

# NGOs, the UN, and the Politics of Human Rights in the Arab–Israeli Conflict

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NGOs (non-governmental organizations) have become important actors in the “soft power” arena of international diplomacy, particularly in the United Nations. Over 4,000 NGOs are accredited to the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC),<sup>1</sup> which gives them privileged access to many UN activities, including meetings of the Human Rights Council<sup>2</sup> and special frameworks such as the UN Committee on Inalienable Rights of Palestinian People,<sup>3</sup> the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD),<sup>4</sup> and the Committee Against Torture (CAT). It also enabled them to participate in the 2001 World Conference on Racism<sup>5</sup> (also known as the “Durban Conference”). Officials from these NGOs use their access to influence agendas, speak in the proceedings, meet both formally and informally with the UN officials and participating diplomats, and submit documents that are quoted in the final reports.<sup>6</sup>

These NGOs have increased in size, number, and influence due to generous funding provided by charitable foundations as well as by governments (notably from European Union member states, Japan, and, until recently, from Canada). Powerful NGOs, such as Human Rights Watch (HRW) and Amnesty International, are perceived as the arbiters of international law and human rights, particularly in the context of armed conflict and asymmetric warfare. In parallel, their officials often promote a post-colonial ideological agenda, in which Western democracies are regarded as inherently immoral, and others are defined as “victims of colonialism.”<sup>7</sup> In an academic analysis, Volker Heins wrote that NGOs create “symbolic victims” and portray themselves as altruistic rescuers.<sup>8</sup>

These ideological NGOs, which use the language of universal human rights, have steadily expanded their influence in the UN and other international institutions via soft power—“the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than

coercion or payments.”<sup>9</sup> Using strategies based on “naming and shaming,” political NGOs seek to “modify behavior not with logic, but by isolating or embarrassing the target,” using “the only real weapon” wielded by NGOs.<sup>10</sup> In this process, NGO officials have argued that “even questionable, unverified allegations ought to be sanctioned as a basis for shaming in urgent situations.”<sup>11</sup>

This influential network of political NGOs has targeted Israel in particular, joining forces with the countries that dominate the UN human rights frameworks—specifically the members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC). The NGOs have played a leading role in singling out Israel through allegations of human rights violations, “war crimes,” and violations of international humanitarian law (IHL). Their allegations are copied directly into reports by journalists and in UN publications, such as the Goldstone report on the Gaza conflict.<sup>12</sup> This NGO campaign is also central to the promotion of political warfare targeting Israel, including BDS (boycotts, divestment, and sanctions) and lawfare cases.

### **NGOs and the UN in the Arab–Israeli Conflict**

The roles and influence of NGOs in the United Nations, and their focus on Israel, have increased significantly since the end of the Cold War. Parallel to this, the Islamic bloc<sup>15</sup> has expanded its influence in UN human rights mechanisms, resulting in greater UN focus on the confrontation with Israel.

During the terror campaign that followed the end of the Oslo process, beginning in September 2000 (known as the “Second Intifada”), the UN Commission on Human Rights supported by a number of NGOs with ECOSOC status often reinforced the anti-Israel allegations and rhetoric of officials from the Arab countries and Iran. Palestinian NGOs, such as PCHR, Al-Haq, and Al Mezan, as well as Israeli groups (such as PCATI, Adalah, Mosawa, and B’Tselem), and the international NGO powers (HRW, Amnesty, and FIDH) presented “reports” and statements quoting Palestinian eye-witnesses, whose testimonies are usually unverifiable. These statements generally ignored or downplayed the violations of Israeli human rights, including the numerous terror attacks suffered by Israeli civilians and the wider context of the conflict.<sup>14</sup> Much of the language included in these NGO statements was reflected in the resolutions that were adopted by the UNCHR and in many instances (notably during Operation Defensive Shield), the statements were repeated without any verification of their authenticity.<sup>15</sup>

In 2006, in response to the widely perceived failures of the existing system, the Human Rights Council was created to replace the Human Rights Commission. But this institutional reshuffling, in which the singling out of Israel continued under “Agenda item 7,”<sup>16</sup> had little impact on the influence and soft power of the

NGO community or on its role in targeting Israel. The “new” UNHRC’s First Special Session in July 2006 followed the earlier pattern.

