

THE 2013 TOP TEN ANTI-ISRAEL GROUPS IN THE U.S.

Hundreds of anti-Israel groups operate in the United States today. Indeed, the domestic anti-Israel movement has grown significantly since the second intifada in 2000 and, more recently, since the 2008-9 Gaza War. Student-led organizations with dozens of chapters have been established, antiwar organizations fueled by U.S.-led wars abroad have devoted significant time and resources to anti-Israel efforts and Jewish anti-Zionist groups have made an indelible mark on the anti-Israel movement more broadly.

The groups that comprise today's anti-Israel movement lob any and every accusation against Israel – including charges of Nazi-like crimes, apartheid policies, ethnic cleansing, war crimes and genocide – in an effort to liken Israel to the world's true past and present evils. These accusations are rarely, if ever, balanced with acknowledgement of Israel's repeated efforts to make peace with the Palestinians, as well as the Palestinians' shortcomings on security issues and intransigence on the negotiation front.

Ten of these groups in particular represent the "worst of the worst." Their leaders speak regularly on college campuses, endeavoring to convince the leaders of tomorrow that Israel is the worst violator of international human rights and should be treated as a pariah. Their materials are disseminated widely at anti-Israel conferences and other events. And, they successfully garner support by promoting their work on social media, publishing op-eds in local and national newspapers and appearing on television and radio stations.

In October 2010, ADL published a report called "The Top Ten Anti-Israel Groups in the U.S.," which sought to contextualize the anti-Israel movement in the wake of the 2008-9 Gaza War and identify some of the major players in the movement. Three years later, the movement has changed and evolved as a result of several factors, including the Arab Spring, Israel's November 2012 military offensive in Gaza and a renewal of efforts to delegitimize Israel through the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) campaign.

These factors have significantly altered the landscape of the domestic anti-Israel scene and a new and revised “Top Ten” has become necessary.

Six groups that appeared in the original version of the Top Ten report adapted to these shifts and remain pivotal players in the anti-Israel movement today. These groups, which are featured in the current list, include: Act Now to Stop War and End Racism, Friends of Sabeel-North America, If Americans Knew, Jewish Voice for Peace, Students for Justice in Palestine, and the US Campaign to End the Israeli Occupation.

Four groups, American Muslims for Palestine, CODEPINK, the Muslim Public Affairs Council and Neturei Karta, represent new inclusions to the report as a result of their anti-Israel activity and statements. They replace groups that have become less relevant and/or groups that have scaled down the type of activity that merited their inclusion in the original Top Ten report.

These ten groups interact with each other in myriad ways, organizing anti-Israel demonstrations, programs and conference together; co-sponsoring each other’s events; and broadcasting their fellow groups’ messaging and agenda to their individual constituencies. The interactions and coordination among these groups play a critical role in advancing a hostile anti-Israel narrative and expanding the anti-Israel network in the United States.

More information about the criteria for selection and details about the groups that have been removed appear at the end of this report.

THE TOP TEN (in alphabetical order):

- [Act Now to Stop War and End Racism](#)
- [American Muslims for Palestine](#)
- [CODEPINK: Women for Peace](#)
- [Friends of Sabeel-North America](#)
- [If Americans Knew/Council for the National Interest](#)
- [Jewish Voice for Peace](#)
- [Muslim Public Affairs Council](#)
- [Neturei Karta](#)
- [Students for Justice in Palestine](#)
- [US Campaign to End the Israeli Occupation](#)

ANSWER (ACT NOW TO STOP WAR AND END RACISM)

Year Founded: 2001

Number of Chapters: 11

Social Media Presence: 3,000 Facebook “Likes”; 750 Twitter Followers

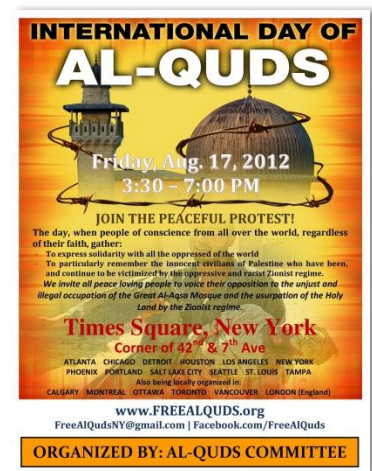
National Coordinator: Brian Becker, based in Washington, D.C.

Reported Revenue: Not available

The Act Now to Stop War and End Racism (ANSWER) Coalition is one of the most well-coordinated national antiwar organizations. Under the guise of an antiwar and antiracist agenda, ANSWER [regularly promotes and organizes](#) anti-Israel demonstrations and works hand-in-hand with many of the major anti-Israel groups in the United States.

Representatives of ANSWER openly express extreme views, including blatant support for terrorist groups like [Hamas](#) and [Hezbollah](#) that target Israeli civilians and support the destruction of the state of Israel. An activist with ANSWER at a rally in New Haven, CT, in November 2012, for example, said to the crowd: “We’re here to say to people that Israel should be ended once and for all.” The rally had been organized to protest Operation Pillar of Defense, an Israeli military operation to destroy Hamas targets in Gaza.

Sara Flounders, a prominent ANSWER activist and writer for the New York-based Marxist newspaper *Workers World*, spoke at an anti-Israel protest in August 2012 in New York (see flier at right) and expressed implicit support for Hezbollah when she proclaimed to the crowd: “We stand with the resistance in Lebanon today.”



ANSWER’s visibility has somewhat diminished in recent years because the organization’s rallying point when it was created shortly after 9/11 – opposition to the U.S.-led wars in Iraq and Afghanistan – has receded in the minds of the American public as those wars have gradually wound down. [The U.S. mission in Iraq officially ended in December 2012; the war in Afghanistan is set to end in late 2014.]

Still, ANSWER continues to be the main bridge between the domestic anti-Israel and antiwar movements and regularly implicates Israel and its supporters as being responsible for pressuring the U.S. into additional military conflicts, including in Libya in 2011 and current deliberations surrounding a

possible strike against Iran over its nuclear weapons program.

