

# TERRORISTS IN SUITS BLOOD MONEY

European-funded Palestinian NGOs & their terror operatives

A case study: Addameer

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#### **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

In February 2019, the Ministry of Strategic Affairs released the report "Terrorists in Suits," which exposed ties between designated terrorist organizations (particularly Hamas and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine) and non-governmental organizations located both in the Palestinian Authority and internationally. These NGOs have stated and carried out work with the intent to undermine the State of Israel and its citizens, on the governmental and nongovernmental levels, by delegitimizing them and promoting boycotts, including through the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) campaign.

Today, a little over a year after the report's release, it appears the ties shared between certain terrorist organizations and various Israel-delegitimizing and boycott-promoting NGOs have deepened, and these terrorist organizations are continuing to whitewash their activities through NGOs that have credibility in the West.

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At the height of the coronavirus pandemic, the EU clarified in a letter sent in late March 2020 to Palestinian NGOs stipulating that membership in or affinity to a terrorist organization does not automatically prevent a person from being eligible to participate in EU-funded programs or receive funds. In article 3 of the letter it states, "While the entities and groups included in the EU restrictive lists cannot benefit from EU-funded activities, it is understood that a natural person affiliated to, sympathize with, or supporting any of the groups or entities mentioned in the EU-restrictive list is not excluded from EU-funded activities". Just days later the EU awarded 6.9 million euros to Palestinian civil society organizations.

Following the EU statement, and in line with the Ministry of Strategic Affairs position of revealing the ties between terrorist groups and Palestinian NGOs, this report reveals the dangers of the EU's transfer of funds and the methodology and guises used by terrorists under the cover of civil society organizations.

One of the best examples of the NGO-terror connection, and the focus of this report, are the ties shared between the European-funded NGO "Addameer - Prisoner Support and Human Rights Association" and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), a US-and EU-designated terrorist organization. This case study exemplifies the clear connection between NGOs and terrorist organizations, and the concern that some of the funds designated to such NGOs may have ended up funding terror activities.

Addameer staff, members of its board of directors and general assembly were found to be PFLP operatives, some of which until recently. **These Addameer lay leaders and employees play a dual role** – **human rights activists by day and PFLP terrorists by night.** 

On August 23 2019 the PFLP carried out a terror attack, detonating an explosive device at a natural spring, near the Israeli community of Dolev, which resulted in the murder of 16-year-old Israeli Rina Shnerb and the wounding of her father and brother. An investigation into the attack by the Israel Security Agency found that **the leader of the cell which carried out the bombing, and who detonated the explosive device itself, was none other than Addameer's accountant as recently as 2017, Sameer Arbeed.** 

Just six months after the attack, the organization launched an international campaign to release Palestinian prisoners, in which Arbeed's daughter Rita appeared in a campaign against Israel to release terrorists in Israeli prisons due to the coronavirus.

The investigation also found that Addameer's general director for twelve years, vice-chairperson for eleven years and member of the General Assembly through 2018, **Khalida Jarrar**, led the **PFLP** in the Judea and Samaria, and oversaw all its activities. Thus, Jarrar was both a high level **PFLP** operative and held senior positions at Addameer – concurrently.

By portraying itself as a legitimate NGO, Addameer has been able to raise funds in Western countries, including from European governments. Over the last six years (2013-2019), Addameer received nearly €2 million in European governmental and public funding from Switzerland, Ireland, Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, Sweden and Spain (Basque Autonomous Community and municipalities). Addameer also received funding from the Swiss Government to promote its activities against the International Criminal Court in The Hague (ICC). In March, they filed a submission on behalf of three Palestinians and supported the prosecutor's position to open an investigation into the situation.

Addameer's accountant and PFLP operative, Samer Arbeed would have handled such financial dealings. With numerous key members of Addameer's leadership active in the PFLP, there is a concern that funds were funneled to the PFLP.

Meanwhile, European funding of Addameer continues, while its leaders go on to receive invitations to international conferences and events in Europe and the United States.

The PFLP has warned that it is entered significant financial distress over the past few months. In light of such, there is a possibility that the organization will now try, even more than before, to increase its associations with civil society organizations. These include Palestinian NGOs such as Addameer and Al-Haq, which through their various ties to the organizations, may utilize to obtain financial aid. The fear remains that these funds will be transferred to PFLP-related activities.

In parallel to the European funding received, senior Addameer officials are still invited to conferences and official events throughout Europe and the United States while being welcomed as human rights activists. Here too it is likely that they will take advantage of these fundraising events to exploit the current coronavirus epidemic to raise funds, just as they succeed against the EU at the end of March.

This report reveals the dangers of the EU's transfer of funds and the methodology and guises used by terrorists under the cover of civil society organizations.

#### Recommendations

In light of the understanding that designated terrorist organizations continue their involvement with Palestinian NGOs and in light of the evidence outlined in this report specifically regarding Addameer, the State of Israel calls on Western governments, international humanitarian organization, social media networks, financial institutions and foundations to:

- 1. Reassess ties with NGOs that advocate for the boycott of Israel and have a radically anti-Israel agenda, and ascertain that they do not have direct or indirect ties with designated terrorist organizations. Because of the lack of transparency among Palestinian NGOs, it is also important to conduct an audit, assessing whether funds were funneled to terrorist organizations.
- 2. Condition any funding on an explicit declaration by the NGO that it does not have a relationship of any kind with terrorist organizations.
- 3. Calls on the European Union to continue its fight against terror financing and remain firm in its demand that every NGO which receives EU funding declare it does not have any contact with EU-designated terrorist organizations, including the PFLP and Hamas.
- 4. In relation specifically to Addameer,
  - On the political level: Cease meetings both in-person and online, between government officials and Addameer representatives. This should be especially so for individuals with ties to the PFLP.
  - **Freedom of Entry:** Refrain from issuing visas to Addameer representatives, especially those with ties to the PFLP.
  - **Pertaining to social media networks:** audit online content for promotion of terror and/or PFLP agendas.
  - **Pertaining to financial institutions:** increase oversight and transparency regarding Addameer's financial accounts in light of its links with the designated terrorist organization PFLP to ensure compliance with terror financing laws.