NGOs that focus on human rights are also central to the activities of the CERD, whose formal mission is to monitor the implementation of the International Covenant on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. NGOs such as Al-Haq, BADIL, and Al Mezan (Palestinian NGOs), as well as some Israel-based NGOs with similar agendas (ICAHN and Mossawa), use this platform to disseminate their narratives. In one such statement, a number of NGOs characterized Palestinians as “indigenous” while branding Jews as “colonizers,” and claim that Israel engaged in “forced expulsions” of the indigenous population.<sup>17</sup> That submission also includes a comparison of the State of Israel to Nazi Germany.<sup>18</sup>

Similar statements by these NGOs were repeated in UNHRC sessions and reports on the 2006 Second Lebanon War. As in the past, the network of “human rights” NGOs largely erased the context, including the Hizbullah act of aggression that triggered the war, and this was reflected in the Council’s resolutions.

### **NGOs, the 2008–09 Gaza War, and the Goldstone Report**

The Special Session of the UNHRC held in January 2009, which focused on the 2008–9 conflict in Gaza,<sup>19</sup> highlighted NGO influence in UN frameworks. Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch and the International Court of Justice accused Israel of “indiscriminate” and “disproportionate” attacks.<sup>20</sup> Libyan-linked Nord Sud XXI charged Israel with participating in an “intentional effort ongoing for more than sixty years by an illegal occupier and its allies to destroy the Palestinian people,”<sup>21</sup> with the aim to commit genocide.<sup>22</sup> Statements from Al-Haq, and the French Mouvement contre le Racisme et pour l’Amitié entre les Peuples (MRAP), declared Israel guilty of “war crimes” and “crimes against humanity.” Most of the NGO statements failed to mention Hamas’ violations, such as indiscriminate rocket attacks,<sup>23</sup> the massive use of human shields,<sup>24</sup> and the 2006 kidnapping of an Israeli soldier (Gilad Shalit).<sup>25</sup> This special session and its outcome once again highlighted the disproportionate NGO/UNHRC emphasis on the Arab–Israeli conflict. From December 14–17, 2008, at least 321 villagers were massacred by Ugandan rebels in the Congo. But this was not included in the NGO/UNHRC agenda.<sup>26</sup>

As in the Second Lebanon War, HRW, Amnesty, and many other NGOs in this network supported the Arab and Islamic states in calling for “independent investigations” to focus on and single out Israel. On this basis, the Council adopted

Resolution S-9/1 on January 12, 2009, creating an independent international fact-finding mission to investigate the violations by “the occupying power, Israel, against the Palestinian people throughout the occupied Palestinian territory.” In April, Judge Richard Goldstone was appointed to head this inquiry. (Goldstone has a close relationship with HRW head Ken Roth, and was an active member of HRW’s board).

The NGO network also played a central role in the operations of the Goldstone Commission, and officials from these groups “testified” at hearings. Citing Palestinian allegations, NGO officials repeated the earlier claims, including allegations of “collective punishment” and accusations that the IDF “deliberately and knowingly shelled civilian institutions.” A group of eight Israel-based NGOs (the Association for Civil Rights in Israel, Gisha, the Public Committee Against Torture in Israel, HaMoked: Center for the Defence of the Individual, Yesh Din, Adalah, Physicians for Human Rights—Israel) claimed that “[m]any prisoners ... were held in pits in the ground ... apparently dug by the army.” While acknowledging that “references and evidence are missing for many accusations,” they claim to have verified these claims using “information in our possession.”<sup>27</sup>

Goldstone’s report,<sup>28</sup> published on September 15, 2009, strongly reflected these NGO submissions and statements. The text referenced over fifty NGOs, including seventy references each for B’Tselem and the Palestinian Center for Human Rights (PCHR), and more than thirty for Al-Haq and Human Rights Watch. It also included thirty-eight references to Adalah and twenty-seven to Breaking the Silence. Significantly, many of these citations referred to speculative issues unrelated to the conflict in Gaza, such as the accusation that Israeli democracy was “repressive,” thereby widening the scope of the condemnations and the resulting political campaigns.

