On Peacemaking in the Middle East

Something For Presbyterians To Consider
NGO Monitor’s mission is to provide information and analysis, promote accountability, and support discussion on the reports and activities of NGO’s claiming to advance human rights and humanitarian agendas in the framework of the Arab-Israeli conflict.
INTRODUCTION

Peace-mak-er: (noun) A person who brings about peace, especially by reconciling adversaries. (Oxford Dictionary)

The Presbyterian Church (PC (USA)) has a unique opportunity to act as peacemakers in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. As Christians who care about the Holy Land and the peoples and faiths living there, as well as U.S. citizens whose government remains deeply involved in Israeli-Palestinian peacemaking, Presbyterians hold genuine potential for positive influence in the Middle East.

Aware of the responsibility of being a peacemaker, and the importance of peace to Israel, the Palestinians, and the future of the region, PC (USA) for over four decades has repeatedly reaffirmed its support for a two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

"We will not over-identify with the realities of the Israelis or Palestinians. Instead, we will identify with the need for peacemaking voices in the midst of horrific acts of violence and terror."

PC(USA) General Assembly, 2008

The church recognizes the importance of not “over-identify[ing] with the realities of the Israelis or Palestinians,” instead focusing on “the need for peacemaking voices in the midst of horrific acts of violence and terror.”

PC (USA) has also upheld its tradition of open-minded intellectualism, declaring, “we will avoid taking broad stands that simplify a very complex situation into a caricature of reality where one side clearly is at fault and the other side is clearly the victim.”

Frustration with the ongoing conflict can lead to taking sides in ways that actually backfire, no matter how well intentioned. Regrettably, developments in church bodies – namely the Presbyterian Peace Fellowship (PPF) and

1 PC(USA) General Assembly, 2008.
2 Ibid.
the Israel Palestine Mission Network (IPMN) – suggest that some PC (USA) members have moved in this direction: veering away from the peacemaker role of reconciling adversaries, taking a side with the international BDS movement and joining the conflict.

Over the last decade, the numerous divestment and boycott overtures in the church uniquely and solely aimed at Israel demonstrate this phenomenon. This year is no different: 10 of the 24 overtures (about 42%) on international affairs deal with Israel. Nine of these are harshly critical of Israel and take a highly biased position in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. No other international conflict is garnering this much attention in the PC (USA). (See Appendices II and III.)

“We will avoid taking broad stands that simplify a very complex situation into a caricature of reality where one side clearly is at fault and the other side is clearly the victim.”

PC (USA) General Assembly, 2008

As an antidote to the pull of politicization that so often moves those who set out to work within this conflict, remembering what it means to be a peacemaker is paramount.

First, do no harm.

To succeed, peacemakers should not:

- Feed into the existential fears of either party in conflict;
- demonize or dehumanize or delegitimize either side;
- promote racial, ethnic, or religious stereotypes of those in conflict.
Peacemakers do not want to worsen the conflict. Peacemakers seek to create trust between conflicting sides, toward creating an atmosphere of reconciliation.

The influence within the church of BDS activists threatens to draw Presbyterians away from their peacemaker responsibility and toward becoming active participants in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

The core question before Presbyterians as they deliberate on the many pro-BDS overtures before them is this:

*Does the PC (USA) wish to become the stalking horse of the secular BDS movement whose stated goal is the destruction of Israel as a Jewish state?*
CAPTURING THE CHURCHES: 
THE CAMPAIGN FOR BDS

Religious institutions are seen in many communities as embodying important moral and ethical principles... Divestment campaigns that target companies such as Caterpillar have been initiated in a number of major Christian churches. Not only will successful divestment campaigns financially weaken the Occupation, but will raise both the public profile and legitimacy of the BDS campaign.3

BDS Movement on the centrality of churches to their strategy

In 2004, the Presbyterian Church (USA) passed a resolution calling for “a process of phased selective divestment in multinational corporations operating in Israel.” In 2006, the General Assembly sought to rectify that action, acknowledging that “the actions of the 216th General Assembly (2004) caused hurt and misunderstanding among many members of the Jewish community and within our Presbyterian communion” and called for “a new season of mutual understanding and dialogue.”

