir, the Israeli ambassador to Malta, said that Zammit was used by Palestinian militants and accused the ISM of putting foreigners in harm's way at the border so that Hamas and Islamic Jihad could plant bombs and injure Israeli soldiers, the article said.



Maltese ISM activist Bianca Zammit, who stayed in the Gaza Strip (<http://www.maxajl.com>)



ISM activists from various countries at a hostel in East Jerusalem (September 2006, stoptheism.com)

Alternative Tourism Group (ATG)



The ATG logo

5. **Alternative Tourism Group (ATG)** is a travel agency based in East Jerusalem, founded in 1995 by Dr. Ghassan Andoni and George Nimr Rishmawi. It was established to provide trips in Judea and Samaria for tourists interested in a pro-Palestinian viewpoint of the conflict. **The ATG's founders also belonged to the group of activists who founded the ISM in 2001.** Many ISM activists in the territories have used the ATG's services.⁶⁵

6. According to its website, the ATG is a Palestinian NGO which specializes in tours and pilgrimages to the Holy Land to acquaint visitors with its history, culture, and politics, as well as current events. The ATG claims to work with a wide variety of groups and delegations, among them international solidarity groups, fact-finding missions, groups focusing on social justice, NGOs and political organizations, diplomats, journalists, researchers, student groups, pilgrims, etc.

7. **The organization has its headquarters in Beit Sahour** and is currently directed by **Rami Kassis**. Interviewed by the Jerusalem Post, Rami Kassis said that the ATG provided services to groups visiting the territories to see the refugee camps and communities badly affected by the construction of the fence, and arranged meetings between local and

⁶⁵ There are similar travel agencies in Judea and Samaria specializing in **presenting the Palestinian political viewpoint to tourists and visitors**. They include **Green Olive Tours** in East Jerusalem and **Holy Land Trust** in Bethlehem. It is unclear whether these agencies cooperate with the ISM.

international peace activists. He further stated that the company arranged trips for between 2,000 and 2,500 people a year. **He expressed his hope that Jews who oppose the Israeli policy would use the company's services as well** (Jerusalem Post, August 4, 2001).

The Alternative Information Center

8. **The Alternative Information Center**, based in Jerusalem and Beit Sahour, was established in 1984 by Israeli radical left-wing activists and Palestinians belonging to left-wing Palestinian organizations. The center may have working relations with the ISM (a possibility which could not be verified).

9. The center publishes political, social and cultural anti-Israeli information. Between April 1984 and February 1987 it issued more than thirty reports, most of which focused on events in the territories as well as on the State of Israel and its defense policy. It also published an Arabic-language bi-weekly called *Inside News* and an English-language biweekly. The Alternative Information Center's employees included former Palestinian convicts released from Israeli jails. In 1987, Israel's police commissioner ordered the center shut down because it was part of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. However, it was reopened in August 1987 after an appeal to the Israeli Supreme Court. As of the 1990s, the center has had contacts with international anti-globalization movements.

ISM Support Groups around the Globe

Overview

10. The ISM has support groups around the globe. The ISM website features (as of October 2010) a list of **22 such support groups**. Furthermore, there are people and organizations in various countries cooperating with the ISM but are not listed as support groups.

Support Groups	
▪ Boston To Palestine	▪ Florida Palestine Solidarity Network
▪ ISM Arizona (email)	▪ ISM Australia (email)
▪ ISM Bard College (New York)	▪ ISM Chicago (email)
▪ ISM Czech Republic	▪ ISM Denmark
▪ ISM France	▪ ISM Germany
▪ ISM Greece (email)	▪ ISM Italia
▪ ISM London	▪ ISM Northern California
▪ ISM Norway	▪ ISM Scotland
▪ ISM Seattle	▪ ISM Spain
▪ ISM Sweden	▪ Michigan Peace Teams
▪ New Orleans Palestine Solidarity	▪ Tadamon! (Canada)

The list of support groups (the ISM website, October 2010)

11. According to the list on the ISM website, **most of the groups (nine) are based in the united stats, the origin of the hard-core ISM activists.** The other support groups are mostly based in Europe. In our assessment most of the people involved are casual activists **who volunteer to help the ISM for short periods of time. It is therefore a network-like organization whose various branches are only loosely connected rather than a hierarchical organization with an extensive, permanent human and physical infrastructure.**