## ADDAMEER'S ORGANIZATIONAL CHART TIES TO THE PFLP





Noha Nazzal

Rinad Zoa'rob

George Abu Zolof

Bashir Al-Khairi

Fatma Dana

Mahmoud Al-Safadi

Samah Darwish

Abed Jamal

Julie Samara

#### **Employees (Past and Present)**



#### BACKGROUND ON ADDAMEER

#### Addameer - Prisoner Support and Human Rights Association

**Year Founded:** 1992

**Headquarters**: Ramallah, Palestinian Authority

**Areas of Operation**: Palestinian Authority. In Gaza, Addameer helped establish Al-Dameer, an organization that was found to be closely linked to the PFLP.

#### **Public Activity:**

Addameer presents itself as a "Palestinian non-governmental, civil institution that works to support Palestinian political prisoners held in Israeli and Palestinian prisons." It offers free legal aid to prisoners and "advocates their rights at the national and international level." The term "Palestinian prisoners" in this context is in reference to convicted terrorists. Addameer's activities include:

- Providing legal representation for Palestinian prisoners and detainees, particularly for prominent convicted PFLP terrorists.
- Advocacy for Palestinian prisoners.
- Advancing and participating in the Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions (BDS) campaign against the State of Israel.<sup>5</sup>

Addameer provides legal aid and campaigns for the release of prisoners, many of whom are affiliated with the PFLP. These include Samer Arbeed,<sup>6</sup> the PFLP cell member involved in the planning and execution of the August 2019 Dolev terror attack which killed the Israeli teen Rina

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Al Dameer Website, https://bit.ly/2NovoYG; Al Dameer Website, https://bit.ly/35IzPUo

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Younes Al-Jero, Chairman of Al-Dameer's board, is a former senior member of the PFLP. See: Al-Dameer Website, <a href="https://bit.ly/2ThC7HB">https://bit.ly/2ThC7HB</a> and the PFLP Website, January 16<sup>th</sup>, 2014, <a href="https://pflp.ps/post/7351">https://pflp.ps/post/7351</a>. Ahmed Huneideq and Yahyah Al-Ghalban, also Al-Dameer's board members are former members of the PFLP. See: PFLP Website, March 16<sup>th</sup>, 2015, <a href="https://pflp.ps/post/10123">https://pflp.ps/post/10123</a> and PFLP Website, January 16<sup>th</sup>, 2014, <a href="https://pflp.ps/post/7351">https://pflp.ps/post/7351</a>. In addition, Khalil Abu Shammala, Al-Dameer's former director, is also a member of the PFLP. See: PFLP Website, January 27<sup>th</sup>, 2015, <a href="https://pflp.ps/post/9829">https://pflp.ps/post/9829</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Addameer website, https://bit.ly/30eagJT

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> BDS website, July 2005, <a href="https://bdsmovement.net/call">https://bdsmovement.net/call</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Addameer website, https://did.li/noTYH

Shnerb, and PFLP operative Bilal Kayed.<sup>7</sup> Beyond legal services, Addameer supports the PFLP by leading international advocacy campaigns for the release of their operatives serving sentences in prison.

General Director: Sahar Francis

#### Sources of funding from foreign governmental and public entities:

- Basque Autonomous Community (Spain) and municipalities (2014-2019), €852,587
- Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (2019), unknown, (2018), €136,049
- Irish Aid (2013-2017), €375,000
- Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law Secretariat (Denmark, the Netherlands, Sweden, and Switzerland Ministries of Foreign Affairs, (2014-2017), €449,700
- Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2015-2016), €180,450

#### Total Known Grants from Governmental Entities (2013-2019):~ €2,000,000

#### Recent Meetings with foreign government officials (US Congress and EU):

- Addameer's General Director Sahar Francis visited the EU Parliament in Brussels and met with members of the European Parliament from various committees including Spanish EU Representative Manu Pineda (Abu Carlos) in October 2019.<sup>8</sup>
- Lana Ramadan, Addameer's international advocacy officer, participated in a speaking tour in the United States in October 2019.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Addameer website, July 27<sup>th</sup>, 2016, <a href="https://bit.ly/3afrJWL">https://bit.ly/3afrJWL</a>; PFLP Website, December 12<sup>th</sup>, 2016, <a href="https://did.li/t8Hw5">https://did.li/t8Hw5</a>

<sup>8</sup>Addameer website, October 21, 2019, <a href="https://bit.ly/2v92XYr">https://bit.ly/2v92XYr</a>; Twitter, Manu Pineda, October 15<sup>th</sup>, 2019, <a href="https://bit.ly/38bI9xN">https://bit.ly/38bI9xN</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>USPCN Facebook Event, October 25, 2019, https://did.li/jF5ql

#### ADDAMEER AND THE 2019 DOLEV TERROR ATTACK

On 23 August 2019, the PFLP carried out a bombing near Ein Dani spring (in close proximity to the Israeli community of Dolev), killing Israeli teenager Rina Shnerb and seriously wounding her father and brother. Israeli security forces arrested over 50 suspected PFLP terrorists, and confiscated various weapons including M-16s, Kalashnikovs, Uzis, Galil automatic rifles, pistols, silencers, ammunition and fertilizers for building bombs. The Israel Security Agency investigation revealed that the cell involved in the bombing was planning to carry out additional attacks.

Among the arrested suspected PFLP terrorists are two former employees of Addameer:

Samer Arbeed - Leader of the PFLP terrorist cell who prepared and detonated the explosive device that killed Rina Shnerb. Arbeed was Addameer's accountant until April 2017.<sup>13</sup>

During the period when Samer Arbeed served as its accountant between 2013-2017, Addameer received over €1 million from European governmental sources.