Since then, numerous overtures have been introduced to the GA calling for boycotts and divestments, even labelling Israel an “apartheid” state. This process has also taken place in other mainline American denominations, as well as churches abroad, leading to a great deal of tension that threatens to unravel decades of productive Christian-Jewish dialogue and reconciliation.

The spate of resolutions calling for boycotts and divestments in churches is not happening in a vacuum. It is part of a highly politicized global campaign of BDS (boycott, divestment and sanctions), led by well-funded international non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

Pro-BDS efforts within the PC (USA) and other denominations are driven by BDS activists within the churches. It is necessary to recognize that the BDS campaigns that they promote are anti-peace: BDS creates polarization, ultimately promoting conflict.

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3 See http://ngo-monitor.org/article/ngo_forum_at_durban_conference
**BDS: Beginnings**

BDS has its origins in the NGO Forum of the UN’s 2001 World Conference Against Racism in Durban. Using demonizing language, some 1,500 non-governmental organizations (NGOs) crystallized a strategy of delegitimizing Israel, explicitly calling for the “complete and total isolation of Israel as an apartheid state” through the “imposition of mandatory and comprehensive sanctions and embargoes, the full cessation of all links (diplomatic, economic, social, aid, military cooperation and training) between all states and Israel.”

Among the accredited NGOs at this Durban NGO Forum were thirty-five Christian religious institutions representing a number of churches, including the Presbyterian Church (USA). In the following decade many of these churches – including PC (USA) – would be targeted for co-optation by proponents of the Durban strategy.

In the PC (USA), these pro-BDS activists are largely represented by the Presbyterian Peace Fellowship and the Israel Palestine Mission Network.

In the last decade, most mainline U.S. denominations, including PC (USA), repeatedly rejected pro-divestment resolutions brought to national votes. However, these repeated efforts have provided a vehicle to amplify one-sided messages within the churches.

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4 See http://www.icare.to/list%20of%20accredited%20NGO%20representatives%20at%20the%202001%20WCAR.pdf
**Why the Churches?**

BDS activists are fully aware of the role churches can play in amplifying and legitimizing their extremist message. The BDS Movement’s website states:

> Religious institutions are seen in many communities as embodying important moral and ethical principles... Divestment campaigns that target companies such as Caterpillar have been initiated in a number of major Christian churches. Not only will successful divestment campaigns financially weaken the Occupation, but will raise both the public profile and legitimacy of the BDS campaign.\(^5\)

Capturing the churches’ moral voice in the service of a political cause that demonizes one people is the goal.

**BDS, Lethal Narratives, and the World Conference Against Racism – Durban 2001**

The UN’s World Conference Against Racism, held in Durban, South Africa, in August and September 2001, was intended to unite nations in the fight against racism. Instead, this gathering succeeded in birthing and amplifying a lethal narrative against Israel and the Jewish people.

“Lethal narratives” are stories that are told with the intention of creating hatred and a desire for revenge. Some are based on real events in a conflict, and some are invented out of whole cloth. All involve the accusation of deliberate murder. These narratives are weapons of war, designed to both incense, incite, and provoke one population against another by embodying a “reactionary ‘us-them’ scapegoating mentality that views the ‘enemy’ as evil. Few phenomena hurt the possibility of peace more than their circulation, and nothing could

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more violate the basic progressive discourse than this kind of bellicose story-
telling, especially when they are concocted out of malice.”

In Israel’s case, the intention is to incite people the world over to hate Israelis and to alienate from Israel peace-loving liberals and progressives. The strategy is to cast Israel as an unspeakably evil state – akin to apartheid South Africa and even Nazi Germany – so as to rationalize and justify Israel’s ultimate destruction.

**Laying the Groundwork for the Lethal Narrative: The Iranian role**

In the lead up to the Durban conference, at a preparatory meeting for Asian countries convened in Tehran in February 2001, the Iranian government effectively excluded Israel and Jewish groups from participating. Congressman Tom Lantos (who attended Durban as an official U.S. delegate) wrote, “Australia and New Zealand, two outspoken supporters of Israel in the Asia group, were also excluded from participation in the meeting.”