12. In addition to the support groups, the ISM cooperates with anti-globalization groups, labor unions, left-wing organizations, and probably environmental activists as well. **Common to all the groups affiliated with the ISM is that they oppose Israel (and/or its policies) and sometimes American foreign policy, particularly but not exclusively in its Middle East policy.**

13. Several factors emerge from an examination of the ISM's support groups:

A. **Most of the support groups consist of few activists.** The majority do not even have their own websites. Some of the groups' websites are not up-to-date. Other websites are technologically non-sophisticated, serving little purpose other than to plainly state the group's main ideological message.

B. **Most of the support groups have adopted the views espoused by the ISM (adapting them to their own countries),** even though the ISM usually focuses only on the Palestinian issue. In addition to anti-Israeli activity, some organizations address

human rights issues in other countries, as well as such the environment, immigration laws, etc.

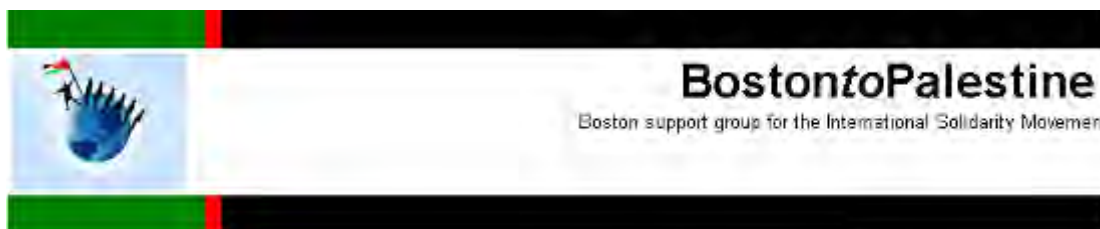
C. The support groups try not to expose themselves too much. Most of the groups' websites rarely mention the activists by name. Those who are mentioned are local, most of them not of Arab or Palestinian descent. For the most part, the activists are anarchists or human rights activists.

D. Most of the support groups portray themselves as networks without organizational hierarchy.

Support Groups in the United States

14. The ISM has a network of activists and supporters across America. Most of its supporters are part of the support group network. The ISM is also associated with other anti-Israeli organizations such as Al-Awda ("The Return"),⁶⁶ a student association called Palestine Solidarity Movement (PSM),⁶⁷ and the Free Palestine Movement.

Boston to Palestine (B2P)



The B2P logo (<http://bostonpalestine.org>)

15. According to the B2P website (last updated in 2006), the group was founded in 2002. Its goal is to promote solidarity with the Palestinian people "in their non-violent struggle to end the occupation of Palestine by the Israeli Defense Forces." The support group sends delegations to "Palestine," preparing, funding and providing them with support during their stay. It cooperates with the ISM and "other groups" that operate in the territories. The support group organizes conventions and functions in Boston.

16. The names of B2P's two founders are mentioned on its website:

⁶⁶ An American-based pro-Palestinian organization promoting the Palestinians' "right of return." Its full name is the Palestine Right to Return Coalition (PRRC). A similar anti-Israeli organization (PRC) operates in the UK.

⁶⁷ According to an article in The Washington Post, the ISM has close relations with the PSM, a student organization involved in anti-Israeli propaganda on American campuses (Washingtonpost.com website, February 12, 2006).

A. **John Petrovato**, a book salesman, from Conway, Massachusetts. Former director of the **Institute for Anarchist Studies** and co-organizer of the **Renewing the Anarchist Tradition** conference. He dedicates a considerable portion of his time and writing to the Palestinian-Israeli issue. He visited Israel on three occasions with the ISM and other organizations.

B. **Ben Scribner**, the other co-founder of B2P, visited Judea and Samaria.



John Petrovato (<http://johnpetrovato.com>)

ISM Arizona

17. There is no information about the group. The ISM website only lists an e-mail address.

Bard International Solidarity Movement (ISM Bard College New York)

Bard International Solidarity Movement

As You Can See...