ANSWER's modus operandi is to inject anti-Israel narratives into antiwar initiatives and events in an attempt to cast Israel as a core part of the so-called military-industrial complex that they contend has spawned a variety of U.S.-led wars in the 20th and 21st centuries. Although the connections between these events and Israel tend to be quite tenuous, ANSWER consistently lays blame on Israel for these and other U.S. actions. In June 2013, for example, the group issued a statement opposing Western intervention in Syria. The announcement specifically opposed the "U.S./NATO/Israeli War" against Syria and condemned the White House's decision to supply weapons to the Syrian rebels fighting the Assad government.

In October 2012, a demonstration held in Los Angeles to protest the 11th anniversary of the war in Afghanistan was promoted with a flier that contained the following slogans, "End the Afghanistan War Now! No New War & Sanctions VS. Syria and Iran! Free Palestine – End the occupation!" The text of the flier explained that as the U.S. is engaging hostilely with Iran and Syria, Israel "illegally seizes more Palestinian land and violently suppresses the people on a daily basis." The event's endorsers included more than two dozen antiwar and social justice groups, further indication that ANSWER is successful at recruiting large coalitions for its actions despite the overtly extreme nature of its agenda.

The group is also one of the primary organizers of off-campus anti-Israel demonstrations that are held on significant anniversaries for the anti-Israel movement, including the "Nakba," (an Arabic term meaning "catastrophe" that is used by Palestinians to describe the establishment of Israel in 1948), and the 2008-2009 Gaza War, as well as any time there are heightened tensions on the ground in the Middle East.

A Nakba demonstration co-organized by ANSWER took place outside the White House in May 2013. An account of the protest published on ANSWER's Web site afterward described Israel's establishment as a result of the "Zionist campaign of terrorism and occupation" and called for an end to aid for Israel. And even at anti-Israel protests where ANSWER representatives are less visible, its signs and posters – which generally call for an end to U.S. aid to Israel, an end to the "siege on Gaza" and the implementation of the Right of Return for Palestinian refugees – have become ubiquitous.

AMERICAN MUSLIMS FOR PALESTINE

Year Founded: 2005

Number of Chapters: 7 (claims “dozens”)

Social Media Presence: 8,500 Facebook “Likes”; 3,100 Twitter Followers

Chairman: Hatem Bazian, based in Berkeley, CA

Reported Revenue: Not available

[American Muslims for Palestine \(AMP\)](#) is the leading organization providing anti-Zionist training and education to students and Muslim community organizations in the country. Leaders of AMP are regularly invited to speak at major Muslim-American gatherings in the U.S. to train attendees about “Palestine activism.” In turn, hundreds of Muslim-Americans attend AMP’s annual conferences where the agenda on Israel involves calls for Palestinian liberation “from the river to the sea,” a reference to the destruction of the state of Israel, and claims that Israel is engaged in an “ethnic cleansing” of Palestinians.

Over the past few years, AMP has placed a heavy emphasis on supporting and helping coordinate the activity of anti-Israel college students and, in particular, Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP), an organization with chapters on close to 100 college campuses in the U.S. [See SJP report below.] AMP has helped facilitate several regional SJP conferences and claims to have “worked with hundreds of members of Students for Justice in Palestine.”

In a speech at the 2011 AMP conference in Chicago, AMP’s Chairman Hatem Bazian emphasized the importance of the universities in the battle for public opinion on Palestine, saying, “The university is going to be the frontline and the pro-Israelis know this.”

AMP has also sought to broadcast its anti-Israel message to general audiences. In March 2013, the group unveiled a billboard campaign at Metro-North stations in suburban New York falsely accusing Israel of “apartheid.” The ad, which appears below, was unveiled on the first day of the Jewish holiday of Passover. It featured the silhouette of an Israeli soldier aiming a gun at a Palestinian child and called for an end to “unconditional American aid for Israel.”



AMP is a strong advocate of the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) campaign against Israel, which seeks to isolate and demonize Israel. AMP sponsors many pro-BDS events on and off college campuses, and during the last two Ramadan holidays, AMP called on Muslims to avoid purchasing Israeli dates, a food often consumed to break the daily fast.

At times, the group has provided a platform for extreme rhetoric, including calls for the end of the state of Israel, under the guise of educating Americans about “the just cause of Palestine and the rights of self-determination.” A speaker at the group’s annual conference in November 2011 proclaimed that there will be “no peace agreement until the complete return of [Palestine’s] people and the liberation of its capital, Jerusalem.” He also made a laudatory reference to Palestinian terrorism, describing suicide bombers as “martyrs.”

Speakers at an AMP panel that was part of a [Muslim community event in Chicago in 2009](#) similarly expressed support for armed resistance against Israel. One speaker, Rafeeq Jaber – the former president of the Islamic Association for Palestine (IAP), a now-defunct group that served as the main propaganda arm for Hamas in the United States until it was dissolved in 2004 – described Jews as “the worst kind of people,” who came to Jerusalem “with false pretenses.”

AMP also co-sponsored a 2010 speaking tour titled “[Never Again for Anyone](#)” that was designed to promote the idea that Israel’s policies are equivalent to Nazi Germany’s treatment of the Jews.

To better manage its anti-Israel campaigns on campus, AMP hired two full-time staff to coordinate its efforts, including Taher Herzallah, one of 11 pro-Palestinian student activists arrested for disrupting a speech by Israeli Ambassador Michael Oren at the University of California, Irvine in 2010.

Encouraged by its success on university campuses and with SJP, AMP started working with high school students in early 2012. The flier at right advertised a June 2012 conference about Palestine that was co-sponsored by the Muslim Student Association (MSA)’s high school division and AMP.



CODEPINK: WOMEN FOR PEACE

Year Founded: 2002

Number of Chapters: 55 chapters in the U.S.; 4 additional chapters in Canada, Germany and Japan

Social Media Presence: 13,200 Facebook “Likes”; 22,800 Twitter Followers

Co-Founders: Jodie Evans, based in Venice, CA; Medea Benjamin, based in Washington, D.C.; Gael Murphy, based in Washington, D.C.

Reported Revenue: Approximately \$450,000 (2012)

CODEPINK: Women for Peace is a feminist antiwar organization with headquarters in Washington, D.C. and dozens of chapters across the U.S. CODEPINK’s objective is to reduce U.S. support for Israel and end U.S.-led wars and military campaigns in the Middle East and elsewhere. Though some of its initiatives have little to do with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (e.g. opposition to U.S. drone strikes, the closing of Guantanamo Bay), four of the 12 “Issues” listed on its website are about Israel, including a call for BDS against Israel and advocacy on ending U.S. aid to Israel. The group has also opposed international sanctions on Iran, a position that is implicitly hostile to Israeli interests and security concerns.