The Declaration singled out Israel above all other countries – despite the well-known problems with racism, xenophobia and discrimination that exist all over the world.

The day the conference opened, the Teheran government published an article in the Teheran Times denying the Holocaust.

As noted by Lantos, “The Declaration and Plan of Action agreed to by the delegates in the discriminatory atmosphere of Tehran amounted to what could only be seen as a declaration by the states present of their intention to use the conference as a propaganda weapon attacking Israel. Indeed, the documents not only singled the country out above all others-

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8 J. A. Chanes, Antisemitism: A Reference Handbook, (ABC-CLIO, Santa Barbara, 2004), 224
despite the well-known problems with racism, xenophobia and discrimination that exist all over the world—but also equated its policies in the West Bank with some of the most horrible racist policies of the previous century. Israel, the text stated, engages in ‘ethnic cleansing of the Arab population of historic Palestine,’ and is implementing a ‘new kind of apartheid, a crime against humanity.’ It also purported to witness an ‘increase of racist practices of Zionism’.”

This injected a lethal narrative into the Teheran Conference Declaration, falsely accusing Israel of perpetrating “holocausts” and “ethnic cleansing,” and declared that Zionism “is based on race superiority.”

**From Teheran to Durban: The Lethal Narrative Goes Global**

The themes of the Teheran meeting would be repeated in Durban.

The Durban conference itself consisted of three parallel gatherings: an official diplomatic forum, a “youth summit,” and a massive NGO Forum. The diplomatic framework, affected by the tone set in Tehran, led to U.S. and Israeli delegations walking out of the government sessions in protest.

The NGO Forum generated most of the publicity and impact from the Durban Conference, focusing on the development of a broad campaign to delegitimize Israel as a sovereign state.

**From the NGO Forum to global BDS**

An estimated 1,500 NGOs participated in the three-day NGO Forum at Durban, claiming to represent the “voices of the victims” of racism, discrimination, and xenophobia. The large attendance and funding from the Ford Foundation and various governments made the NGO Forum the central focus of the entire Durban Conference. This support also reflected the dominant ideology that viewed NGOs and civil society as “authentic” voices and representatives, in contrast to those of government officials and elected representatives in democratic societies. The NGO Forum took place against the backdrop of the intense violence of
the “second intifada” that began at the end of September 2000. Speakers focused on the theme of Israel as the world’s singular human rights violator, stripping away the context of the conflict and the violence of Palestinian terror organizations such as Hamas, Islamic Jihad, and Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades among others.

The atmosphere at the Durban conference was dominated by overt antisemitism. Flyers promoted by the Arab Lawyers Union containing anti-Jewish stereotypes were circulated. Another flyer justified the Holocaust. Still others compared Israel to Nazi Germany and apartheid-era South Africa.

The European Roma Rights Center (ERRC) declared it was “saddened to conclude that it cannot endorse the 72-page NGO Declaration and Programme of Action submitted to the organisers of the World Conference against Racism in Durban on behalf of the NGO Forum. ‘These documents contain inappropriate language, fuelling precisely the kind of hatred and racism the Durban gathering was meant to challenge,’ said Dimitrina Petrova, Executive Director of ERRC.”

The ERRC was among more than 50 NGOs from more than 20 countries in Central and Eastern Europe who protested the NGO Forum process and its resulting documents.

The NGO Forum Final Declaration employed the Teheran conference’s lethal narrative by “declar(ing) Israel as a racist apartheid state…” This was coupled with a

“call upon the international community to impose a policy of complete and total isolation of Israel as in the case of South Africa which means the imposition of mandatory and comprehensive sanctions and embargos, the full cessation of all links (diplomatic, economic, social, aid, military operation and training) between all states and Israel.” (emphasis added)

Using virtually identical language, the 2005 Palestinian Civil Society Call for BDS declared:

“We, representatives of Palestinian civil society, call upon international civil society organizations and people of conscience all over the world to impose broad boycotts and implement divestment initiatives against Israel similar to those applied to South Africa in the apartheid era. We appeal to you to pressure your respective states to impose embargoes and sanctions against Israel.” (emphasis added)

The Goal of BDS: Defeating Israel, not bringing peace

BDS leaders often claim they do not advocate any particular solution to the Israeli-Palestinian impasse, arguing that “Zionists falsely claim BDS movement opposes two-state solution.”\(^{11}\) This is deliberate obfuscation, as the goal of BDS campaigns is to criminalize the State of Israel and disown the Jewish people of their history. These same leaders expressly state a belief that “a single democratic state is the most practical and ethical way to fulfil [sic] [BDS] demands.”