October 15th, 2010 by admin

We're Back.

So far this semester, Bard ISM has held a movie showing and hosted & organized a speech from Edward Peck, former US Ambassador and Gaza flotilla participant.

The video from the latter event will be up soon.

Thanks to everyone who came out, we had over 100+ people, raised a bit of money for the US Boat to Gaza, and Ed was pleased with the standing ovation.

This website is under construction.

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The homepage of the organization's website (<http://clubs.bard.edu.ism>)

18. Bard International Solidarity Movement is the ISM's support group in Bard College, New York. It operates mostly as a student club, and its name appears on the college's list of clubs. The group organizes pro-Palestinian functions, such as "Israeli Apartheid Week" in March 2010, which called on participants to boycott Israel. With other groups, Bard International Solidarity Movement also organized a pro-Palestinian procession on the campus. It delivers

preparation courses for volunteer activists traveling to Judea and Samaria. The group is headed by **Amith Gupta**.



"Israeli Apartheid Week," organized by the Bard College support group
(<http://bard.apartheidweek.org>)

19. An article about the ISM mentions **Patrick O'Connor**, originally from Ireland, as the head of the ISM group in New York. According to reports, he uses an Irish or American passport and travels under the alias Patrick Connors (www.analyst-network.com quoting an article by Lee Kaplan).

ISM Chicago

20. There is no information about the group. The ISM website only lists an e-mail address.

ISM Northern California



The website of the Northern California support group (<http://norcalism.org>)

21. **The ISM conducts intensive activities in Northern California**, particularly in Berkeley and El Cerrito (Paul Larudee's home town). According to the group's website, there are several organizations and support groups in that area which send volunteers to the territories. The support group held training workshops for activists sent to the territories. As

far as we know, the last training workshop took place in June 2010. The most notable figure in the support group is Paul Larudee, who co-founded the ISM and the FPM.

New Orleans Palestine Solidarity



The homepage of New Orleans Palestine Solidarity (<http://nopalestinesolidarity.org>)

22. The group defines its membership as New Orleans residents who work for a "just peace in Palestine." Its principles include ending the Israeli occupation in the Gaza Strip, Judea and Samaria as well as East Jerusalem; evacuating the Israeli settlements and dismantling the Israeli fence; supporting the Palestinian refugees' so-called "right of return;" and opposing the American political, economic and military support of Israel.

23. The website of this support group has not been updated since July 2008.

Florida Palestine Solidarity Network (FPSN)



The FPSN homepage (<http://fpalsolidarity.com>)

24. The FPSN consists of groups and individuals in Florida. It also belongs to an umbrella organization called the **U.S. Campaign to End the Israeli Occupation**. It was established in 2003 by a group of "world justice activists" in Florida to "educate" Floridians about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Its objective is to mobilize public opinion for a comprehensive

peace, ensuring justice and human rights for the Palestinians and the Israelis based on the implementation of UN resolutions and the universal declaration of human rights.

25. The group conducts media campaigns, arranges movie screenings at local colleges and cafés, holds panel discussions and hosts culture events.

26. The group works to establish an umbrella organization for various groups across America. Its objective is to enlist students, religious communities anti-war groups, and human rights activists to join forces to "achieve the goal."

Palestine Solidarity Committee – Seattle



The website of the organization's Seattle branch (<http://www.palestineinformation.org>)

27. The group describes itself as supporting the Palestinian struggle for basic human rights, self-determination and an end to the occupation in the West Bank (including East Jerusalem), the Gaza Strip, and the Golan Heights. It also supports the "right of return." The group calls for an end to American economic and military assistance to Israel as long as Israel (supposedly) "violates international law." The group works to "educate the public" and the media about "Palestine" and American assistance to Israel.

28. The organization works to encourage boycotts of Israeli products and arranges demonstrations. A demonstration to protest the so-called "siege" of the Gaza Strip is held every Saturday. The support group's website contains a call to support the Free Gaza Movement campaign.