Similarly, the discussion of international legal claims<sup>29</sup> in the UNHRC’s Goldstone report mirrored the NGO rhetoric, particularly with respect to collective punishment, proportionality, and human shielding. For example, Goldstone adopted the disputed legal argument that Gaza remained “occupied” after the Israeli 2005 disengagement, repeating the claims of the PLO Negotiation Affairs Department, which were actively promoted by NGOs such as B’Tselem, HRW, and Amnesty.<sup>30</sup> The political objective of this assertion is to create humanitarian obligations that do not otherwise exist under international law. (The ICRC, in contrast, had acknowledged that Gaza is an “autonomous territory.”<sup>31</sup> However, after the release of the Goldstone report, the ICRC changed its website to promote the biased conclusion of the Mission.)<sup>32</sup>

Claims regarding substantial numbers of civilian casualties were also based largely on NGO reports, with references to PCHR, HRW, Amnesty, B'Tselem and others. The (erroneous) assertion was also put forth that the “data provided by non-governmental sources with regard to the percentage of civilians among those killed are generally consistent...”<sup>33</sup> (PCHR characterized Hamas military figures, including Nizar Rayan and Siad Siam, as civilians; B'Tselem data, while different from PCHR's, is also unverifiable.)<sup>34</sup>

After the publication of the Goldstone report, the NGO network, led by HRW, campaigned intensively for the adoption of its punitive recommendations targeting Israel.<sup>35</sup> This lobbying was particularly intense in the United States and Western Europe.

### **Prelude to the NGO-Goldstone Campaign: The UN's 2001 Durban Conference**

The close cooperation in the Goldstone process between the NGOs and the Arab- and Islamic-dominated UNHRC was presaged by similar activities and agendas during the previous decade. The high-profile UN Conference on Racism, held in Durban in September 2001, consisted of three frameworks, of which the NGO Forum was the most significant. That forum included thousands of representatives from an estimated 1,500 organizations, funded by a variety of governments and private foundations.<sup>36</sup>

As in other United Nations events related to human rights, NGO superpowers, such as Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International, played a central role, working with Palestinian NGOs including MIFTAH (headed by former PLO official Hanan Ashrawi), BADIL (the main NGO promoting Palestinian refugee claims), Al-Haq, and the Palestinian NGO Network (PNGO). The South African National NGO Coalition (SANGOCO) was also a major player.

The preliminary texts were composed during a series of regional and preparatory conferences, including one in Tehran during February 2001, from which Israelis and Jewish delegates were excluded by the Iranian government. The draft resolutions included references to “holocausts and the ethnic cleansing of the Arab population in historic Palestine” and of the “racist practices of Zionism and antisemitism.”<sup>37</sup>

On this basis, the Durban NGO Forum adopted a final declaration that was dominated by anti-Israel demonization. Article 164 asserted that “targeted victims of Israel's brand of apartheid and ethnic cleansing methods have been in particular children, women and refugees.” Article 425 advocated “a policy of complete and

total isolation of Israel as an apartheid state...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." The text also condemned anyone "supporting, aiding and abetting the Israeli apartheid state and its perpetration of racist crimes against humanity including ethnic cleansing, acts of genocide."<sup>38</sup>

As Prof. Irwin Cotler noted, "a conference that was to commemorate the dismantling of apartheid in South Africa turned into a conference that called for the dismantling of Israel as an apartheid state."<sup>39</sup> The NGO Forum and the language of the final declaration provide the blueprint for this process.

This NGO-led "Durban strategy," in which the UN human rights frameworks played a central part, was implemented in March 2002 during Operation Defensive Shield, which followed a series of suicide bombings that claimed the lives of many Israelis. For their part, Palestinian officials swiftly declared that a "massacre" had taken place during the IDF operation in the Jenin refugee camp.<sup>40</sup> NGO officials quickly repeated the charge of "massacre." On April 16, *Le Monde* cited HRW reports alleging that Israel had committed "war crimes,"<sup>41</sup> and demanded the appointment of an "independent investigative committee" for Israeli "war crimes." Similarly, an Amnesty International statement declared, "The evidence compiled indicates that serious breaches of international human rights and humanitarian law were committed, including war crimes," and demanded an immediate inquiry.<sup>42</sup> Other influential NGOs issued similar statements, reports, and condemnations, including Caritas (a Catholic group),<sup>43</sup> as well as Palestinian NGOs funded by European governments, such as MIFTAH.