**BDS is not about coexistence.** The creation of a single Palestinian state (or multiple Palestinian states) with a “right of return” proposes there be no Israel. This means *no right to self-determination and sovereign equality for the Jewish people.*

This is a call for conflict until a final victory over Israel is achieved.


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**BDS LEADERS IN THEIR OWN WORDS**

“(The one state solution means) a unitary state, where, by definition, Jews will be a minority.” 12

- *Omar Barghouti*
  *Founder, Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel*

“I think the BDS movement will gain strength from forthrightly explaining why Israel has no right to exist.”13

“BDS’s stated goals (ending the Occupation, equality for non-Jews and Jews, and the right of return of the Palestinian refugees) logically imply the end of Israel as a Jewish state...”14

- *John Spritzler, Pro-BDS Author*

“Ending the occupation doesn’t mean anything if it doesn’t mean upending the Jewish state itself...BDS does mean the end of the Jewish state.”15

- *Ahmed Moor, Pro-BDS Author*

“The real aim of BDS is to bring down the state of Israel....That should be stated as an unambiguous goal. There should not be any equivocation on the subject. Justice and freedom for the Palestinians are incompatible with the existence of the state of Israel.”16

- *As’ad AbuKhalil, Pro-BDS Author*

“BDS represents three words that will help bring about the defeat of Zionist Israel and victory for Palestine.”17

- *Ronnie Kasrils*

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12 See http://www.counterpunch.org/barghouti12132003.html
13 See http://newdemocracyworld.org/palestine/bds.html
15 See http://mondoweiss.net/2010/04/bds-is-a-long-term-project-with-radically-transformative-potential.html
16 See http://english.al-akhbar.com/node/4289
17 See http://palestinechronicle.com/old/view_article_details.php?id=14924
PALESTINIANS ARE NOT UNANIMOUS ABOUT BDS

“No, we do not support the boycott of Israel.”

- Mahmoud Abbas, Chairman, Palestinian Authority

“The reason I don’t believe the boycott is the way to go is that I believe peace must be built on the bridge between two civil societies...While some people believed that one way to deal with Israelis was ‘to bash them on their heads,’ the other way is to reach to their hearts, and it’s the reaching out that’s important.”

- Sari Nusseibeh, President, Al Quds University

“It is telling that proponents of the single state have never begun to explicate a strategy for achieving this result, beyond the slogan ‘boycott, divestment and sanctions’... The idea that a single democratic state can be achieved through boycotts and action centered around solidarity movements and grassroots organizations and activism seems to be yet another misunderstanding of the politics of the end of apartheid in South Africa and misapplication of the South African model to Israel/Palestine...”

- Hussein Ibish
American Task Force on Palestine and author of What’s Wrong with the One-State Agenda? Why Ending the Occupation and Peace with Israel is Still the Palestinian National Goal

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18 See http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2013/12/abbas-attacks-bds.html##ixzz2z8fMPcjp
19 See http://www.nytimes.com/2005/05/20/international/europe/20britain.html?_r=0
WHY BDS IS ANTI-PEACE

• Boycotts are the antithesis of dialogue, cooperation, and developing peaceful ties between Israelis and Palestinians.
• Ali Abunimah,\(^{20}\) major BDS speaker and head of “Electronic Intifada,”\(^{21}\) labels Palestinian leaders who negotiate or dialogue with Israelis “collaborators.”\(^{22}\)
• BDS activists promote “one-state” solutions, meaning the elimination of Israel as the historic homeland of the Jewish people.