Anti-Israeli demonstrations organized by the ISM support group in Seattle (Photographs from the group's website)

29. The group's website mentions the names of several activists, including:

A. **Linda Bevis:** An attorney who spent two years in Judea and Samaria. Worked with the Al-Haq organization in Ramallah during the first intifada. Teaches high-school history. One of the co-founders of the Palestine Information Project, a Seattle organization which creates educational materials and presentations about human rights issues and about the UN's role in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Bevis and Edward Mast (see below) developed a publicity presentation called "Palestine for Beginners."

B. **Edward Mast:** A human rights activist, playwright, and actor. Co-wrote (with Hanna Eady) a play about a Palestinian village destroyed in 1948. The play has been put on in the United States, the Middle East and Europe since 1998. Co-founder of the Palestine Information Project.

Michigan Peace Team (MPT)



The MPT's homepage (<http://michiganpeaceteam.org>)

30. The group espouses the creation of a non-violent alternative to militarism and violence through "empowered peacemaking." It first became active in 1993, prior to the establishment of the ISM. The group offers non-violence training workshops and provides opportunities to join peace teams.

31. The group is registered as a non-profit organization operating as a board of directors. It has three paid employees, two volunteers, two advisors and a large group of volunteers.

32. In addition to the Palestinian issue, the group is concerned with the issue of Mexicans illegally crossing the border.

33. **Activists:**

A. **Peter Dougherty:** One of the group's founders, a Catholic priest, aged about 70. Has been a peace activist for 27 years and a member of peace delegations to various countries. Took part in several delegations to Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip.



Peter Dougherty (<http://www.peacedcenter.org>)

B. **Mary L. Hanna:** Writes a blog for the support group.

C. **Mike Doyle:** Retired American Army colonel with 25 years of service. Joined the group after his discharge.



Mike Doyle (<http://michiganpeaceteam.wordpress.com>)

Support Groups in Europe

ISM London



The ISM London website (<http://www.ism-london.org.uk>)

34. The ISM support group in Britain **began in London**; over the years, however, **it expanded to other locations throughout Britain**. Its activists are involved in organizing anti-Israeli demonstrations, sending volunteers to the territories and raising funds for the ISM.

35. The British group used to hold training workshops in London for activists sent to the territories. It also debriefs and questions volunteers returning from various activities.

36. Three activists mentioned on the ISM London website organized a fund-raising campaign for the ISM are:

A. **Joe Lee**: Recently signed a petition against the BBC's Panorama special on the *Mavi Marmara* (the coverage was objective, which upset anti-Israeli activists in Britain).

B. **Joe Crouck**: No information available.

C. **Pete Jones**: 25, pro-Palestinian activist and member of anti-Israeli student organizations and other groups in Paris. Spent two months in Judea and Samaria, mainly in Bila'in.

37. ISM activists from Britain apparently took part in the last flotilla, which ended with the violent confrontation on board the *Mavi Marmara*. On June 1, 2010, the ISM branch in London and the FGM jointly issued an announcement about the people detained in the flotilla (**Note**: the British delegation aboard the *Mavi Marmara* was the largest of all the Western countries, consisting of 28 British nationals, half of them Muslim).

ISM Scotland



The homepage of the organization in Scotland (<http://ism-scotland.org>)

38. On its website, the organization calls for volunteers to come to Judea and Samaria to "stand with Palestinians against attacks on their very existence." The website features many photographs of Scottish activists who have been to Judea and Samaria.

ISM Sweden



The ISM Sweden's website (<http://ism-sweden.org>)

39. The ISM has a fairly extensive network of activists in Sweden, organized under ISM Sweden. Its objective is to end the occupation of "Palestine" through non-violent and direct action.

40. The group enlists and trains volunteers interested in taking part in ISM activities in "Palestine." It also calls to boycott Israel, in cooperation with other organizations. The group claims to have no political or religious affiliation, and to have active cells in almost every large Swedish city.

41. The local groups are organized under ISM Sweden. The ISM support group congress convenes once a year. There is an appointed coordination group which acts as the ISM Sweden executive committee.

42. During the Palestinian terrorism campaign (the second intifada), ISM supporters in Sweden sent a relatively large number of volunteers to the territories. Even now, volunteers from Sweden still come to Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip. One of the ISM Sweden activists is **Niklas Berg**, a film director from Stockholm. He is the group's coordinator **and was involved in a confrontation with the Israeli security forces in Ni'lin** (July 2008). He was denied entry into Israel on October 7, 2010.

