Palestinian Activists at Human Rights Watch

Gerald M. Steinberg and Maayan Rockland

Mideast Security and Policy Studies No. 177
Palestinian Activists at Human Rights Watch

Gerald M. Steinberg and Maayan Rockland
Palestinian Activists at Human Rights Watch

Gerald M. Steinberg and Maayan Rockland
Research assistance provided by Ohad Merlin
The Begin-Sadat (BESA) Center for Strategic Studies

The Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies is an independent, non-partisan think tank conducting policy-relevant research on Middle Eastern and global strategic affairs, particularly as they relate to the national security and foreign policy of Israel and regional peace and stability. It is named in memory of Menachem Begin and Anwar Sadat, whose efforts in pursuing peace laid the cornerstone for conflict resolution in the Middle East.

BESA Perspectives are short pieces on timely and fundamental Israeli, Middle Eastern, and global issues. Mideast Security and Policy Studies serve as a forum for publication or re-publication of research conducted by BESA associates. Colloquia on Strategy and Diplomacy summarize the papers delivered at conferences and seminars held by the Center for the academic, military, official, and general publics. In sponsoring these discussions, the BESA Center aims to stimulate public debate on, and consideration of, contending approaches to problems of peace and war in the Middle East. The Policy Memorandum series consists of policy-oriented papers. Publication of a work by BESA signifies that it is deemed worthy of public consideration but does not imply endorsement of the author’s views or conclusions. A list of recent BESA Center publications can be found at the end of this booklet.

International Advisory Board

Founder of the Center and Chairman of the Advisory Board: Dr. Thomas O. Hecht
Vice Chairman: Mr. Saul Koschitzky

International Academic Advisory Board

Prof. Ian Beckett University of Kent, Prof. Eliot A. Cohen Johns Hopkins University, Prof. Irwin Cotler McGill University, Prof. Steven R. David Johns Hopkins University, Prof. Lawrence Freedman King’s College, Prof. Patrick James University of Southern California, Dr. Martin Kramer Shalem College, Prof. Robert J. Lieber Georgetown University, Prof. Michael Mandelbaum Johns Hopkins University

Research Staff

BESA Center Director: Prof. Efraim Karsh
Research Associates: Mr. Emil Avdaliani, Dr. Efrat Aviv, Lt. Col. (res.) Dr. Shaul Bartal, Mr. Edwin Black, Dr. Yael Bloch-Elkon, Col. (res.) Dr. Raphael Bouchnik-Chen, Brig. Gen. (res.) Moni Chorev, Dr. Edy Cohen, Dr. James Dorsey, Dr. Gil Feiler, Prof. Jonathan Fox, Prof. Hillel Frisch, Dr. Manfred Gerstenfeld, Prof. Eytan Gilboa, Dr. Gabriel Glickman, Maj. Gen. (res.) Gershon Hacohen, Col. (res.) Aby Har-Even, Dr. Eado Hecht, Dr. Tsilla Hershco, Dr. Doron Itzchakov, Dr. Alex Joffe, Lt. Col. (res.) Dr. Mordechai Kedar, Mr. Yaakov Lappin, Prof. Udi Lebel, Dr. Alon Levkowitz, Prof. Ze’ev Maghen, Dr. Mark Meirowitz, Ambassador Arye Mekel, Lt. Col. (res.) Dr. Raphael Ofek, Mr. Amir Rapaport, Dr. Asaf Romirowsky, Col. (res.) Dr. Uzi Rubin, Prof. Jonathan Rynhold, Prof. Shmuel Sandler, Dr. Yechiel Shabiy, Dr. Eitan Shamir, Lt. Col. (res.) Dr. Dany Shoham, Prof. Shlomo Shpiro, Prof. Joshua Teitelbaum, Dr. George N. Tzogopoulos, Dr. Jiri Valenta, Dr. Albert Wolf

Program Coordinator: Alona Briner
Publications Editor (English): Judith Levy
Palestinian Activists at Human Rights Watch

Gerald M. Steinberg and Maayan Rockland
Research assistance provided by Ohad Merlin

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In theory, the officials, researchers, and analysts working in the area of human rights are committed to unbiased, politically neutral reporting. Their credibility as watchdogs is based on a non-discriminatory approach, as specified under criteria in United Nations documents and published by the International Bar Association and the Raoul Wallenberg Institute.

In practice, these words often stand in sharp contrast to the activities and biased agendas of these institutions. Professor Michael Ignatieff notes that many NGOs “espouse the universalist language of human rights but actually use it to defend highly particularist causes: the rights of particular national groups or minorities or classes of persons.” As an example, Ignatieff notes that “[P]ersons who care about human rights violations committed against Palestinians may not care so much about human rights violations committed by Palestinians against Israelis, and vice versa.” (See also Gerald M. Steinberg, Anne Herzberg, Jordan Berman, Best Practices for Human Rights and Humanitarian NGO Fact-Finding, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2012.)

This bias is characteristic of many major non-governmental organizations (NGOs) claiming human rights agendas. A prime example is Human Rights Watch, which exhibits a fundamental and consistent bias against Israel. Its bias is reflected in the disproportionate output and content of its reports, press releases, and other products. In addition, as this report demonstrates in detail, the organization has employed a number of Palestinian activists without so much as a pretense of human rights experience anchored in universality.