CODEPINK is best known for its often daring attempts to disrupt major pro-Israel gatherings and events. The group’s activists regularly interrupt AIPAC conferences – including the AIPAC conference in Washington, D.C. each year – and speeches by Israeli diplomats and government officials. In May 2011, a CODEPINK activist named Rae Abileah



Rae Abileah at Netanyahu's May 2011 speech

interrupted Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu while he was addressing both Houses of Congress, which led to a minor skirmish between the activist and other attendees. [CODEPINK also protests non-Israel related events, including an NRA press conference held after the Sandy Hook school shooting and a major counterterrorism address by President Barack Obama in May 2013.]

The leadership of CODEPINK uses conspiratorial and extreme rhetoric to denounce AIPAC. A February 2012 article by the group’s co-founder, Medea Benjamin, accused AIPAC of “demanding” that the U.S. support Israel, of having “undue influence” on U.S. policy and of being a “de facto agent for a foreign government.” In 2010, Benjamin was interviewed by [The Final Call](#), the Nation of Islam’s anti-Semitic

newspaper, and claimed that members of Congress told her and other CODEPINK activists that they “are still going to bow down before the people of AIPAC, because they are afraid.”

Much of CODEPINK’s anti-Israel advocacy focuses on advancing the BDS campaign against Israel. In 2009, the group initiated a campaign against AHAVA, an Israeli beauty company, under the tagline “Stolen Beauty.” CODEPINK activists have been known for organizing flash mobs and other vocal



demonstrations inside department stores in an effort to attract attention and support for these BDS efforts. Videos of these actions are subsequently posted on YouTube and shared widely on anti-Israel social networking pages. More recently, CODEPINK has been heavily involved in boycott efforts against Sodastream, an Israeli beverage carbonating device, because one of its manufacturing plants is in the West Bank. The facility employs hundreds of Palestinian workers.

A core aspect of CODEPINK’s relevance to the anti-Israel movement lies in its connections to the broader left-wing and antiwar movement and its ability to introduce anti-Israel initiatives to these constituencies. CODEPINK representatives, for example, spoke about BDS at a [“United National Antiwar Conference”](#) in March 2012 in Connecticut and about their anti-AHAVA campaign to a [gathering of “Occupy Wall Street” activists](#) in September 2012.

FRIENDS OF SABEEL-NORTH AMERICA

Year Founded: 1997

Number of Chapters: 6-8 (as well as other international “Friends of Sabeel” groups)

Social Media Presence: 1,400 Facebook “Likes”; 260 Twitter Followers

Leader: Reverend Naim Ateek, based in Jerusalem, Israel

Reported Revenue: Approximately \$370,000 (2012)

[Friends of Sabeel – North America \(FOSNA\)](#), the U.S.-based affiliate of the Sabeel Ecumenical Liberation Theology Center, a Palestinian Christian organization based in Jerusalem, has been a driving force behind the almost decade-long effort to pressure churches to divest from Israel.

The group leverages its Christian identity when appealing to churches to divest, specifically arguing

that “morally responsible investment is a Christian imperative and a nonviolent method aimed at ending the illegal occupation” for the sake of “our Christian brethren” in the Palestinian territories.



Sabeel's logo portrays the group as the "voice" of the Palestinian Christian community

Because of FOSNA's efforts, Presbyterian, Methodist and Episcopal Churches have considered divestment resolutions at many of their conferences since 2004. Thus far, none have passed.

FOSNA has also introduced anti-Israel causes to left-leaning Christian churches and organizations in the U.S., couching its pro-Palestinian agenda in language and themes designed to appeal to Christian audiences. FOSNA is particularly successful in doing so because many of its local chapters maintain ties to churches in their areas.

Despite calls for an end to the Israeli occupation that use terms like “justice,” “peace” and “mercy,” FOSNA espouses a radical ideology that includes a call for the right of return for Palestinian refugees, “active engagement” in the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) campaign against Israel and a one-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

In 2010, the group circulated a Christmas boycott call that included a list of multinational brands, many of which have tangential ties to Israel. The list, for example, included Sara Lee because it received an award from Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu for doing business in Israel. The inclusion of these companies reflects FOSNA's commitment to delegitimizing Israel and its supporters beyond the issue of the occupation.

FOSNA also serves as the Christian representative for the broader domestic anti-Israel movement, [regularly partnering](#) with student groups, Jewish anti-Zionist groups and other grassroots organizations on various initiatives. These groups invite FOSNA leaders to participate in their events as evidence that Palestinian opposition to Israel is broad-based and not limited to a conflict between Muslims and Jews. In November 2012, for example, Donald Wagner, the National Program Director for FOSNA, spoke on a panel discussion at the American Muslims for Palestine's fifth annual conference about building interfaith

coalitions to oppose Israel.

Speakers at the multiple conferences organized by FOSNA each year regularly employ anti-Israel themes, accusing Israel of racism, oppression, and human rights violations while simultaneously promoting BDS campaigns against Israel as punishment for what they allege to be Israel's apartheid-like policies. Some speakers at Sabeel conferences have also described the pro-Israel lobby as excessively powerful and argue that Israeli interests control the U.S. government's foreign policy.

In September 2012, FOSNA held a conference in Albuquerque, New Mexico, which included speakers who advocated for a one-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, compared Israeli policies to Nazism and criticized interfaith dialogue with Jews. Wagner, for example, claimed: "Bethlehem is now a ghetto analogous to the Warsaw Ghetto. Surrounded by a wall, surrounded by the Israeli military and many people can't get out."