ISM Denmark



The ISM Denmark homepage (<http://palestinafredsvagter.dk>)

43. ISM Denmark organizes anti-Israeli functions and sends volunteers to Judea and Samaria. In June 2010 the group hosted a lecture given by Lubna Masarwa, an Israeli Arab who was on board the *Mavi Marmara*, entitled "The crimes I saw on the *Mavi Marmara*." The organization's website links to another website which calls for boycotting Israel (Boycott Israel). One of the organization's activists is **Frederick Lind**, who was detained in Israel in 2003 and subsequently deported.

ISM Germany



The ISM Germany homepage (<http://www.ism-germany.net>)

44. The group in Germany describes itself as a supporter of the international ISM. It strives to increase public awareness of the so-called "daily violations" of the Palestinians' human rights and increase awareness of the Palestinian "struggle for freedom and self-determination." The group releases daily reports on the ISM's activities and the Palestinians' lives.

ISM Italia



The ISM Italia's website (<http://www.ism-italia.org>)

45. ISM Italia is the ISM's support group in Italy. Its website calls for a boycott of Israel and asks web surfers to buy cement for people in the Gaza Strip.

ISM Czech Republic



The homepage of ISM Czech Republic (ism-czech.org)

46. The group sends volunteers to ISM activities in the territories. Its website calls for a boycott of Israeli-made products. According to the website, ISM Czech Republic decided to focus on a boycott of products made in the settlements, particularly those produced by the Ahava cosmetics company. The group organizes anti-Israeli activities, including Friday demonstrations in Prague.

ISM France



The homepage of ISM France (<http://ism-france.org>)

47. **The French support group has branches in several cities.** Its website includes a call for volunteers to the Gaza Strip (dated October 7, 2010). It also followed the preparations for the aid convoy organized by Viva Palestina, George Galloway's pro-Hamas organization. Members of the support group from Lyon joined the Viva Palestina convoy which left Britain in mid-September 2010 and passed through France.

48. In April 2004 Angela Coppin, a member of ISM France, and Huwaida Arraf (ISM senior figure) were accused of violating a court order preventing them from entering the Bidu region (near Jerusalem), where the security fence was being built.

ISM Greece

49. There is no information about the group on its website. Only an e-mail address is listed.

ISM Norway



The homepage of the ISM Norway website (<http://www.ismnorway.com>)

50. ISM Norway's website has very few details. It calls for volunteers to join the olive harvest in October 2010 (in Judea and Samaria).

ISM Catalunya



ISM Catalunya's homepage (ismcatalunya.wordpress.com)

51. The ISM has a support group in Catalonia, Spain. There is no information about the group on its website, which merely reiterates the ISM's principles.

ISM branches in Switzerland

52. The list of support groups on the ISM website does not mention an ISM branch in Switzerland. However, **"ISM Switzerland"** appears on the list of organizations supporting the FGM.

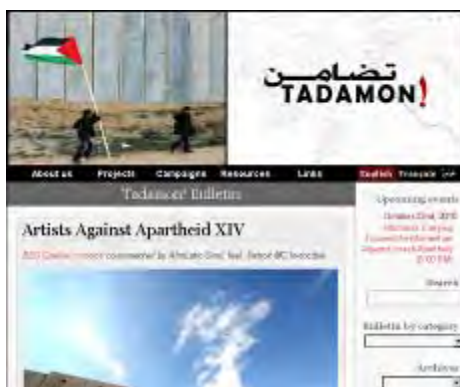
53. ISM Switzerland holds views similar to those of the ISM. It directs volunteers to the territories, and its website has recommendations for two hostels and a hotel in East Jerusalem. It apparently has offices in Geneva, Bern and Locarno. ISM Switzerland has close ties to the ISM branch in France.

Support Groups in Other Countries

ISM Australia

54. The ISM website has no information about this support group. Only an e-mail address is listed.

Tadamon! (Canada)



The Tadamon! homepage (<http://www.tadamon.ca>)

55. The Canadian support group Tadamon! (Arabic for *solidarity*) **is based in Montreal.**

56. The group conducts anti-Israeli activities and fights against the immigration policy of the Canadian authorities. It also works for environmental issues.