2. **Khalida Jarrar** - Head of the PFLP and overseeing all of its activities in Judea and Samaria. <sup>14</sup> Jarrar served as Addameer's general director (1994-2006), <sup>15</sup> vice-chairperson (2006-2017), <sup>16</sup> and member of the General Assembly during 2018. <sup>17</sup>

During Jarrar's tenure as Addammer's lay leader between 2013-2018, it received €1.6 million from European governmental sources.

Other members of the cell are receiving legal assistance from Addameer, which "took upon itself to defend the prisoners," further demonstrating its ties and commitment to the PFLP and its terrorist activity. <sup>18</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> BBC, August 23, 2019, <a href="https://bbc.in/2tQATIC">https://bbc.in/2tQATIC</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Israel Security Agency website, December 18, 2019, https://bit.ly/2T7gqKg

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Addameer website, <a href="https://bit.ly/3a9k6Bp">https://bit.ly/3a9k6Bp</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Israel Security Agency website, December 18, 2019, https://bit.ly/2T7gqKg

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Addameer website, <a href="http://www.addameer.org/prisoner/khalida-jarrar">http://www.addameer.org/prisoner/khalida-jarrar</a>; Addameer Annual Report 2003, <a href="https://bit.ly/2TgTEzt">https://bit.ly/2TgTEzt</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Addameer website, <a href="https://bit.ly/3828SN8">https://bit.ly/3828SN8</a>; Addameer website, <a href="https://bit.ly/30eaAs5">https://bit.ly/30eaAs5</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Addameer website, 2018 Report, <a href="https://bit.ly/2007BmC">https://bit.ly/2007BmC</a>, p.14, p.57

#### **DUAL ROLES: ADDAMEER/PFLP OPERATIVES**

Lay and Professional Leaders at Addameer and Operatives in the PFLP

The following section details the individuals with dual roles – as past or present board members, assembly members or employees at Addameer, and as current or former PFLP operatives.

Khalida Jarrar<sup>19</sup>



**ROLE AT ADDAMEER**: General director (1994-2006), vice-chairperson (2006-2017), and member of the General Assembly through 2018.

**ROLE IN THE PFLP**: Head of the PFLP in the West Bank<sup>20</sup> and its representative in the Palestinian Legislative Council.<sup>21</sup> Jarrar was arrested in October 2019 following the PFLP's Dolev bombing attack, which resulted in the murder of Israeli teen Rina Shnerb, and the severe wounding of her father and brother.<sup>22</sup> While acting as deputy director of Addameer's Board of Directors, Jarrar served a year in prison for inciting acts of terrorism. In 2017, she was placed under administrative detention due to her role as a senior member of the PFLP and her involvement in terrorist activities.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Alaraby UK website, January 17, 2020, https://bit.ly/36d085c; Al-Hadaf, January 13, 2020, https://bit.ly/37lCV2t

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Israeli Prime Minister's Office, Special Report, https://www.gov.il/en/Departments/General/terrorists in suits

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Israel Security Agency website, December 18, 2019, https://bit.ly/2T7gqKg

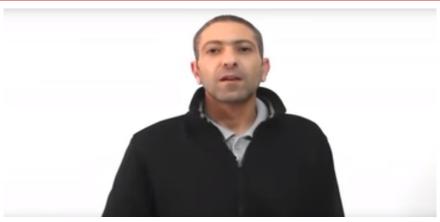
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> PFLP website, June 2, 2015, https://pflp.ps/post/10678

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Israel Security Agency website, December 18, 2019, https://bit.ly/3603353



Jarrar described on the PFLP official website as a "Leader Comrade" (PFLP website, July 15<sup>th</sup>, 2017, https://did.li/U2YHw)

#### Samer Arbeed<sup>23</sup>



**ROLE AT ADDAMEER**: Accountant until April 2017<sup>24</sup>

**ROLE IN THE PFLP**: Member of the PFLP<sup>25</sup> and leader of the PFLP terror cell that detonated the explosive device that murdered Israeli teenager Rina Shnerb in August 2019.<sup>26</sup> He was placed under administrative detention numerous times over the past years for his involvement with the PFLP.<sup>27</sup> Arbeed's wife, Noura Arbeed, serves as Addameer's treasurer since November 2017<sup>28</sup> and has been a member of its general assembly since 2012.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Picture source, Addameer YouTube, April 9, 2013: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q1a2pWOo1Z8&feature=youtu.be

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Addameer website, https://bit.ly/3a9k6Bp

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> PFLP Website, October 19, 2019, https://bit.ly/30UkXBu

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Israel Security Agency website, December 18, 2019, https://bit.ly/2RhMnx0

Addameer website, Annual Report 2013, https://bit.ly/2R6GF0I

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Addameer website, <a href="https://bit.ly/2NmgGBf">https://bit.ly/2NmgGBf</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Addameer website, <a href="https://bit.ly/2Ti3AsD">https://bit.ly/2Ti3AsD</a>

#### Salah Hammouri<sup>30</sup>



**ROLE AT ADDAMEER**: Field researcher<sup>31</sup>

**ROLE IN THE PFLP**: Arrested in 2005 for involvement with the PFLP terrorist cell which planned to assassinate Israel's former Chief Rabbi Ovadia Yosef.<sup>32</sup> Hammouri recruited two other PFLP terror operatives and instructed them how to carry out terrorist attacks. The three obtained weapons and ammunition, and began planning attacks throughout Jerusalem.<sup>33</sup> Hammouri was again arrested for his involvement in terror activities on August 2017 and was released a year later.<sup>34</sup>



Hammouri celebrated his release from the Israeli prison with PFLP flags (2011) (Addameer Website, https://bit.ly/3aIk5ob)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Israeli Prime Minister's Office, Special Report, <a href="https://www.gov.il/en/Departments/General/terrorists\_in\_suits">https://www.gov.il/en/Departments/General/terrorists\_in\_suits</a>