IF AMERICANS KNEW/COUNCIL FOR THE NATIONAL INTEREST

If Americans Knew

Year Founded: 2001

Number of Chapters: 0

Social Media: 11,700 Facebook "Likes"; 700 Twitter Followers

Executive Director: Alison Weir, based in Sacramento, CA

Reported Revenue: Approximately \$150,000 (2012)

Council for the National Interest

Year Founded: 1989

Number of Chapters: 0

Social Media: 10,200 Facebook "Likes"; 600 Twitter Followers

President: Alison Weir, based in Sacramento, CA;

Executive Director: Philip Giraldi, based in Purcellville, VA

Reported Revenue: Approximately \$300,000 (2011)

While If Americans Knew (IAK) and the [Council for the National Interest \(CNI\)](#) are formally independent organizations that have separate operating structures, the two organizations have essentially merged with the June 2010 appointment of [Alison Weir](#) as the president of CNI. Weir is also IAK's founder

and longtime executive director. Both organizations are now led by Weir and, with minimal professional staffing beyond her, essentially serve as the platform from which Weir, a former journalist, espouses her extreme anti-Israel ideology. The groups' Boards of Directors also have several members in common, including Paul Findley, a former congressman who helped found CNI, and Andrew Killgore, a longtime American diplomat.

IAK and CNI's primary objective is to convince Americans that U.S. policies that are friendly to Israel are damaging to the U.S. from a foreign policy standpoint. IAK and CNI assert that because Israel causes "rage and resentment among billions of people... and sells America's military secrets to its enemies." According to an April 2013 IAK report called "The Staggering Cost of Israel to Americans," U.S. aid to Israel would be better spent on domestic programs.

In the past year, a joint initiative by the two organizations called "Stop the Blank Check" has paid for [billboards](#) in several U.S. cities. The advertisements, which read "\$8 Million a day to Israel just doesn't make sense! STOP The Blank Check.org," rely on the notion that the initiative will seem particularly palatable in a time of recession, budget deficits and sequestration cuts.



The billboards have appeared in Atlanta, Georgia; Omaha, Nebraska; and Missoula, Montana. Similar advertisements have turned up in newspapers like *The New York Times*. IAK materials and brochures that advance these and other anti-Israel claims are regularly distributed at anti-Israel demonstrations and conferences.

IAK and CNI depend heavily on the past credentials of their staff and lay leaders in an effort to appear mainstream and objective. Longtime leaders of CNI include former members of Congress, the CIA and other government agencies, and Weir's credentials as a former journalist allow the groups to advance an anti-Israel agenda using a false sense of objectivity.

Under this thin veneer, however, lie an extreme anti-Israel ideology and a conspiratorial obsession with the pro-Israel lobby and the U.S.-Israel relationship. The "Staggering Cost of Israel to Americans," report for example, argues that American politicians only support Israel because they "receive payments and support from the lobby in exchange for their loyalty."

Similarly, CNI's Executive Director Philip Girdaldi published an article in March 2011, vilifying J Street, the DC-based Israel lobby group, shortly after the group's second annual conference. The article described the broader pro-Israel lobby as the "most powerful foreign lobby in the U.S," denounced J Street's opposition to a one-state solution, and called Israel a "rogue state" that only "claims" to be a democracy. Girdaldi also claimed that Jews who care about Israel should "move to Israel."

When Weir circulated the article to her listserv she further described J Street and AIPAC as "two tentacles of the same lobby" and noted that CNI seeks to "expose the behind-the-scenes maneuvering by the Israel lobby – no matter how many ways they change hats and names."

It is this sort of vitriol towards Israel and its supporters that expose CNI and IAK's true objectives. Indeed, Weir's anti-Semitic opinions of Jews more generally were recently aired in an [interview with American Free Press](#), a conspiracy-oriented anti-Semitic newspaper, when she alleged that the pro-Israel lobby suppresses opposition to Israel, Zionism or "Jewish power." Weir also used the platform to defend the late Helen Thomas's anti-Semitic remarks and claimed that Jews are "very powerful in politics" and in Hollywood.



The image of Weir displayed during her AFP interview

In her speaking appearances and published articles, Weir regularly implies that the U.S. media is controlled by Israel and pro-Israel forces. In a May 2011 interview with *Russia Today*, Weir claimed that, with respect to Israel, "People lobbying on behalf of a foreign country are basically writing our Middle East policies...Very few Americans have any understanding that it is this tiny, but extremely powerful special interest lobby that dictates to both parties, to the president, to Congress, to the Senate what will be done."

CNI also has a long history of extreme rhetoric on Israel and is one of several anti-Israel organizations that have expressed support for terrorist organizations based in the Middle East that target Israeli civilians and seek to destroy Israel. In the 2000s CNI organized several delegations to visit with terrorist leaders of Hamas and Hezbollah, including two delegations that met with Hamas leader Khaled Meshal in Damascus in 2008 and 2009. [Meshal has since moved out of Syria and now resides in Qatar.] The last such trip, however, appears to have taken place in 2010 when leaders of CNI met with Hamas Prime Minister Ismail Haniyeh in Gaza.

JEWISH VOICE FOR PEACE

Year Founded: 1996

Number of Chapters: 32

Social Media Presence: 30,100 Facebook “Likes”; 9,600 Twitter Followers

Executive Director: Rebecca Vilkomerson, based in Brooklyn, NY

Reported Revenue: Approximately \$875,000 (2012)

As the largest and most influential Jewish anti-Zionist group in the United States, [Jewish Voice for Peace \(JVP\)](#) plays a leading role in the domestic anti-Israel movement.

The Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) campaign, which has become the most go-to strategy for the domestic anti-Israel movement in recent years, is heavily championed by JVP. The group’s ongoing BDS initiative, called “[We Divest](#),” targets TIAA-CREF, a major financial services organization. JVP activists have also supported a variety of divestment resolutions considered by university student governments and mainline churches, including the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches.

At the Presbyterian Church’s General Assembly in June 2012, JVP lobbied for a resolution that called on the church to divest from several companies that benefit the Israeli occupation and sent a delegation of activists to the conference that testified on the floor in favor of divestment.

Leaders of JVP, including its senior staff and members of its Rabbinical Council, are also regularly invited to present at major anti-Israel events and conferences, including the [one-state solution conference at Harvard University](#) in March 2012, and the [BDS conference at the University of Pennsylvania](#) a month earlier.