57. Tadamon! organizes anti-Israeli functions and works to boycott Israel. It supports protests against the security fence in Bil'a'in and lifting the "siege" of the Gaza Strip.

Israel

Pro-ISM Anarchists

58. Israel is not featured on the list of "support groups." Israeli activists who refer to themselves as "anarchists" joined activities conducted by the ISM not long after its establishment. **In 2003, the Israeli branch became independent and took the name Anarchists Against the Wall (AAtW).**



The Anarchists Against the Wall logo



The organization's English-language homepage (<http://www.awalls.org/hebrew>)

59. Even though they are now two separate organizations, the Israeli anarchist activists still have close ties to the ISM, reflected mostly in the joint organization of Bila'in-style protests. Some of the protests evolve into violent demonstrations where demonstrators and IDF soldiers are occasionally injured. The ISM and AAtW websites feature articles about incidents in which activists from both organizations took part.

60. According to AAtW activist Sarah Assouline, **the organization has been cooperating with the ISM since 2003** (the year of AAtW's establishment). She says that ISM volunteers witness the happenings on the ground and then report what they saw in their home countries (<http://www.qantara.de>, October 18, 2006). An ISM contact list was found at an apartment in Ramallah where two ISM activists were detained by the Israeli security forces (February 7, 2010). The name and telephone number of AAtW member Jonathan Pollack appeared on the list.

Appendix V

The ISM's Media Policies

1. **The ISM places considerable importance on extensive media coverage of its anti-Israeli activities.** The organization's internal documents go into great detail about how ISM activists should represent themselves to the media and what kind of messages they should communicate.
2. According to a 2005 ISM document, the organization's media policy is set and coordinated by the **ISM Media Team**. However, in practice, it is **the organization's leaders, mainly Huwaida Arraf, who determine media policy, which includes organizing campaigns and press conferences, formulating disinformation strategies and spreading the ISM's messages. In addition to Huwaida Arraf, these tasks are handled by several "media coordinators."** The ISM media coordinator in the territories is based in the **ISM's Ramallah offices ("Ramallah Team")**.
3. **The ISM places considerable importance on mainstream media coverage of its activities.** Its objective is to saturate the media with messages about **"the Israeli military occupation" and "the Palestinians' struggle for freedom, self-determination and human rights,"**⁶⁸ while **playing down its anti-Israeli and anti-Zionist strategy. That strategy is based rejecting the State of Israel as a Jewish political entity and complete support for the maximalist demands of the Palestinians** (including the implementation of the Palestinian refugees' so-called "right of return" to Israeli territory).
4. The names and phone numbers of media contact persons found on the ISM contact list in Ramallah (February 7, 2010) **shows which Arab, Israeli and Western media are deemed particularly important by the ISM.** The list included the phone numbers of the Al-Arabiyya channel, Al-Jazeera TV, the Palestinian newspaper Al-Ayyam, AFP, AP, ARD TV (a German TV channel), BBC, Israeli Channels 1, 10, and 2, CNN, the Jerusalem Post, Ma'an News Agency, Reuters, the Voice of Palestine, and the Israeli Ynet website.
5. The ISM considers volunteers sent to the territories as **an important means of documenting Israeli and IDF activities and delivering the information to media across the globe. The briefings they are given about the Palestinian-Israeli conflict are highly superficial and packed with hostility to Israel.** The media are given a

⁶⁸ ISM website, January 2006 ("Why ISM?").

particular emphasis in the ISM's training courses, where volunteers are briefed on appropriate behavior and given guidelines for media reporting. To disseminate its messages and mask its support for Palestinian violence and terrorism, the ISM employs **watered down terms and expressions taught to activists during training workshops before they are sent to the territories**. At training conventions which took place in California and London in 2004 and 2005, the ISM briefed its activists on **which terms they should use when talking to media and which terms they should avoid**. For example:⁶⁹