Human Rights Watch was particularly active in this campaign,<sup>44</sup> issuing fifteen press releases and reports condemning Israel in 2002.<sup>45</sup> In May 2002, HRW published a report entitled, "Jenin: IDF Military Operations," based largely on unverifiable "eyewitness testimony" from Palestinians. In the fifty-page report, only one sentence mentioned the justification for the operation.<sup>46</sup> HRW's detailed indictment against Israel also alleged that "IDF military attacks were indiscriminate."<sup>47</sup> The UNHRC's report on Jenin adopted much of HRW's narrative and language, as well as similar submissions from other NGOs.<sup>48</sup>

After Jenin, the NGO networks led other activities that reflected the Durban strategy. In a December 10, 2002 CNN interview, HRW executive director Kenneth Roth called for "conditioning" or cutting US aid funds to Israel.<sup>49</sup> In October 2004, HRW published "Razing Rafah," based on unverifiable Palestinian allegations and unsubstantiated security judgments. This also provided the

foundation for the participation of HRW officials in anti-Israel boycott campaigns.

Amnesty International and other international NGOs, as well as Israeli, Palestinian, and European-based organizations, engaged in parallel activity. The NGO-led implementation of the Durban strategy expanded systematically, in close cooperation with the UN-based targeting of Israeli responses to terror.

### **NGOs and the Campaign against the Israeli Separation Barrier**

In 2004, the UN and the NGOs began to attack Israel's separation or security barrier. A number of NGOs published press releases and sent mass emails calling on the UN to take action and demanding that the US government and the European Union penalize Israel for erecting it.<sup>50</sup>

This NGO activity supported the diplomatic campaign led by the OIC, which resulted in a UN General Assembly resolution referring the issue to the ICJ for an "advisory opinion" in July 2004. As anticipated, the majority claimed that the Israeli "separation barrier" was a violation of international law, although a dissenting opinion by Judge Buergenthal pointed out major inconsistencies and errors in that claim.<sup>51</sup>

### **NGOs and the UN Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of Palestinian People**

This UN committee, which was created in 1975, on the same day as the adoption of the "Zionism is racism" resolution, promotes the Palestinian version of history through numerous public conferences and "civil society" seminars. NGO officials who declare support for the "the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people" play a central role. NGO statements often include allegations of apartheid, and ethnic cleansing, and calls to impose sanctions, boycotts, and divestment. Former Australian Foreign Minister Alexander Downer noted Australia's "concern at the high level of United Nations secretariat resources devoted to anti-Israeli activity such as... the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People."<sup>52</sup>

According to a report by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), the committee is "the single most prolific source of material bearing the official imprimatur of the UN which maligns and debases the Jewish State," and noted that this committee is "the only committee in the UN devoted to a specific people."<sup>53</sup>

## **NGOs, the Universal Periodic Review and the UN Committee Against Torture (CAT)**

Instituted in 2006 with the creation of the UN Human Rights Council, the Universal Periodic Review (UPR) investigates each of the 192 UN member states every four years. Israel was reviewed on December 4, 2008, in what was labled an “objective, transparent, non-selective, constructive, non-confrontational and non-politicized manner,” based upon the universality of human rights principles.<sup>54</sup>

In advance of Israel’s review, twenty-eight NGOs submitted statements to the HRC which were incorporated into the report on Israel’s human rights record. In their UPR submissions, several Palestinian NGOs and radical international NGOs exploited human rights terminology to justify their condemnations of Israel.

The majority of NGO UPR submissions grossly distort the humanitarian, human rights and international legal dimensions of the Arab–Israeli conflict. Many of the claims provided no sources, or were contradicted by other NGO claims. Statements made by NGOs with documented credibility problems such as Yesh Din<sup>55</sup> and PHR-I were repeated and cited without question.<sup>56</sup> Assertions of “institutionalized racism” by the Badil/Ittijah Coalition,<sup>57</sup> Amnesty, Adalah, and HRW failed to acknowledge the context of Palestinian violence against Israeli citizens.

Israel’s review on May 5 and 6, 2009 at the CAT included similar NGO influence and rhetoric. In addition to submitted statements, accredited NGOs are entitled to have one-hour private meetings with committee members prior to the CAT country review session.<sup>58</sup> This gives accredited NGOs considerable influence over the content of the report.