JVP Executive Director Rebecca Vilkomerson’s presentation at the Penn conference about how BDS is not anti-Semitic underscores the unique role played by JVP in the larger anti-Israel movement, namely to shield the movement from allegations of anti-Semitism by pointing out – and serving as the embodiment of the fact – that there are Jewish people who don’t support Israel. In the spring of 2013, for example, American Muslims for Palestine came under fire for a series of public ads calling Israel an “apartheid” state. When JVP rushed to its defense, AMP widely cited JVP’s support as evidence that the ad campaign, which

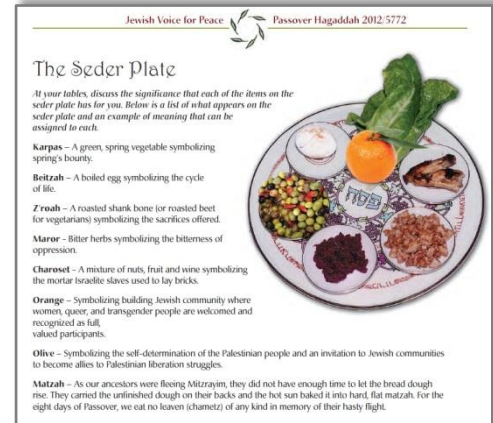


A JVP flier circulated at the Presbyterian Church's General Assembly

had started on Passover, was not hate speech or anti-Semitism.

On its Web site, JVP recognizes the unique role it can play in the anti-Israel movement, noting its ability to distinguish “between real anti-Semitism and the cynical manipulation of that issue.” The group also claims that its Jewish nature gives it a “particular legitimacy in voicing an alternative view of American and Israeli actions and policies.”

JVP intentionally exploits Jewish culture and rituals to reassure its own supporters that opposition to Israel not only does not contradict, but is actually consistent with, Jewish values. Its “Rabbinical Council” even [published a Passover Haggadah](#) in the spring of 2012 that dedicated one of the traditional cups of wine to BDS and added an olive to the Seder plate to symbolize the Palestinian struggle.



While the group’s innocuous name and some of its outward policies seem mainstream, JVP consistently co-sponsors rallies to oppose Israeli military policy that are marked by signs and slogans comparing Israel to Nazi Germany, demonizing Jews and voicing support for groups like Hamas and Hezbollah. JVP has never condemned or sought to distance itself from these messages. Indeed, Vilkomerson even gave an interview to *American Free Press*, the anti-Semitic newspaper, in August 2012.

In the past four years, JVP has significantly expanded and is now a national organization with more than 30 chapters across the country, including chapters on several college campuses like Brandeis University, the University of Arizona and Tufts University. [In fact, in October 2013, JVP created a professional staff position called “Campus Liaison” to better coordinate its campus efforts.] JVP claims it has more than 100,000 supporters across the country. The group’s success in this area is aided by its embrace of online marketing tools and its strong presence on social networking sites.

Despite its anti-Zionist agenda, JVP has occasionally managed to inject itself and its positions on Israel into the mainstream. In a January 2013 op-ed in *The New York Times*, Nicholas Kristof cited JVP’s support for Senator Chuck Hagel’s nomination for Secretary of Defense as evidence that not all Jewish groups are concerned with Hagel’s prior record on Israel. Kristof described JVP as merely a “liberal American Jewish organization,” evidencing that although JVP’s positions on Israel fall far to the left of the vast majority of liberal Jews, the group has managed to frame its positions and appear mainstream enough to attract a modicum of “in the beltway” credibility.

MUSLIM PUBLIC AFFAIRS COUNCIL

Year Founded: 1988

Number of Chapters: 7

Social Media Presence: 13,000 Facebook “Likes”; 3,800 Twitter Followers

President: Salam Al-Marayati, based in Los Angeles, CA

Reported Revenue: Approximately \$2.7 million, includes contributions to Muslim Public Affairs Council Foundation (2012)

The Muslim Public Affairs Council (MPAC) has a long record of promoting hostility toward Israel through its activities, affiliations and statements. The group, which is based in Los Angeles but has a strong presence in Washington D.C. as well, is a prominent advocacy organization engaging with the U.S. government on issues affecting the Muslim community.

MPAC works on a variety of international and domestic issues, including countering violent extremism, protecting religious freedom, hate crime response and interfaith work. While its anti-Israel activity is only one aspect of its advocacy, its credibility makes its involvement in anti-Israel campaigns and its leadership’s anti-Israel statements all the more troubling.

At the same time that MPAC has been involved in positive civil rights advocacy on behalf of the Muslim community in the U.S., it has helped propagate the notion that American foreign policy is directed by Israel. For example, MPAC accuses Israel of pushing the U.S. into wars in the Middle East. In January 2012, MPAC’s president, Salam Al-Marayati, promoted this conspiratorial narrative of Israeli domination of American foreign affairs during an appearance on *Russia Today*. Al-Marayati (who appears at bottom left in the accompanying image) said:

“The United States has done a lot of dirty work that has served the interests of Israel. It destroyed Iraq. It supported the destruction and crippling of Egypt. It has crippled the Gulf. And now, it is looking to Iran as the next target for crippling and destroying. Who is driving our foreign policy -- President Obama or Prime Minister Netanyahu?”



MPAC has also provided its imprimatur to the BDS movement. In 2012, MPAC signed onto a campaign to pressure the City Council of Los Angeles to divest

from Veolia Transport, which operates the city's DASH buses. The campaign claimed the company's operations in Israel discriminated against Palestinians and that an expiring contract between the city and Veolia should not be renewed.

MPAC is increasingly partnering with other extreme anti-Israel organizations that advocate for BDS such as Friends of Sabeel-North America (FOSNA) and American Muslims for Palestine (AMP). For example, in June 2012, MPAC partnered with AMP to host a dinner event/fundraiser for a new AMP chapter in Orange County. In April 2013, MPAC co-sponsored a FOSNA-organized conference called "Justice and Only Justice." The conference, which took place at a Presbyterian church in Pasadena, featured well-known anti-Israel speakers like Sara Roy, Donald Wagner and Mark Braverman. These and other speakers at the conference have previously described Israel's treatment of Palestinians as a Holocaust, called Zionism "heresy" and compared the illegality of Hamas rocket attacks that target Israeli civilians to the infraction of driving over the speed limit.

MPAC helps organize a variety of events where speakers and participants provide distinctly anti-Israel narratives. In the summer of 2010, MPAC held events in Washington D.C. and Los Angeles billed as "Set the Truth Free: The Freedom Flotilla & the Future of Palestine" which featured activists who had just returned from participating in the May 2010 Freedom Flotilla that had provocatively tried to confront the Israeli army's blockade of Gaza.