- ✓ **Instead of HUMAN SHIELDS, we refer to ourselves as HUMAN RIGHTS DEFENDERS** or INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS or PEACE ACTIVISTS/WORKERS
- ✓ **When VIOLENCE is mentioned, say RESISTANCE or RESISTANCE TO INJUSTICE** **When there is injustice, there will be resistance**. Where injustice is maintained by force, there will be resistance by force. **Also emphasize "popular uprising" and "national liberation struggle."**
- ✓ **When TERRORISM is mentioned, emphasize STATE TERRORISM**⁷⁰
- ✓ **Instead of APARTHEID, say ISRAELI APARTHEID**⁷¹. Note that many people no longer know what apartheid means.
- ✓ **Instead of OCCUPATION say MILITARY OCCUPATION**⁷² to make people realize that the **Occupation is a military dictatorship**.
- ✓ **Avoid the term ISRAELI ARAB** (This term, coined by the Israeli government, obscures the fact that they are Palestinians.) Instead, use **PALESTINIAN LIVING IN ISRAEL or PALESTINIAN ISRAELI** or Israeli Palestinian. And we should start saying **JEWISH ISRAELI** or Israeli Jew, since 20% of Israelis are Palestinian or other, not Jewish.
- ✓ **Instead of SETTLEMENTS, say ILLEGAL SETTLEMENTS** (4th Geneva Convention). **Also suggested: "colonial outposts"**, to indicate their true function and violent nature.
- ✓ **When possible say ETHNIC CLEANSING**. This can be used to refer to the expulsion of Palestinians from historic Palestine in 1948 as well as the current situation.

⁶⁹ From the California and London workshops.

⁷⁰ Rachel Corrie's journal shows that this biased terminology has been successfully incorporated into ISM parlance (cf. use of "state terrorism" on p. 226).

⁷¹ To associate Israel with the South African apartheid, the ISM refers to the Israeli security fence as the "Apartheid Wall" (London workshop).

⁷² In Rachel Corrie's journal, she refers to the IDF as the Israel Occupation Force (IOF) (pp. 238-239).

- ✓ **Instead of FASCIST, say POLICE STATE** "Fascist" has meanings that don't precisely apply to Israel.
- ✓ **Instead of ISRAELI DEMOCRACY, stress that it is a DEMOCRACY FOR JEWISH ISRAELIS ONLY.** Do not say JEWISH LOBBY or ISRAELI LOBBY in the US. The lobbies are not solely Jewish, they don't represent all Jews, they are not made up of Israelis. Instead, **say PRO-ISRAEL LOBBY**⁷³
- ✓ **Instead of JEWS, talk about the ISRAELI GOVERNMENT, the ISRAELI ARMY, ISRAELI SOLDIERS or SETTLERS.**
- ✓ **Always emphasize HUMAN RIGHTS** and emphasize BASIC or FUNDAMENTAL rights: civil, economic, political, social and cultural.

6. ISM volunteers sent to the territories are briefed to focus on their own experiences and personal motivations for joining the ISM when talking to media. They are not allowed to represent the ISM or speak on its behalf, or even answer questions about it.⁷⁴ **Volunteers are also taught how to answer sensitive and problematic (as far as the ISM is concerned) questions such as the killing of Israeli civilians by Palestinian suicide bombers, when the ISM defended the violence and terrorism employed by Palestinian terrorists in the second intifada. Following is an example from a training workshop in London (2005), whose purpose is to show understanding and thus grant legitimacy to suicide terrorism without saying as much:**

"For example, if a journalist asks an ISMer: **'Well, you can't deny that Israeli civilians are also being killed by Palestinians suicide bombers, what do you have to say about Palestinian terrorism and the accusation that you are defending terrorists?'**

"Sample Answer: 'I am opposed to all violence directed at innocent civilians. If we want to stop the killing of both Palestinians and Israelis, **we must address the root of the killing, the violence and terror, and that is the Israeli occupation of Palestinian land and the oppression of the Palestinian people.** End terror, end the occupation. That's what I'm working for.' Followed by: 'This is what I strongly believe, and why I came to join the International Solidarity Movement. If you want an official ISM statement to your question contact ISM centre.'⁷⁵

⁷³ See Rachel Corrie's journal, p. 226, for an example of the term "pro-Israel lobby."

⁷⁴ London workshop.

⁷⁵ London workshop.