<sup>31</sup> Addameer website, https://bit.ly/39dsWwC

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> PFLP Website, December 20, 2011, https://bit.ly/2TiTnfn

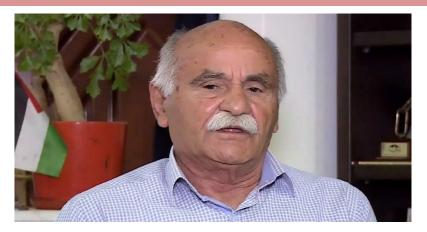
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> According to the charges brought against him

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Al-Hadaf, September 30, 2018, http://hadfnews.ps/post/46579



The PFLP's official website quotes Hammouri saying, "There is no option but resistance" (PFLP Website, December 20<sup>th</sup>, 2011, https://bit.ly/3607L37)

#### Abdullatif Ghaith<sup>35</sup>



**ROLE AT ADDAMEER:** Co-founder, chairperson of the Board of Directors. <sup>36</sup> **ROLE IN THE PFLP**: A known member of the PFLP "political bureau" until 2015 (at least).<sup>37</sup> Due to his activity in encouraging PFLP terror and his ties with PFLP terrorists abroad, Ghaith was placed under travel restrictions in 2017<sup>38</sup> and 2019.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Picture source, Alghad YouTube Channel, July 25, 2019: <a href="https://youtu.be/ukWuw1hNEsQ">https://youtu.be/ukWuw1hNEsQ</a>

Addameer Website, <a href="https://bit.ly/35TdYtH">https://bit.ly/35TdYtH</a>; Addameer website, October 11, 2011, <a href="https://bit.ly/30Upq7e">https://bit.ly/30Upq7e</a>
 Bokra website, March 10<sup>th</sup> 2015, <a href="https://bokra.net/Article-1290003">https://bokra.net/Article-1290003</a>; Al-Hayat Website, <a href="https://bit.ly/36R02Se">https://bit.ly/36R02Se</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Israeli Services & Governmental Information website, Population & Immigration Authority, February 2017, https://bit.lv/2R9ThUR; See also before, PFLP website, September 29, 2014, www.pflp.ps/post/9046

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Israeli Population and Immigration Authority, February 25, 2019, https://bit.ly/2QMd9OI

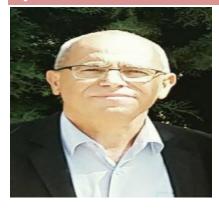
### Yaqoub Oudeh 40



**ROLE AT ADDAMEER**: Board member<sup>41</sup>

ROLE IN THE PFLP: A member of the PFLP terror cell that carried out the Jerusalem Shufersal supermarket bombing in 1969 in which two Israelis (Leon Kanner and Eduard Jaffe) were murdered and nine others injured.<sup>42</sup> Odeh was sentenced to three life sentences along with Rasmea Odeh, who was also convicted for her role in the attack, but served only 17 years in prison before being released in a prisoner exchange deal in 1985 (Jibril Agreement). The official website of the PFLP itself describes Oudeh as a "veteran comrade." <sup>43</sup>

#### Ayman Nasser<sup>44</sup>



**ROLE AT ADDAMEER**: Legal unit coordinator. <sup>45</sup>

**ROLE IN THE PFLP**: Nasser served a six-year prison sentence in the 1990s for his membership in the PFLP and was arrested again in October 2012 for his ongoing ties with the PFLP.<sup>46</sup> In September 2018, Nasser was arrested once again for his ongoing terror activity and was released in January 2020.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Israeli Prime Minister's Office, Special Report, <a href="https://www.gov.il/en/Departments/General/terrorists">https://www.gov.il/en/Departments/General/terrorists</a> in suits

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Addameer Website, <a href="https://bit.ly/2TietKZ">https://bit.ly/2TietKZ</a>; Addameer Annual Report 2003, <a href="https://bit.ly/37YuM3G">https://bit.ly/37YuM3G</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Israeli Social Security website (Bituach Leumi), Citizens – Victims of Terrorism, <a href="https://laad.btl.gov.il/Web/He/TerrorVictims/Page/Default.aspx?ID=376771">https://laad.btl.gov.il/Web/He/TerrorVictims/Page/Default.aspx?ID=37678</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> PFLP website, February 8, 2014, http://pflp.ps/ar/post/7488/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Picture source, Addameer Website: http://www.addameer.org/prisoner/ayman-ameen-ahmad-nasser

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Addameer Website, <a href="https://bit.ly/3a8yBW6">https://bit.ly/3a8yBW6</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Addameer Website, December 2014, https://bit.ly/36UEyny

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Asra Media Office Website, January 6, 2020, <a href="https://bit.ly/2TiBIEQ">https://bit.ly/2TiBIEQ</a>

#### Mahmoud Jaddah<sup>48</sup>



**ROLE AT ADDAMEER**: Board member<sup>49</sup>

**ROLE IN PFLP**: Member of the PFLP until 2017.<sup>50</sup> Jeddah was imprisoned for 17 years for carrying out terrorist shooting attacks in Jerusalem, Hebron and Tel Aviv.<sup>51</sup> He was released in the Jibril Prisoner Exchange Agreement in 1985. The Palestinian Authority arrested Jaddah again in 2006.<sup>52</sup>

#### Yousef Habash<sup>53</sup>



**ROLE AT ADDAMEER**: Board and General Assembly member<sup>54</sup> **ROLE IN THE PFLP:** A nephew of the founder of the PFLP George Habash<sup>55</sup> Habash was arrested by the Palestinian Authority in 2001 during a wave of arrests of PFLP members in the West Bank and Gaza.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Israeli Prime Minister's Office, Special Report, <a href="https://www.gov.il/en/Departments/General/terrorists">https://www.gov.il/en/Departments/General/terrorists</a> in suits