At the L.A. event in July 2010, Al-Marayati described the provocative actions of the flotilla and its organizer, the [Free Gaza Movement](#), as "great, we support that." Maher Hathout, MPAC's Senior Advisor, described the Israeli interception of the flotilla as "a natural culmination of a tragic long history of immoral, illegal, inhumane, expansionist, racist, replacement occupation."

MPAC has even judged mere expressions of support for Israel to be unacceptable. In November 2010, MPAC attacked Congressman Eric Cantor, then the House Minority Whip, a week after his meeting with Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, accusing Cantor of taking "money and benefits away from American citizens in order to support the illegal acts of the Israeli government."

In January 2009, Al-Marayati wrote an op-ed in the *Los Angeles Times* attacking the then-mayor of LA, Antonio Villaraigosa, for supporting Israel. Al-Marayati described Villaraigosa's trip to Israel as "the best possible propaganda for fueling anti-Americanism in the Muslim world," a commonly cited reason by the anti-Israel movement for the U.S. to drop its support for Israel.

NETUREI KARTA

Year Founded: 1938

Number of Chapters: 6-8 cities internationally have a Neturei Karta presence but organization operates as single entity

Social Media Presence: 5,300 Facebook “Likes”; 1,200 Twitter Followers

Leader: Rabbi Moshe Ber Beck, based in Monsey, NY

Reported Revenue: Not available

Neturei Karta (NK), an international ultra-Orthodox anti-Zionist group with a strong base of support in the U.S., views itself as the religious Jewish authority on Zionism and Israel and claims to “pray for the peaceful dismantlement of the state of Israel.”

Founded in 1938, “Neturei Karta” (Aramaic for “Guardians of the Gates”) opposes the contemporary state of Israel because it does not believe that the Jewish people have the right to self-determination and because only God can restore Jewish sovereignty in the land of Israel by bringing the Messiah. NK has a very extreme agenda and has regularly aligned with international anti-Semites, Islamic extremists and groups that advocate violence against Israel. In recent years, leaders of Neturei Karta have met with Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad on several occasions in New York and Tehran, as well as leaders of Hamas in Gaza and Hezbollah in Lebanon.

The group’s participation in a “Holocaust Review” conference in Tehran in December 2006, which was attended by a host of international Holocaust deniers, demonstrated the group’s willingness to meet with the vilest of extremists.

In 2012, leaders of Neturei Karta met with high-ranking Hezbollah officials on at least two occasions. In March, several NK leaders participated in a “Global March to Jerusalem” and laid a wreath at the tomb of Hezbollah terrorist Imad Mugniyeh. Then in June, some of those same leaders attended a conference in Lebanon about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and met with Hezbollah leader Sheikh Nabil al-Kauk. Leaders of Neturei Karta also met with



NK leaders in Beirut during the Global March to Jerusalem in 2012

Ahmadinejad while he was in New York during the UN General Assembly in September of that year.

Neturei Karta's association with these groups for photo ops and discussions about Israel and Zionism – in which they dress in traditional Hasidic garb and are often described simply as “Jewish Rabbis” – indicate the lengths Neturei Karta is willing to go to prop up Israel's enemies. Indeed, Neturei Karta leaders have even called on the Jewish community to dialogue with Hamas and apologize for “stealing their land.”

Leaders of Neturei Karta, specifically Dovid Feldman and Yisroel Dovid Weiss, the North American spokesperson for NK, display a commitment to proving to international Muslim and Arab audiences that Jews don't support Israel. Both appear regularly for interviews on Al-Jazeera and [Press TV](#), Iran's government-run English language satellite news network. In an interview with Al Jazeera in March 2012, Weiss claimed: “Zionism has created rivers of blood...this is against the will of the Almighty and this is not what it means to be a Jew.”

This has led the more mainstream ultra-Orthodox community to join the broader Jewish community, to disavow and repudiate Neturei Karta. Indeed, Neturei Karta's views are not in any way representative of the vast majority of the Jewish community. While these denouncements are important, it is still likely that the average passer-by who witnesses Neturei Karta's participation at an anti-Israel protest surmises that many Jews who dress similarly agree with this position. And, while it is true that the ultra-Orthodox community largely disapproves of Israel's secular government and liberal policies, the vast majority thoroughly abhors and rejects Neturei Karta's ideology.

Neturei Karta's leaders in the U.S. (most of whom are based in Brooklyn and Monsey, New York) [regularly participate in anti-Israel demonstrations](#) in order to lend a Jewish face to the protest. In interviews and at these events, NK leaders have not held back in their vitriolic rhetoric against the state of Israel, describing Israelis as Nazis, calling Israel a “cancer” and accusing Zionists of controlling the media.

While Neturei Karta's primary motto can be boiled down to “Judaism does not equal Zionism,” leaders of the group also allege that a Jewish person's support for Zionism essentially strips him of his Jewish-ness. During a protest outside a speech by Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu at the Council on Foreign Relations' New York office in July 2010, members of Neturei Karta chanted, “Netanyahu is not a Jew!”

NK leaders participate in a range of anti-Israel programs and events on campus, including weeklong

programs like [Israeli Apartheid Week](#), protests that took place during Israel's "[Operation Pillar of Defense](#)" in November 2012 and as the Jewish representatives at "interfaith" events about Israel/Palestine organized by pro-Palestinian student groups on campus.

STUDENTS FOR JUSTICE IN PALESTINE

Year Founded: 2001

Member Groups: 95

Social Media Presence: 21,400 Facebook "Likes"; 1,300 Twitter Followers (+ 20,000 supporters on individual SJP Facebook pages and 11,000 Followers on individual Twitter pages)

Leader: None (each chapter has independent board)

Reported Revenue: Not available

Perhaps the fastest growing and most active anti-Israel group in the U.S., [Students for Justice in Palestine](#) now has chapters on close to 100 college campuses, most of which organize numerous anti-Israel initiatives, programs and conferences throughout the course of the academic year.

SJP was first founded in 2001 at the University of California, Berkeley, but in the past few years the number of active SJP groups on campus has almost doubled, including approximately 20 new chapters between 2011 and 2013. The vast majority of these chapters are registered student clubs that receive funding from their university or college for programming.