Many of the NGO submissions to CAT dealt with issues unrelated to torture. Amnesty’s submissions addressed “settlement policy,” “checkpoints,” the “Fence/Wall,” and the “blockade of Gaza.”<sup>59</sup> In similar language, Yesh Din alleged that Israel’s judicial system was “designed to obtain mass convictions as quickly and efficiently as possible, in aid of the occupation.”<sup>60</sup> The Union Against Torture Coalition (UAT), comprising fourteen NGOs, focused on the “Gaza siege” and allegations related to house demolitions.<sup>61</sup> PCATI’s material charged Israel with “deliberate and indiscriminate” attacks on civilians during the Gaza War, but not torture. PCATI officials acknowledged that these topics “do not per se fall under the Convention” (referring to the 1984 UN document prohibiting torture).

As in the case of other UN bodies, the CAT report reflected NGO submissions and lobbying, including the allegations of degrading treatment at checkpoints, undue delays, and denial of entry. The inclusion of these unrelated topics in the final



recommendations highlights the immediate impact of NGO statements regarding accusations against Israel.<sup>62</sup>

This is not to imply that Israel does not have problematic internal issues beyond the Palestinian conflict. However, these human rights NGOs devote very few resources to the areas of human trafficking, migrant workers, poverty and children's rights. Many of their statements consist of one-sided condemnations of Israel, and ignore Israel's international legal obligation under Security Council Resolution 1373 (2001) to fight terrorism and its financing.

### **NGOs and the 2009 Durban Review Conference: An Example for the Future**

In 2008, planning began for the "Durban Review Conference" (DRC) scheduled for April 2009. Again headed by Libya and Iran, with the support of the OIC, the expectation was that this would repeat and expand on the 2001 conference.<sup>63</sup> In these activities, the NGO network sought to play a central role, which included the promotion of an NGO Forum modeled on the original Durban experience.<sup>64</sup>

In the preparatory committee session in October 2008, Badil accused Israel of "systematic ethnic cleansing," "institutionalized racial discrimination,"<sup>65</sup> "war crimes and crimes against humanity committed against the 1.5 million Palestinians living in the Occupied Territories."<sup>66</sup> The Arab Commission for Human Rights (ACHR) labeled Israel barbaric and accused it of "despotism" and operating a "concentration camp" in Gaza.<sup>67</sup> Israel and Jewish NGOs were often unable to participate in these preparatory meetings which were held on important Jewish holidays.<sup>68</sup>

However, the 2001 experience, particularly with respect to the NGO Forum, led some governments to reconsider the framework for the 2009 Conference. In January 2008, the Canadian government (led by the Conservatives, who were in opposition during the 2001 conference) declared that it would not participate in Durban II. A number of other governments, such as Australia, expressed similar concerns,<sup>69</sup> and in November, Israel announced it would not attend, followed in early 2009 by the United States, Italy, Holland, and others. *The Daily Telegraph* opined that the conference was likely to "be little more than a celebration of the alliance between anti-Western leftists and Islamists."<sup>70</sup> In contrast, a number of NGOs expressed sharp opposition to these policies. HRW condemned the delegations for "undermining the conference," arguing that there was "no justification for the decision."<sup>71</sup>

The intense debate concerning the role of NGOs in this process and the sharp criticism of the 2001 experience led to a decision against holding an NGO Forum in the 2009 Durban Review Conference, held in Geneva. On this issue, the delegates and UN officials agreed not to provide official support for this activity, and major NGO funders, including the Ford Foundation and the Canadian government, adopted similar policies. A UN official noted the “grotesque behavior of some anti-Israel NGOs”<sup>72</sup> in explaining the decision. As a result, the NGO role and influence in the Review Conference was relatively minor and restricted largely to off-site gatherings that were sparsely attended.<sup>73</sup>

### **Assessing the Impact of NGO Influence in the UN**

As demonstrated, there is widespread cooperation between NGOs claiming to promote human rights and international law and the anti-Israel agendas of a number of UN frameworks. Acting together as transnational advocacy networks, the powerful NGO network has led or contributed to numerous condemnations, in accordance with the Durban strategy, aimed at the complete international isolation of Israel. The small number of NGOs that present different perspectives and analyses are largely shut out of the process.