WHY BDS IS IMMORAL

• By singling out Israel and using double standards, BDS undermines and is the antithesis of universal human rights values.
• BDS applies false comparisons to apartheid South Africa, attempting to reduce a complex political dispute into a question of racial discrimination.
• BDS collectively punishes Israelis.
• As acknowledged by BDS ideologue Omar Barghouti\(^{23}\) of the Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (PACBI),\(^{24}\) BDS undermines liberal values, such as academic freedom and freedom of expression, through intolerance and by restricting debate.

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\(^{20}\) See http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/ali_abunimah

\(^{21}\) See http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/electronic_intifada_and_ali_abunimah_fact-sheet

\(^{22}\) See http://electronicintifada.net/content/why-israel-wont-survive/7999

\(^{23}\) See http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/omar_barghouti

\(^{24}\) See http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/factsheet_palestinian_campaign_for_the_academic_and_cultural_boycott_of_israel_pacbi
A Concluding Word

Understanding the complexity of issues between Israel and the Palestinian Authority, and the general instability and violence in the states surrounding Israel, is not any easy challenge. The need is great for reasoned discussions within the PC (USA) that highlight and support the best intentions and efforts of Israelis and Palestinians to resolve the difficult issues.

Actions, policies, and statements from any segment of the denomination would best originate from balanced dialogues with the broadest possible diversity of Israelis and Palestinians. Actions taken that are framed by a narrow political perspective do not reflect the generally respected historical commitment of Presbyterians to fair and balanced discourse.

The BDS campaign is a secular movement that seeks to co-opt the moral voice of churches for a narrow political purpose. Activists within various denominations have taken it upon themselves to push this antagonistic agenda.

BDS does not seek peace with Israel, but rather total victory over Israel. This is a zero-sum, winner-take-all, strategy which enflames conflict, polarizes communities, and hardens hearts. As such, it is immoral and distorts the prophetic voice.

As a denomination, PC (USA) has a stark choice to make. To choose to embrace the agenda of the BDS campaign, thereby sending a message that the denomination is unsympathetic to Israel’s right to exist among the family of nations. Or, to stand with all people of good will who seek to engage in constructive actions that are certain to bring peace to Israelis and Palestinians alike in the framework of a two state solution.
APPENDIX I: “ZIONISM UNSETTLED”: DEMONIZING ISRAEL’S RIGHT TO EXIST

The Israel Palestine Mission Network promotes its publication *Zionism Unsettled* as a “congregational study guide”\(^1\) and makes it available for sale at the PC (USA) online Church Store.\(^2\) The PPF website\(^3\) also actively promotes the IPMN’s *Zionism Unsettled* booklet.

The 72-page glossy document also includes a DVD. Its information is derived completely from biased politicized sources that inform IPMN’s worldview. It advocates for BDS, and repeats the extremism found in IPMN’s other publications and statements.

*Zionism Unsettled* postulates that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is driven by a “pathology inherent in Zionism” and rejects theologies — Christian and Jewish — that supports Zionism, the ideological foundations of the State of Israel.

*Zionism Unsettled* goes beyond criticism of Israeli government policies. Instead, its authors invalidate the very existence of the State of Israel, dismissing the internationally accepted right of the Jewish people to sovereign equality.

By failing to reference the broad range of Israeli viewpoints, the authors relied exclusively on extremist sources.

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2. See http://store.pcusa.org/2646614001
3. See: http://presbypeacefellowship.org/resources/zionism-unsettled-congregational-study-guide-ipmn#.U3tKIChabYQ
Zionism Unsettled generated serious criticism from across the Presbyterian and interfaith spectrum.

- “The Israel Palestine Mission Network (IPMN) and their allies have once again mounted initiatives that advance an extremist posture with respect to the Palestinian-Israeli impasse. Their agenda threatens to polarize our community, betray relationships with our Jewish colleagues, and ultimately undermine our credibility as ‘peacemakers.’”

  – Reverend Chris Leighton, An Open Letter to the Presbyterian Church⁴

- “An ideologically driven document such as this one cannot conceivably promote solutions that all parties in this conflict urgently need... Sadly, its sweeping allegations, blanket condemnations and troubling omissions are not likely to foster productive conversations, but rather to prevent them. It creates walls not just between Presbyterians and Jews, Israelis and Palestinians, but also within the Presbyterian body itself.”