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup>Addameer Annual Report 2003, https://bit.ly/2Tj67Tx; Addameer Website, https://bit.ly/30qfwdz

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup>Al-Araby, April 20, 2017, https://bit.ly/2tUdHJt

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup>Al-Jazeera website, February 8, 2017, https://bit.ly/30geFvH

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup>Al-Riyadh website, March 17, 2006, https://bit.ly/35NtTJR

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Picture source, YouTube Channel, May 12, 2018: <a href="https://youtu.be/BeXjPZ7fqZM">https://youtu.be/BeXjPZ7fqZM</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Addameer Website, https://did.li/UKNfT

<sup>55</sup> Communist Party of Great Britain, August 2008, https://did.li/s8Hw5

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Miftah website, October 26, 2001, https://did.li/Jiaaa

#### Bashir Al-Khairi

**ROLE AT ADDAMEER**: General Assembly member<sup>57</sup> and former vice-chairperson<sup>58</sup>

**ROLE IN THE PFLP**: Former senior operative who served in prison for his PFLP activities.<sup>59</sup> Al-Khairi was also on the PFLP's 2005 candidate list for the Palestinian Parliament elections with Khalida Jarrar.<sup>60</sup> He was subsequently arrested twice, most recently in 2011.<sup>61</sup>

#### Dawoud Darawi

**ROLE AT ADDAMEER**: Board member<sup>62</sup>

**ROLE IN THE PFLP**: Arrested in 2001 for his involvement with both the PFLP and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad.<sup>63</sup> He was listed as a PFLP candidate for the Palestinian Parliament elections in 2005.<sup>64</sup>

#### **Anas Barghouthi**

**ROLE AT ADDAMEER**: Lawyer for Addameer between 2009-2013.<sup>65</sup>

**ROLE IN THE PFLP**: Arrested in 2013 for his membership in the PFLP. <sup>66</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Addameer Website, <a href="https://bit.ly/30h8I1F">https://bit.ly/30h8I1F</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Addameer Website, 2004 Annual Report, <a href="https://bit.ly/2RaLypF">https://bit.ly/2RaLypF</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Jerusalem Recalled Website, <a href="https://bit.ly/2RaYprF">https://bit.ly/2RaYprF</a>; Abu Ali Brigades Website, <a href="https://bit.ly/2QPBUcM">https://bit.ly/2QPBUcM</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Al-Watan Voice, December 15, 2005, <a href="https://bit.ly/2NneOrU">https://bit.ly/2NneOrU</a>

<sup>61</sup> Maan News, May 2, 2011, https://bit.ly/2R97YaE; Al-Bawabah, August 27, 2002, https://bit.ly/2Nm8BfS

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Addameer Website, <a href="https://bit.ly/30ehyxf">https://bit.ly/30ehyxf</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Danpal website, March 5, 2002, <a href="https://www.danpal.dk/?p=378">https://www.danpal.dk/?p=378</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Al-Watan Voice, December 15, 2005, <a href="https://bit.ly/3a7KhrR">https://bit.ly/3a7KhrR</a>;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup>Addameer website, September 18, 2013, <a href="https://did.li/moTYH">https://did.li/moTYH</a>

<sup>66</sup> Ray el-Youm website, October 24, 2013, https://bit.ly/2TXFCDs

# SOURCES OF FUNDING: EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS AND PUBLIC FUNDING

Despite Addameer's ties to the PFLP, it has continued to receive funding or funding commitments from several European governments and governmental agencies totaling nearly €2 million from 2013-2019. Addameer has not been transparent regarding its finances, providing only partial details on its website. According to the organization's 2018 annual report, the Swiss Confederation (through the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation), the Navara Municipality in Spain and the Basque Government have committed funding for the upcoming two to three years. 88

#### Sources of funding from European governmental and public entities:

- 1. Basque Autonomous Community (Spain) and municipalities (2014-2019), €852,587
- 2. Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (2019), unknown, (2018), €136,049
- **3.** Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law Secretariat (Denmark, the Netherlands, Sweden, and Switzerland Ministries of Foreign Affairs, (2014-2017), €449,700
- **4.** Irish Aid (2013-2017), €375,000
- **5.** Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2015-2016), €180,450

Total Known Grants from Governmental Entities (2013-2019):~ €2,000,000

<sup>68</sup> Addameer Website, 2018 Report, https://bit.ly/2uVBysT, p.55

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Addameer Website, Annual Reports, http://www.addameer.org/publications/addameer-annual-reports

#### **FUNDING BY EUROPEAN COUNTRIES**

#### (1) Basque Autonomous Community (Spain) and Municipalities (2014-2019) - € 852,587

The Basque government has committed € 379,988 in funding to Addameer through 2019. To date, it has given Addameer € 271,000.<sup>69</sup> In addition, individual municipalities in Spain awarded Addameer €472,599 in grants.<sup>70</sup>

#### PROJECTS WHOSE LOCAL PARTNER IS ADDAMEER PRISONERS' SUPPORT & HUMAN RIGHTS ASSOCIATION, 7 PROJECTS

Title	Financing entity ①	Channeling entity (1)	Start year	country 13	Total Committed
Defense of human rights of Palestinian prisoners in Israeli prisons. Phase III	Vitoria-Gasteiz City Council (Development Cooperation Service)	International Solidarity	2014	Palestine	€ 97,947.19
Protection of the rights of Palestinian prisoners and detainees in Israeli prisons and detention centers.	San Sebastian City Hall	SODEPAZ	2015	Palestine	€ 69,429.20
Advice, training and legal representation for Palestinian prisoners and their families	Provincial Council of Gipuzkoa	SODEPAZ	2016	Palestine	€ 81,248.15
Defense of the human rights of Palestinian prisoners in Israeli prisons. Phase 4	estinian prisoners in Israeli (Development Cooperation Service)		2016	Palestine	€ 68,332.23
Advice, training and legal representation for Palestinian prisoners and their families, with special attention to youth	esentation for Palestinian ners and their families, with		2017	Palestine	€ 48,643.23
dvice, training and legal San Sebastian City Hall SOI epresentation for Palestinian risoners and their families with pecial attention to youth. Phase II		SODEPAZ	2018	Palestine	€ 50,000.00
Defense of the Human Rights of the Palestinian prison population in Israeli prisons. Phase 5	Vitoria-Gasteiz City Council (Development Cooperation Service)	International Solidarity	2018	Palestine	€ 56,999.01