While NGO campaigns and UN condemnations are sometimes dismissed as having little consequence in terms of “hard power” dimensions—security, weapons and military technology, intelligence, economic factors, etc.—the overall impact of this form of soft power is significant. The 2001 Durban NGO Forum declaration, proclaiming the goal of “the complete international isolation” of Israel, highlights this linkage.

The 2009 Goldstone report and its recommendations, which emphasize the close cooperation between NGOs and Islamic bloc in the UN, led to accelerated efforts for sanctions against Israel, including arms embargoes.

Similarly, attempts to open proceedings against Israeli officials in the framework of the (ICC) are part of this process. In parallel, the BDS movement that also draws on the UN and NGO agenda threatens to expand the hard-power impact.

One central means of countering the impact of soft-power warfare is to apply the practice of “naming and shaming” to the NGOs that exploit moral claims in order to promote immoral agendas—particularly in the political warfare against Israel. Indeed, the greatly reduced role for NGOs at the 2009 Durban Review conference reflects their seriously diminished reputation as moral watchdogs and supporters of universal principles. Similarly, recent exposés of NGO behavior

that are inconsistent with their claimed ethical guidelines — specifically in the cases of HRW and Amnesty International — further highlight this issue.<sup>74</sup>

Groups with agendas that violate the essence of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights and completely ignore the Genocide Convention in their limited reports on Iran, will face a loss of legitimacy. The political and ideological biases of the Israeli and Palestinian NGOs that have been active in political warfare have also become the subject of informed criticism and serious debate.

The power of anti-Israel NGOs, which is provided by their funding sources, should be addressed directly. As documented by NGO Monitor, the European Union and most Western European countries, including Norway and Switzerland are major sources of funding, often through highly secretive processes. With the revelations of systematic violations of good governance norms in NGO funding processes, as well as awareness of the absence of independent evaluations, pressures for reducing resources provided by these governments can be expected to increase. At the same time, the long overdue oversight and accountability mechanisms will insure that NGO abuses are curtailed. More generally, the key to defeating the combined UN-NGO soft-power warfare rests on identifying the major weaknesses in the offensive forces, and applying the appropriate counter-strategies.

## Notes

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<sup>1</sup> United Nations Economic and Social Council, “List of non-governmental organizations in consultative status with the Economic and Social Council,” October 17, 2007, E/2007/INF/4; December 12, 2009, <http://esa.un.org/coordination/ngo/new/INF2007.pdf>.

United Nations Human Rights Council, [www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/hrcouncil/](http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/hrcouncil/).

<sup>2</sup> United Nations Human Rights Council, [www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/hrcouncil/](http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/hrcouncil/).

<sup>3</sup> UN Committee on the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, December 15, 2009, <http://www.un.org/Depts/dpa/qpalnew/committee.htm>.

<sup>4</sup> Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, December 12, 2009, [www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cerd/](http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cerd/).

<sup>5</sup> World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia, and Related Intolerance, August 31–September 7, 2001, <http://www.un.org/WCAR/>.

<sup>6</sup> Ann M. Florini, “Who Does What? Collective Action and the Changing Nature of Authority,” in Richard A. Higgott, Geoffrey R.D. Underhill, and Andreas Bieler (eds.), *Non-State Actors and Authority in the Global System* (London, 1999).