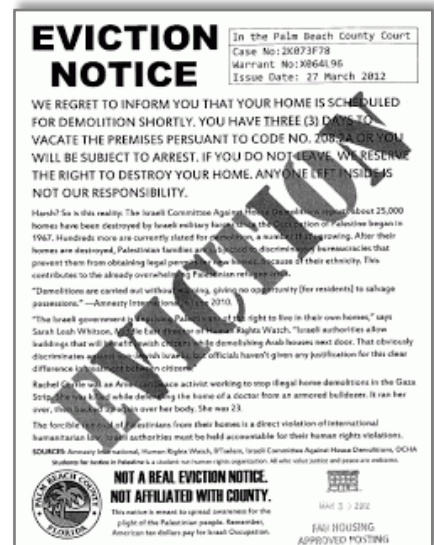
SJP chapters are fairly autonomous and do not consistently operate as a unified organization. Since 2011, however, some of its leaders – apparently under the direction of off-campus groups like American Muslims for Palestine and Jewish Voice for Peace – have labored to unite the groups under a national umbrella organization known as "National Students for Justice in Palestine" and have held two conferences for SJP students around the country.

These conferences, which took place in October 2011 and November 2012 at Columbia University and the University of Michigan respectively, brought hundreds of anti-Israel students together to strategize about local successes and to plan for future cooperation. A third national conference will take place at Stanford University in October, 2013.



While SJP groups still independently organize anti-Israel activity on their campuses, the goals of the disparate SJP chapters are quite similar:

- Educate students about the conflict from an anti-Israel angle through film screenings, off-campus speakers and teach-ins;
- Paint Israel as an “apartheid” state reminiscent of the regime in South Africa. This is achieved through mock “apartheid wall” and checkpoint displays on campus, as well as weeklong Israeli Apartheid Week programs;
- Initiate and implement Boycott, Divestment and Sanction (BDS) campaign against Israel as a way to “dismantle” Israel just like the apartheid regime in South Africa was dismantled. This includes divestment resolutions through student governments and calls to boycott Israeli products on campus;
- Protest pro-Israel campus events by disrupting and/or heckling at the event, handing out flyers outside the event.



A mock "eviction notice" distributed by the SJP at Florida Atlantic University

SJP is almost singularly responsible for on-campus anti-Israel programming. While Muslim and Arab, antiwar and socialist students used to be the primary organizers of such events going back to the 1970s and 1980s, most of these groups have either disappeared or given way to SJP with its more targeted objective of opposing Israel and its policies regarding the Palestinians. These groups still, however, co-sponsor or endorse anti-Israel events that are organized and promoted by SJP.

If the university and college environment can be viewed as the incubator for tomorrow’s leaders, SJP’s success at introducing anti-Israel ideologies to today’s college students is enormously significant. Indeed, SJP activists on campus have fought hard to expand the reach of their work and not just “preach to the choir,” using language and rhetoric that appeals to other minority student groups on campus, LGBT people and others.

It is not uncommon for an anti-Israel program on campus to receive the endorsement or sponsorship from six or seven other (non-Israel-related) student organizations. SJP chapters have succeeded in doing this by consistently analogizing the Israeli-Palestinian conflict with other global and domestic issues like the U.S.-Mexico border fence, LGBT rights, immigration and failures of the prison system and doing outreach to other campus groups. Even the divestment resolutions that were introduced

at about ten universities in the U.S. in the 2012-2013 academic year received the support of many groups beyond SJP.

SJP chapters have also been effective at expanding their reach and visibility because of their adept use of social media, including Facebook, Twitter and YouTube. Almost all SJP groups have fan pages on Facebook and there are a variety of SJP chapters that maintain Twitter profiles, as well. Many of the SJP Facebook groups have several hundred members and the national SJP fan page has been “Liked” by more than 21,000 Facebook users.

US CAMPAIGN TO END THE ISRAELI OCCUPATION

Year Founded: 2002

Coalition Members: “More than 400” (Actual number is probably closer to 250 because a significant number of these groups are defunct or are organizations in name only.)

Social Media Presence: 15,000 Facebook “Likes”; 6,800 Twitter Followers

National Organizer: Anna Baltzer, based in St. Louis, MO

Reported Revenue: Approximately \$400,000 (2011)

One of the most oft-cited goals of the domestic anti-Israel movement is an end to U.S. aid for Israel. This goal, which is the “sanction” component of the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement, is championed most vehemently by the [US Campaign to End the Israeli Occupation \(USCEIO\)](#), a national coalition based in Washington, D.C. US Campaign is the primary force behind efforts to pressure Congress to stop sending foreign aid to Israel and adopt policies that are less friendly to Israel.

USCEIO also tries to convince the American public to get on board with its anti-Israel agenda. In recent years, it has placed ads in national and local newspapers, including on the Web site of *The New York Times*, promoting this effort. An ad that appeared on the Times’s Web site in November 2012 read, “Why Are Our Taxes Funding Israel’s Attacks on Palestinians? Support Human Rights & End Military Aid to Israel.”



A US Campaign-sponsored advertisement that appeared in mass transit stations across the country

The organization also coordinates and promotes initiatives organized by its local member groups, which number in the few hundred. In many cases, US Campaign is able to provide the infrastructure and organizational prowess that these smaller, more grassroots organizations lack. It promotes the efforts of these groups on its Web site, social media profiles and listserv, including issuing press releases to the media on behalf of its member groups, publicizing local initiatives and circulating petitions in order to attract more support.

In June 2012, USCEIO promoted an anti-Israel billboard campaign in Los Angeles County. After the billboards were put up, USCEIO issued a press release announcing the campaign and asserting that the “Israel lobby” might try to stop the campaign but that supporters of its message shouldn’t “allow them to stifle dialogue.” The group also circulated a petition calling on its national membership and the general public to support the ads.

USCEIO provides the platform for its member groups to strategize and interact with each other. In addition to regular conference calls, the group organizes a “National Organizers Conference” each year that draws 200-300 activists from its member groups to formulate policy and meet with like-minded individuals from across the country. These conferences, which attract well-known speakers and leaders of the anti-Israel movement, are often held in Washington, D.C. and conclude with a “Lobbying Day” on Capitol Hill, a testament to US Campaign’s commitment to urging an end to U.S. governmental aid to Israel.

The group's last two conferences took place on college campuses, at St. Louis University in Missouri in 2012 and at George Mason University in Virginia in September 2013. Speakers at the 2013 conference accused Israel of "war crimes," denounced the "Israel lobby" and condemned the current peace negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians.