Total amount received from the Basque municipal governments (2014-2018) €472,599 (Basque Government Public Cooperation Portal, https://did.li/YKNfT)

http://euskalankidetza.hegoa.ehu.eus/es/projects/4311

http://euskalankidetza.hegoa.ehu.eus/es/projects/4064

http://euskalankidetza.hegoa.ehu.eus/es/projects/3137

http://euskalankidetza.hegoa.ehu.eus/es/projects/2759

http://euskalankidetza.hegoa.ehu.eus/es/projects/2690

http://euskalankidetza.hegoa.ehu.eus/es/projects/1321

http://euskalankidetza.hegoa.ehu.eus/es/projects/1811

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Basque Government Public Cooperation Portal, <a href="http://euskalankidetza.hegoa.ehu.eus/es/projects/3583">http://euskalankidetza.hegoa.ehu.eus/es/projects/3583</a>; <a href="http://euskalankidetza.hegoa.ehu.eus/es/projects/2390">http://euskalankidetza.hegoa.ehu.eus/es/projects/2390</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Basque Public Cooperation Portal:

#### (2) Switzerland – Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (2018), €136,049

According to data from Swiss government websites, Addameer continued to receive funding throughout 2019 from the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (as part of a SDC grant to several NGOs, among them, Addameer. It is unclear what amount of the total CHF 3,900,000 [€3,644,000] grant Addameer received).<sup>71</sup>

Below is a screenshot of the 2018 Addameer Action Plan from the contract between the Swiss Foreign Ministry and Addameer totaling at €136,049.<sup>72</sup>

Annex

#### Project description

Contract no. 81055023 (Contribution outside Switzerland) Core Contribution to Addameer - HR/IHL Organization

#### Addameer Action Plan 2018

standards. Activity	Description	Program	1	2	3	1 4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1.1.1 Provide legal representation for detainees and prisoners, 300 cases under the occupation and 40 under the PA.	Including receiving applications, file preparations, updating families, coordination among and with lawyers following court sessions, submitting appeals, updating database and file information, conducting visits	Legal												
1.1.2 Provide legal and rights counselling, for detainees, prisoners and family members. 40 cases	(Counseiling for individuals and cases that Addameer does not represent legally) including documentation of these cases	L												
1.1.3 Submit 3 general legal cases to the local investigation bodies concerning collective punishments, one of them related to female detainees conditions.	These complaints could be initiated with other NGOs	L				X				х			х	
1.1.4 Follow up for the submission to the ICC, and submit a new report.		L						Х					Х	
1.1.5 Submit at least 35 complaints with legal follow-up	5 of them related to female prisoners	L												

<sup>71</sup> Swiss Confederation Website, <a href="https://bit.ly/2NuRE36">https://bit.ly/2NuRE36</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> This contract is separate from the Swiss funding described in the previous paragraph

(3) Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law Secretariat (Denmark, the Netherlands, Sweden, and Switzerland Ministries of Foreign Affairs) 2014-2017, €449,<u>700</u>

Between the years 2014-2017, Addameer received \$498,700 from the Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law Secretariat, 73 a joint funding mechanism financed by Switzerland, Sweden, Denmark and the Netherlands.<sup>74</sup> As of August 2018, the Secretariat website is no longer available.<sup>75</sup>

2	Addameer Prisoner Support and Human Rights Association-Ramallah	Addameer works to protect the rights of Palestinian political prisoners and detainees in Israeli jails and prisons, as well as in Palestinian Authority (PA) prisons. Addameer works to ensure the protection of Palestinian groups and individuals whose civil and political rights have been violated, including the rights to freedom of opinion and expression, all based on the framework of International Human Rights Law (IHRL) and International Humanitarian Law (IHL).	www.addameer.org	\$498,700
3	Al-Dameer Association for Human Rights- Gaza	Al-Dameer is an independent unaffiliated NGO that aims to ensure the development of the principles of internationally recognized human rights standards and values in the Gaza Strip. Al-Dameer is guided by these principles as well as accountability and rule of law, transparency, tolerance, empowerment, participation and inclusion, equality, equity, non-discrimination and attention to vulnerable groups.	www.aldameer.org	\$366,700
4	Al Mezan Center for Human Rights- Gaza	Al Mezan is an independent non-partisan non-profit organization that aims to contribute to promoting and protecting internationally recognized human right standards and values in the Palestinian society, especially in the Gaza Strip through securing the rule of law. Al Mezan is guided by the principles of equal human worth and equal respect of all human rights, individual and collective, as enshrined in international law and jurisprudence.	www.mezan.org	\$641,700
5	Al-Haq *Law in the Service of Man*- Ramallah	To advocate nationally and internationally to promote the rule of law and respect for human rights in the OPT, through legal research, documentation and building capacity to address violations of the individual and collective rights of Palestinians under international law, irrespective of the identity of the perpetrator.	www.alhaq.org	\$1,301,700

Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law Secretariat Website, <a href="https://did.li/T2YHw">https://did.li/T2YHw</a>
Swiss Confederation Website, <a href="https://did.li/adrlC">https://did.li/adrlC</a>
Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law Secretariat Website, <a href="http://www.rightsecretariat.ps">https://www.rightsecretariat.ps</a>

#### (4) Ireland (2013-2017), $\in 375,000$

In 2017, Addameer received €75,000 from Irish Aid<sup>76</sup>, the Irish Government's program for overseas development.<sup>77</sup> Addameer received the same amount from Irish Aid annually in 2016<sup>78</sup>, 2015<sup>79</sup>, 2014<sup>80</sup> and 2013.<sup>81</sup>

#### (5) Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2015-2016), €180,450

Addameer had received from the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs NOK1,800,000 (€180,450) in 2015-2016.