  - Katherine Henderson, President of Auburn Theological Seminary⁵

- “This finds similarity to the Protocols of the Elders of Zion... So it is unfortunate the document is riddled with statements and allusions to Jewish people that fall under that rubric: To denigrate the particular, the embodied or the physically landed aspects of Judaism as inferior and superseded by the universal, the spiritual and the global message of Christianity, shows strong affinities to the Adversus Judeos tradition of contempt, which has made similar false claims against Jews throughout history.”

  – Statement of the Ecumenical and Interreligious Work Group Chicago Presbytery⁶

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⁴ See http://www.icjs.org/featured-articles/open-letter-presbyterian-church-0
The "big issue is the desire to eliminate Israel as a Jewish state... We’ve always been dealing with a small group of activists who know how to manipulate the system and intimidate people... Now that will blow up in their face because very few people share their agenda.”

– John Wimberly, co-moderator of Presbyterians for Middle East Peace

The PC (USA) distanced itself from Zionism Unsettled, issuing a statement asserting:

“Our church has categorically condemned anti-Semitism in all its forms, including the refusal to acknowledge the legal existence of the State of Israel... The independent group — which speaks to the church and not for the church — recently published a study guide, Zionism Unsettled: A Congregational Study. The guide is intended to prompt discussion on the ever-changing and tumultuous issue of Israel-Palestine. The IPMN booklet was neither paid for nor published by the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.).”

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7 See http://www.jta.org/2014/02/18/news-opinion/united-states/presbyterians-push-back-against-church-groups-anti-zionist-study-guide
APPENDIX II: HISTORY OF PC (USA) GENERAL ASSEMBLY AFFIRMATION OF THE TWO-STATE SOLUTION

1974: Presbyterian Church US Supports Recognition of Israel

“The right and power of Jewish people to self-determination by political expression in Israel, based upon full civil liberties for all, should be recognized by the parties in the Middle East and by the international community. . . Boundaries of all states in the area should be mutually defined and accepted. . .” (UPCUSA, 1974, p. 584)

1978:

“Both 1978 Assemblies recognized the Sadat/Begin/Carter peace initiatives and called upon Israel and the Palestinians to mutually recognize the rights of each other to self-determination (PCUS, 1978, p. 39; UPCUSA, 1978, p. 276).”  

2002: General Assembly

“Urges all the parties involved in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict to work toward a just, sustainable peace by... an affirmation by Israel that it will work with Palestinians toward the establishment of a viable, contiguous Palestinian state with the same sovereign rights as those of the State of Israel.”

2003: General Assembly

“Reaffirms the actions of previous General Assemblies... Supporting the resolutions of the United Nations, affirming the right of Israel to exist within secure borders, and the right of the Palestinians to self-determination, including the establishment of their own sovereign state and the right of return of Palestinian refugees.”

2006: **General Assembly called for the church**

“To work through peaceful means with American and Israeli Jewish, American and Palestinian Muslim, and Palestinian Christian communities and their affiliated organizations towards the creation of a socially, economically, geographically, and politically viable and secure Palestinian state, alongside an equally viable and secure Israeli state, both of which have a right to exist.”

2010: **General Assembly “receives” the Recommendations of the Middle East Study Committee, which includes the following provisions:**

“reaffirmation of Israel’s right to exist as a sovereign nation within secure and internationally recognized borders in accordance with United Nations resolutions.”

“the immediate resumption by Israel and Palestine of negotiations toward a two-state solution.”
One committee (Committee 4: Middle East Issues) is dedicated to a single issue, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and is entertaining 9 overtures on this subject.

All other international issues are assigned to Committee 11: Peacemaking and International Affairs.