Because of its location in DC and its overall anti-aid agenda, USCEIO spends a significant amount of time opposing AIPAC, which is also based in DC. Every year, USCEIO, in coordination with other D.C.-based groups like CODEPINK, organizes an anti-AIPAC conference to counter AIPAC's annual convention. Participants attend several days of workshops and lectures, hold demonstrations outside the AIPAC convention hall and disrupt the speeches inside, as well.



The language used by USCEIO staff about AIPAC and other pro-Israel advocacy organizations is often conspiratorial. In March 2013 the group's National Advocacy Director Josh Ruebner published a blog post on the Web site of *The Hill*, a Congressional newspaper. In the article, Ruebner described AIPAC supporters as "Israel-first" lobbyists, a reference to the anti-Semitic charge that Jews are more loyal to Israel than the U.S.

He argued that instead of spending the money here at home, "AIPAC demands that the United States underwrite approximately 20 percent of the Israeli military budget...U.S. taxpayers are thereby made complicit in Israel's systematic violation of Palestinian human rights, its military occupation and illegal colonization of Palestinian land, and its apartheid policies toward Palestinians which deny them freedom and self-determination." He also claimed that U.S. support for Israel "guts the credibility of U.S. claims to promote human rights."

CRITERIA

This latest "Top Ten" adheres to the criteria outlined in ADL's 2010 Top Ten report and includes groups who, both in degree and in scope, are the most significant players in the domestic anti-Israel movement today. These groups are fixated on delegitimizing Israel and convincing the American public the Israel is an international villain that deserves to be ostracized and isolated.

The factors that have helped the anti-Israel movement construct and spread a hostile narrative about Israel are complex and multifaceted, including the ability to link the Palestinian struggle to other oppressed groups around the world by portraying Israel as the aggressor (thereby creating common cause with a variety of minority and left-wing groups), as well as, perhaps most importantly, the use of social networking tools to galvanize support and publicize events and protests.

The groups that were selected for the report all meet the following criteria by engaging in certain anti-Israel activity that transcends the bounds of legitimate policy critique, and which are listed below. In addition, many of the ten selected groups have *unique* abilities, either to successfully attract a new audience, initiating a novel campaign or voicing previously unheard of criticisms of Israel.

- **Organization, sponsorship and endorsement of events and campaigns.** These activities include various boycott, divestment and sanctions (BDS) campaigns against Israel or companies that do business with Israel; anti-Israel rallies, panel discussions, conferences; anti-Israel policy initiatives and lobbying efforts against Israel and against American support for Israel.
- **National impact.** This includes an organizational framework with multiple chapters around the U.S., conferences that draw supporters from around the country, far-reaching campaigns and anti-Israel demonstrations in a range of cities. This also includes the production of anti-Israel materials or posters that are used at anti-Israel events.
- **Rhetoric that is extremely hostile to Israel, Zionists and/or Jews.** This includes allegations that Israel or Jews control the U.S. government or the media, drawing parallels to the Holocaust, accusing Israel of “apartheid,” calling for the dismantlement of the state of Israel, advocating for a one-state solution and expressing support for terrorist groups that seek Israel's destruction.
- **Recruitment of supporters.** Includes grassroots supporters involved in other anti-war or social justice initiatives, as well as the recruitment of minority groups, particularly Hispanic groups, Southeast Asian groups and LGBT groups. Includes ability to partner with international anti-Israel groups and individuals.
- **Influence on the mainstream public debate about Israel.** Includes publishing anti-Israel opinion pieces in newspapers, blogs and other media; condemning Israel in interviews with mainstream media and recruiting well-known international figures, celebrities, and academics to attend anti-Israel events or join boycott campaigns against Israel.

A NOTE ON THE GROUPS THAT HAVE BEEN REMOVED

The introduction to this report touched on the reasons for including four new groups in this latest iteration of the “Top Ten Anti-Israel Groups in the U.S.” report. These additions, as elucidated upon in their descriptions which appear in the body of this report, fill key niches in the domestic anti-Israel movement and are instrumental to its efforts.

Furthermore, the four groups that have been removed all experienced a measurable decline in the past three years when it comes to their focus on anti-Israel activism and presently shoulder smaller roles in the anti-Israel movement in the United States.

The International Solidarity Movement was included in the 2010 report as its founders had just recently been responsible for the 2010 flotilla to Gaza. In the past three years, ISM has played a less visible role in the domestic anti-Israel movement and is not included in this report.

Similarly, [Al-Awda](#), which previously had a strong presence on the East and West coasts as well as in Cleveland, has organized far fewer anti-Israel programs than in years past. Through 2011, Al-Awda held annual conferences that took place at hotels in Southern California, drew a thousand participants and featured more than a dozen well-known anti-Israel speakers. Its 2012 and 2013 conferences were, by contrast, drastically scaled down.

The 2012 conference was essentially one day and took place at a church in La Jolla; the 2013 conference was shorter, featured only one prominent anti-Israel speaker (Ali Abunimah) and was held in Cleveland. The group did sponsor some of the anti-Israel demonstrations that took place during Operation Pillar of Defense but does not seem to have nearly the following it once did.

The other two groups that have been removed are the [Muslim American Society \(MAS\)](#) and the [Council on American-Islamic Relations \(CAIR\)](#), large Muslim-American advocacy organizations that have a long history of anti-Israel activism.

While both groups still post anti-Israel messages and articles to their social media pages and invite speakers who are critical of Israel to attend their events, both organizations have taken a step back from organizing anti-Israel activity and have not been on the frontline of coordinating or participating in anti-Israel protests as they had several years ago.

During Israel’s November 2012 offensive against Hamas targets in Gaza, it does not appear that

MAS and CAIR took part in organizing any of the anti-Israel demonstrations that took place in the U.S.

This shift may be a result of changing priorities and goals for the two groups. MAS has become focused on serving as a faith-oriented community organization for the Muslim-American community while CAIR is engaged in promoting the civil liberties of Muslim-Americans and combatting the efforts of domestic anti-Muslim groups.

It is important to note that neither CAIR nor MAS have denounced their previous record of extreme anti-Israel rhetoric, which has, at times, crossed the line into anti-Semitism and expressions of support for terrorist groups.