A screenshot from the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Grants Portal showing the amount distributed to Addameer.

<sup>78</sup> Irish Aid Website, Annual Report 2016, <a href="https://bit.ly/30oDZjn">https://bit.ly/30oDZjn</a>, p.67

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> A letter from the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, December 18<sup>th</sup> 2018, https://www.ngo-monitor.org/nm/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/FOI-18-294-Reply\_redacted.pdf

<sup>77</sup> Irish Aid Website, https://www.irishaid.ie/about-us/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> Irish Aid Website, Annual Report 2015, https://bit.ly/2ul3Mg7, p.65

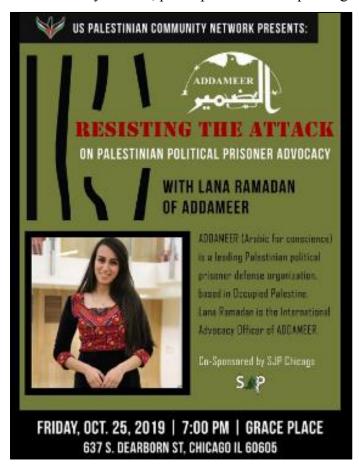
<sup>80</sup> Irish Aid Website, Annual Report 2014, https://bit.ly/2QW8Mkg, p.71

<sup>81</sup> Irish Aid Website, Annual Report 2013, https://bit.ly/38BWdRh, p.78

#### **ACTIVITIES IN EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES**

#### 2019

Addameer has expanded its activities and advocacy for terrorists beyond the Judea and Samaria regions with greater frequency following the Dolev terror attack in August 2019.<sup>82</sup> In October 2019, Addameer Executive Director Sahar Francis visited the EU and met with members of the European Parliament from various committees including Spanish EU Parliament Member Manu Pineda (Abu Carlos), a known PFLP supporter.<sup>83</sup> Also in October 2019, Lana Ramadan, Addameer's International Advocacy Officer, participated in a US speaking tour.



USPCN Facebook event hosting Lana Ramadan, Addameer's Intl' Advocacy Officer, in Chicago (Facebook Event, October 25<sup>th</sup>, 2019, <a href="https://did.li/jF5ql">https://did.li/jF5ql</a>)

#### 2018

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> Addameer October 2019 newsletter, <a href="https://bit.ly/37hEZIs">https://bit.ly/37hEZIs</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> Addameer Website, October 21, 2019, <a href="https://bit.ly/2v92XYr">https://bit.ly/38bI9xN</a>; Manu Abu Carlos, March 31, 2014, <a href="https://did.li/AQw5q">https://did.li/AQw5q</a>; Manu Abu Carlos, April 25, 2013, <a href="https://did.li/R2YHw">https://did.li/AQw5q</a>;

Addameer was active in UN institutions and took part in the Human Rights Council's discussions on Israel, including in March 2018, where it urged the International Criminal Court to take action against Israel. <sup>84</sup> The NGO continues to interact with the UNHRC on issues pertaining to Israel.

#### 2017

In September 2017, Addameer's director, Sahar Francis, was a panelist at a conference in the European Union in Brussels on the role of women in the "Palestinian popular struggle," a panel discussing the role of women in Palestinian terror organizations and terror activities. Among the panelists was **Leila Khaled**, a PFLP terrorist who carried out two airplane hijackings in the 70s, and in 2011 mediated between the Syrian PFLP command and a senior PFLP member in Jerusalem who led a terror cell that planned numerous attacks including kidnapping, arson, and bombings. 86

In addition, Addameer is leading an international campaign for the release of its former director and head of the PFLP in the West Bank, **Khalida Jarrar**.



MEP Manu Pineda, Leila Khaled, Sahar Francis in the EU Conference in Brussels (Samidoun, September 27, 2017, https://did.li/u8Hw5)

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<sup>84</sup> Addameer website, March 29th, 2018, https://bit.ly/2RBcpv9

<sup>85</sup> Al-Jazeera website, <a href="https://bit.ly/2GwyYfb">https://bit.ly/2GwyYfb</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> Israel Security Agency website, "PFLP Military Infrastructure Exposed," June 26, 2011, https://www.shabak.gov.il/publications/Pages/shotef270611.aspx

In 2017 the US Palestinian Community Network (USPCN), established in 2006 with the goal of "Ending Zionist occupation and colonization of all Palestinian and Arab lands", <sup>87</sup> sponsored an Addameer US National Tour with Francis. <sup>88</sup> This event included a stop in Illinois and Michigan where USPCN facilitated meetings for her with Illinois Senator Dick Durbin's staff. <sup>89</sup> On the same tour, she met with Congressman Jamie Raskin, who represents the 8<sup>th</sup> District of Maryland.



Thank you, @RepRaskin, for meeting with us, @jvplive, and @Addameer to talk about Rep. @BettyMcCollum04's new bill that defends the human rights of Palestinian children! #NoWayToTreatAChild

Learn more: uscpr.org/end-child-dete...