Committee 7 (Ecumenical and Interfaith Relations) is also taking up 1 overture that seeks to create “educational” material to distinguish between “biblical” Israel and the modern state of Israel. The overture quotes a Palestinian pastor stating, “The establishment of the State of Israel created ... an intended confusion. ... Huge efforts were put by the State of Israel and Jewish organizations in branding the new State of Israel as a ‘biblical entity.’” The overture fails to quote Israeli or Jewish sources on this subject. (ellipses in original)

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**APPENDIX III: OVERTURES ON ISRAEL AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS ISSUES – 221st GA**

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<thead>
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<th>Category</th>
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<td>Total dealing with Israel</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total anti-Israel</td>
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Comparison of Overtures on Israel and Other States – 221st GA
# APPENDIX IV: CURRENT CONFLICTS IN TODAY’S WORLD

## Current and Recent Global Conflicts

Most of these conflicts are not being addressed by the General Assembly.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conflict Location</th>
<th>Number of Deaths</th>
<th>Displaced Persons</th>
<th>Length of Conflict</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
<td>18,000 – 20,000 civilians(^1)</td>
<td>660,000(^4)</td>
<td>2001 - present</td>
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<td></td>
<td>13,000 Afghan soldiers(^2)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>3,439 International soldiers(^3)</td>
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<td>Bangladesh</td>
<td>60(^5)</td>
<td>280,000(^6)</td>
<td>2013-present</td>
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<td>Central African Republic</td>
<td>“Thousands”(^7)</td>
<td>567,600(^8)</td>
<td>December 2012 – present</td>
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<tr>
<td>China -Tibet</td>
<td>1.2 million(^9)</td>
<td>120,003(^10)</td>
<td>1959 – present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Columbia</td>
<td>220,000(^11)</td>
<td>5.7 million(^12)</td>
<td>1964-present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyprus (Greek-Turkish conflict)</td>
<td>6,000(^13)</td>
<td>212,400(^14)</td>
<td>1974-present</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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3. See [http://icasualties.org/OEF/ByYear.aspx](http://icasualties.org/OEF/ByYear.aspx)
4. See [http://www.internal-displacement.org/global-figures](http://www.internal-displacement.org/global-figures)
8. See [http://www.internal-displacement.org/global-figures](http://www.internal-displacement.org/global-figures)
13. See [http://books.google.co.il/books?id=Dh6jydKXiKoC&pg=PA556&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false](http://books.google.co.il/books?id=Dh6jydKXiKoC&pg=PA556&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false)
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<th>Displaced Persons</th>
<th>Location of Conflict</th>
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<td>900,000 - 5.4 million (2010)(^{15})</td>
<td>2,634,872(^{16})</td>
<td>2003-2012</td>
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<td>Egypt</td>
<td>1,400(^{17})</td>
<td>216,153(^{18})</td>
<td>July 2013-present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India-Pakistan</td>
<td>500,000- 1 million(^{19})</td>
<td>10 million(^{20})</td>
<td>1947-present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>123,396(^{21}) civilians</td>
<td>1,545,000(^{23})</td>
<td>2003-present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>174,000(^{22}) combatants</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israeli-Arab-Palestinian</td>
<td>~74,000 (combatants all sides)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1947-present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>~ 18,000 (civilian all sides)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• 1948 Palestinian Arab refugees: 876,000(^{24}) (UNRWA registers 5 million descendants of the 1948 refugees. Some 30,000 of the 1948 refugees are alive today.(^{25})</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• 1948-1972: 856,000 Jewish refugees from Arab states.(^{26})</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurds (Iraq)</td>
<td>180,000(^{27})</td>
<td>millions exact number unknown</td>
<td>1979-2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurds (Turkey)</td>
<td>45,000(^{28})</td>
<td>954,000(^{29})</td>
<td>1984-present</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{16}\) See [http://www.internal-displacement.org/global-figures](http://www.internal-displacement.org/global-figures)


\(^{18}\) See [http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/page?page=49e486356](http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/page?page=49e486356)

\(^{19}\) Y Khan, The Great Partition: The Making of India and Pakistan


\(^{21}\) See [https://www.iraqbodycount.org/database/](https://www.iraqbodycount.org/database/)

\(^{22}\) Ibid.