- <sup>7</sup> Noam Chomsky, *Peace in the Middle East* (New York, 1974) and *World Orders Old and New* (New York, 1994).
- <sup>8</sup> Volker Heins, *Nongovernmental Organizations in International Society* (New York, 2008), p. 24.
- <sup>9</sup> Joseph S. Nye, Jr., "Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics," *Public Affairs* (2004), x.
- <sup>10</sup> Robert C. Blitt, "Who Will Watch the Watchdogs? Human Rights NGOs and the Case for Regulation," *Buffalo Human Rights Law Review*, X (2004), 290–291.
- <sup>11</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>12</sup> Human rights organizations estimated the number of dead at close to 1,400 Palestinians, including more than 1,000 civilians, and the wounded at more than 5,000. According to government figures, Palestinian deaths totaled 1,166, including 295 noncombatant deaths. The discrepancy over civilian deaths largely centered on whether the 248 Hamas police officers killed were considered civilians.
- <sup>13</sup> Officially, the Organization of the Islamic Conference.
- <sup>14</sup> Amnesty International, "Statements and press releases issued by Amnesty International during the 58th Session of the UN Commission On Human Rights," April 2002, [www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/IOR41/021/2002/en/c7ca49b0-d802-11dd-9df8-936c90684588/ior410212002en.pdf](http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/IOR41/021/2002/en/c7ca49b0-d802-11dd-9df8-936c90684588/ior410212002en.pdf), p. 39.
- <sup>15</sup> United Nations, "Report of the Secretary-General prepared pursuant to General Assembly resolution ES-10/10," [www.un.org/peace/jenin/](http://www.un.org/peace/jenin/).
- <sup>16</sup> Shlomo Shamir, "UN Human Rights Council makes Israel permanent agenda item," *Haaretz*, June 20, 2007.
- <sup>17</sup> Submission to the UNHRC, "Working Groups on Minorities, 11th session, May 30–June 5, 2005," [www2.ohchr.org/english/issues/minorities/docs/11/Mossawa\\_3a.doc](http://www2.ohchr.org/english/issues/minorities/docs/11/Mossawa_3a.doc).
- <sup>18</sup> Roselle Tekiner, "Race and the Issue of National Identity in Israel," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, XXIII: 1 (1991), 39–55.
- <sup>19</sup> Gerald Steinberg (ed.), "The NGO Front in the Gaza War," *NGO Monitor Monograph Series*, February 2009, [http://www.ngo-monitor.org/data/images/File/NGO\\_Front\\_Gaza.pdf](http://www.ngo-monitor.org/data/images/File/NGO_Front_Gaza.pdf).
- <sup>20</sup> UNHRC Ninth Special Session, Oral Statements, Monday, January 12, 2009, portal. [www.ohchr.org/portal/page/portal/HRCExtranet/9thSpecialSession/Oralstatements/120109](http://www.ohchr.org/portal/page/portal/HRCExtranet/9thSpecialSession/Oralstatements/120109), username: hrc extranet; password: 1session.
- <sup>21</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>22</sup> UNHRC Ninth Special Session, Jan. 8, 2009, [unispal.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/0/DC9AD14F2973AC668525753C006CE580](http://unispal.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/0/DC9AD14F2973AC668525753C006CE580).
- <sup>23</sup> Human Rights Watch, "Rockets from Gaza," [www.hrw.org/en/reports/2009/08/06/rockets-gaza-0](http://www.hrw.org/en/reports/2009/08/06/rockets-gaza-0).
- <sup>24</sup> Video of Hamas boasting about using woman and children as human shields, January 2009, [www.mererhetoric.com/archives/11275301.html](http://www.mererhetoric.com/archives/11275301.html).
- <sup>25</sup> Steinberg, op. cit.
- <sup>26</sup> Human Rights Watch, "DR Congo: Lord's Resistance Army Rampage Kills 321,

- March 28, 2010," [www.hrw.org/en/news/2010/03/28/dr-congo-lord-s-resistance-army-rampage-kills-321](http://www.hrw.org/en/news/2010/03/28/dr-congo-lord-s-resistance-army-rampage-kills-321).
- <sup>27</sup> "Submission of Human Rights Organizations based in Israel to the Goldstone Inquiry Delegation, June 2009," [www.adalah.org/newsletter/eng/jun09/goldstone%20report\\_and\\_appendix%5b1%5d.pdf](http://www.adalah.org/newsletter/eng/jun09/goldstone%20report_and_appendix%5b1%5d.pdf).
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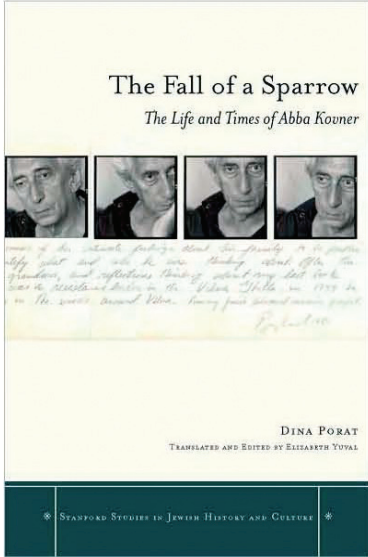
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