1:51 PM - 1 Dec 2017

Congressman Jamie Raskin (center) met with Addameer's Sahar Francis, members of Jewish Voice for Peace and US Palestinian Community Network (USCPR Twitter, December 12<sup>th</sup>, 2017, https://did.li/GzlCN)

Her 2013 tour included events in California hosted on US campuses (University of California Irvine and San Francisco State University)<sup>90</sup> as well as stops in New York, Philadelphia, Washington DC and Detroit.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>87</sup> USPCN Website https://uspcn.org/about/

<sup>88</sup> USPCN Website, November 8th, 2017, https://did.li/eWfTY

<sup>89</sup> USPCN Website, December 22nd, 2017, https://did.li/kF5ql

<sup>90</sup> Facebook Event, May 9th 2013, https://did.li/Miaaa

<sup>91</sup> USPCN, Website, May 6th, 2013, https://did.li/4tCNf

# APPENDIX: THE MAIN FINDINGS FROM THE "TERRORISTS IN SUITS" REPORT, FEBRUARY 2019

- 1. Terrorists in Suits presents dozens of examples of significant ties between activists in NGOs, which delegitimize and promote boycotts of Israel, and Hamas and the PFLP. Hamas and the PFLP are designated terrorist organizations in the European Union, the US and Israel. These ties manifest themselves in the form of activists who were terrorists in the past and some even in the present, and who currently fill key positions in such NGOs; in joint activities and campaigns against the State of Israel; and in financial assistance to one another.
- 2. Ideologically, both terrorist organizations and NGOs which delegitimize Israel do not accept the right of Israel to exist as a Jewish and democratic state, and oppose any normalization between Israel and its neighbors. This shared ideology manifests itself in ties between organizations. Namely, the Palestinian BDS National Committee (BNC), which leads the international boycott movement. The group is comprised of 28 Palestinian organizations, foremost amongst them is the Palestinian National and Islamic Forces (PNIF), which include Hamas, the PFLP, and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad— all of which are designated terror organizations.
- 3. This report found that numerous members and terrorist operatives have become leading figures in NGOs which delegitimize and promote boycotts again Israel, while concealing or downplaying their terrorist past. Some continue to serve as members of terrorist organizations to this day. Thus, members of Palestinian, North American and British NGOs which delegitimize Israel, present themselves as human rights activists, while withholding any mention of their ties to terrorist organizations.

#### For example:

- A. **Mustapha Awad** a PFLP operative trained by Hezbollah, who was recently sentenced by Israel to one year in prison for transferring funds between countries for terrorists and maintaining ties with terror organizations. Awad is an activist in the North American-based NGO Samidoun, which works in close coordination with the PFLP for the release of imprisoned Palestinian terrorists and supports the BDS campaign.
- B. **Muhammad Sawalha** a former operative of the military wing of Hamas and in recent years a member of Hamas' political bureau and its representative in the UK. Sawalha

- maintains ties with Hamas and in 2017 participated in a senior Hamas delegation to Russia. Sawalha is deeply involved in the BDS campaign and anti-Israel activities in the UK, including establishing and leading a number of NGOs which, amongst other things, promote the BDS.
- C. **Leila Khaled** a terrorist who hijacked TWA Flight 840 in 1969, and attempted a second airplane hijacking in 1970, who continues to maintain active ties to terrorists. These ties include coordinating between a PFLP command center in Syria and operatives in Jerusalem planning lethal attacks against Israelis. Khaled is a well-known figure in the BDS movement, even fundraising for the main BDS organization in South Africa.
- D. Salah Khawaja a former PFLP operative and current member of the Palestinian National and Islamic Forces, as well as being a BNC secretariat member. His most recent conviction was in 2016, when he was sentenced to one-year for training and maintaining contact with a hostile entity.
- E. **Khalida Jarrar** a senior operative in the PFLP and former director and deputy director of the board at the Ramallah-based NGO, Addameer.
- F. **Shawan Jabarin** a former senior PFLP operative who served, cumulatively, several years in prison. Jabarin is the general director of Al-Haq, a Palestinian NGO which promotes BDS. Jabarin, who was described by the Israeli Supreme court in 2007 as "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde" in light of his dual roles in an NGO and in a terrorist organization, has recruited other PFLP members to the NGO Al-Haq.
- 4. The preponderance of information shows that this is a premeditated, coordinated and organized modus operandi of the terrorist organizations, which seek to "whitewash" their end-goal of eliminating the State of Israel by hiding behind the façade of "legitimate" human rights NGOs, primarily operating in the Palestinian Authority, the UK and the US.
- 5. This method is another evolution in the tactics employed by terrorist organizations to attack the State of Israel by exploiting Western values. It derives from their realization that in today's day and age, civil society has a significant ability to influence democratic governments. In their eyes, the path to mainstream acceptance requires adopting "legitimate" methods of action. As a result, terrorist organizations have embraced a new approach, at the basis of which is waging a campaign against Israel in the public opinion

- and legal arenas, while cynically and deliberately exploiting human rights NGOs perceived in the West as "legitimate." To our understanding, terrorist organizations hope that in this way, they will co-opt civil society to push their respective governments to place pressure on Israel, with the aim of curtailing its defensive and economic freedom of action.
- 6. Moreover, from the perspective of the terrorist organizations, building ties with civil society in the West creates an opportunity for receiving financial aid, which they could not otherwise receive due to sanctions imposed on them by Western countries. In this context, it should be noted that in recent years, the Israeli security services have revealed that Hamas has used international aid organizations operating in the Gaza Strip to receive funds intended for humanitarian assistance.
- 7. The report also examined financial and material ties between terrorist organizations and NGOs promoting delegitimization and boycott campaigns. These ties work in both directions. Thus, terrorist operatives assist NGOs in fundraising, share human resources and jointly promote public campaigns, conferences, delegations and events.
- 8. Some NGOs tied to terrorist organizations have received funding from European countries and EU institutions, both in the past and in the present. These NGOs are also funded by aid agencies which in turn are financed by Western governments (i.e. indirect governmental financing), and by private philanthropic foundations. In our estimation, in light of the ties between the terror organizations and these NGOs, there is concern that government and private funds are being transferred to terrorist organizations, both directly and indirectly.