\(^{23}\) See [http://www.internal-displacement.org/global-figures](http://www.internal-displacement.org/global-figures)

\(^{24}\) See [http://unispal.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/0/8D26108AF518CE7E052565A6006E8948](http://unispal.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/0/8D26108AF518CE7E052565A6006E8948)


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conflict Location</th>
<th>Number of Deaths</th>
<th>Displaced Persons</th>
<th>Length of Conflict</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Libya</td>
<td>30,000&lt;sup&gt;30&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>80,200&lt;sup&gt;31&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>February 2011-October 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Libya</td>
<td>6,800&lt;sup&gt;32&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>147,332&lt;sup&gt;33&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>2011-present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mali</td>
<td>663&lt;sup&gt;34&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>908,633&lt;sup&gt;35&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>January 2012 – June 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexican Drug War</td>
<td>120,000 (2006-2012)&lt;sup&gt;36&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>160,000&lt;sup&gt;37&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>2006-present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>20,000&lt;sup&gt;38&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>34,517&lt;sup&gt;39&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>2001 - present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NW Pakistan</td>
<td>49,000&lt;sup&gt;40&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>2,648,083&lt;sup&gt;41&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>2001-present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somalia</td>
<td>500,000 (2007)&lt;sup&gt;42&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1,100,000&lt;sup&gt;43&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1991-present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Sudan</td>
<td>1,000&lt;sup&gt;44&lt;/sup&gt; (December 2013) Updated amount has not been compiled, expected to be thousands more</td>
<td>1,000,000&lt;sup&gt;45&lt;/sup&gt; (May 2014)</td>
<td>December 2013 - present</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<sup>30</sup> See http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/09/08/libya-war-died_n_953456.html
<sup>31</sup> See http://www.internal-displacement.org/global-figures
<sup>32</sup> See http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jan/08/libyan-revolution-casualties-lower-ex-pected-government
<sup>33</sup> See http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/page?page=49e485f36&submit=GO
<sup>34</sup> See http://moonofthesouth.com/mali-war-600-islamists-killed/
<sup>35</sup> See http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49e484e66.html
<sup>37</sup> See http://www.internal-displacement.org/global-figures
<sup>38</sup> See http://www.cfr.org/nigeria/nigeria-security-tracker/p29483
<sup>39</sup> See http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49e484f76.html
<sup>40</sup> See http://tribune.com.pk/story/542287/49000-pakistanis-have-been-killed-since-the-war-on-terror-began-in-2001/
<sup>41</sup> See http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/page?page=49e487016&submit=GO
<sup>43</sup> See http://www.internal-displacement.org/global-figures
<sup>44</sup> See http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/12/26/us-southsudan-unrest-talks-idUSBRE9B-P0AG20131226
<sup>45</sup> See http://www.refworld.org/country,,,,,SSD,,5371c1924,0.html
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<th>Displaced Persons</th>
<th>Location of Conflict</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sudan</td>
<td>300,000 (2008)(^{46})</td>
<td>2,426,700(^{47})</td>
<td>2003-present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>160,000(^{48}) 53,978 Civilians Including 8,607 Children (April 2014)</td>
<td>• 2,734,533(^{49}) refugees in Lebanon, Turkey, Jordan, Egypt, Iraq (April 2014) • 6,500,000(^{50}) internally displaced persons (April 2014)</td>
<td>March 2011- present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>5,086 (2012)(^{51})</td>
<td>364(^{52})</td>
<td>2004-present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukraine-Russia</td>
<td>780 dead and missing(^{53})</td>
<td>46,370(^{54})</td>
<td>November 2013 - present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venezuela</td>
<td>31 killed(^{55}) 450 injured(^{56})</td>
<td>137,096(^{57})</td>
<td>January 2014-present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yemen</td>
<td>3700+(^{58})</td>
<td>307,000(^{59})</td>
<td>1998-present</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

47 See http://www.internal-displacement.org/global-figures
49 See http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/regional.php
50 See http://www.internal-displacement.org/global-figures
52 See http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/page?page=49e489646&submit=GO
54 See http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/page?page=49e48d4d6
55 See http://edition.cnn.com/2014/03/20/world/americas/venezuela-protests/
56 See http://www.elnuevoherald.com/2014/03/26/1710614/arresto-de-generales-venezolanos.html
57 See http://www.internal-displacement.org/global-figures
58 See http://www.ucdp.uu.se/gpdatabase/gpcountry.php?id=169&regionSelect=10-Middle_East
59 See http://www.internal-displacement.org/global-figures