Gerald M. Steinberg is professor emeritus in Political Science at Bar-Ilan University. Maayan Rockland is a political science and Middle Eastern Studies student at Bar-Ilan University and a research assistant at NGO Monitor.
Following the presentation of the evidence regarding the systematic employment of biased and unqualified officials and researchers, we will consider the policy implications of this situation. The evidence of HRW’s bias has been largely ignored by many international actors whose agendas include human rights issues. In some cases, this bias is shared, such as by the UN Human Rights Council and the ICC. In addition, the Israeli government has been ambivalent in its policies regarding the organization and its employees, at times providing HRW with additional opportunities to promote its agenda.
Human Rights Watch (HRW) was founded under the name Helsinki Watch by the late Robert Bernstein in 1978, and has grown to become one of the most influential non-governmental organizations with a global reach active on this issue. As of 2019, HRW had an annual budget of $90 million, and its influence was reflected in access to and involvement in policymaking in many countries that emphasize human rights, as well as international organizations such as the United Nations and the International Criminal Court.

In 2009, Bernstein accused HRW and its head since 1993, Kenneth Roth, of losing their moral compass, particularly in the Middle East. In the wake of Judge Richard Goldstone’s renunciation of his own UN report on the Gaza conflict, Bernstein told Roth to follow this example and “issue his own mea culpa.”

Roth did not respond, other than to increase his disproportionate focus on and personal hostility to Israel. As Jonathan Foreman observed (“The Twitter Hypocrisy of Kenneth Roth,” Commentary, September 1, 2014), “it often feels as if Roth has a religious sense of mission regarding Israel; it’s his crusade. He responds with particular, extraordinary ferocity to any and all skeptical questioning of himself and the organization concerning Israel. HRW is of course not alone in subjecting Israel to disproportionate attention and particularly hostile scrutiny.”

Roth hired Sarah Leah Whitson in 2004 as Director of the Middle East and North Africa division of HRW, where she remained until January 2020. Whitson’s anti-Israel political agenda was reflected in her participation in boycott campaigns, the “research reports” she co-authored and supervised, and her media interviews and opinion pieces. In May 2009, Whitson went to Saudi Arabia seeking donors, emphasizing HRW’s “work on Israel and Gaza, which depleted HRW’s budget for the region,” and the need to stand up to “pro-Israel pressure groups” which, she declared, “strongly resisted the [Goldstone] report and tried to discredit it.”

Whitson often echoed classic antisemitic tropes and Jewish conspiracy theories, particularly on Twitter. In January 2015, she commented on the US Holocaust
Museum’s display of “death and torture in Syria,” stating that the Holocaust Museum should “also show pics of death and destruction in #Gaza”. Recently, in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic, Whitson posted a tweet referring to Israeli quarantine measures, which some had used for political purposes by comparing it to the Gaza counter-terror blockade. In her tweet, Whitson invoked the classic blood libel: “Such a tiny taste. Missing a tablespoon of blood.” Following intense criticism, she attempted to explain and then deleted the post.

Under Whitson’s direction, HRW employed an “Israel and Palestine director”—a higher-level position with no parallel among the other countries covered by the MENA division, highlighting HRW’s disproportionate emphasis on this issue. The director, in turn, is in charge of additional staffers HRW employs to promote its uniquely intense focus on this conflict and on Israel in particular.

Omar Shakir, an experienced anti-Israel advocate, was hired by HRW for this position in October 2016. Shakir received an Israeli work visa as a “human rights expert”, allowing him to expand his BDS and other propaganda activities from within Israel. This campaign had three closely linked points of focus: pressuring (or threatening) high-visibility businesses like California-based Airbnb to sign up to the boycott; getting Israel banned from FIFA, the international football (soccer) association; and lobbying the UN Human Rights Council for publication of a “blacklist” of businesses allegedly “in support of the occupation”.

Citing these and other activities as evidence, Israeli courts, including the High Court of Justice, affirmed that Shakir had violated the terms of his work visa as a “human rights expert” and was not entitled to a renewal. In November 2019, Shakir departed for Jordan, accompanied by Roth and a number of HRW officials, including a media team, and decrying what they referred to as Israeli suppression of free speech and an attack on democracy.

HRW’s Palestinian “researchers and consultants”

In addition to these highly visible staff members, HRW’s Israel-focused operation, led by Whitson and Shakir, also employs a number of dedicated Palestinian political advocates as “researchers and consultants” whose biases and participation in campaigns are also blatant violations of neutrality norms in human rights research. Khulood Badawi, Abier al-Masri, and Zena Al Tahhan are deeply committed to the Palestinian narrative and cause, acting primarily as focused activists and not as researchers or promoters of universal human rights.

Khulood Badawi

Khulood Badawi is listed by Human Rights Watch as a Consultant for Israel and East Jerusalem. She was born in Nazareth, Israel, and identifies herself as Israeli, Muslim, and Palestinian. At Haifa University, she studied Arabic Literature and History of the Jewish People, and was highly involved in political activism including
as head of the Arab Student Union. According to *Haaretz*, Badawi was banned from entering the university for two years for organizing illegal demonstrations.

Badawi’s brief biographical note on the HRW website claims that she has “over 18 years of professional experience in human rights, humanitarian affairs, media and communications”, and lists her work with the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA-oPt). Not surprisingly, the note omits the fact that in 2013, Badawi reportedly lost her job after tweeting a graphic photo of a Palestinian father carrying his young bleeding daughter, claiming the girl had been killed by an IDF strike the night before. She tweeted: “#PHOTO: Palestine is bleeding. Another child killed by #Israel. Another father carrying his child to a grave in #Gaza.” After the photo was widely circulated on social media, it was shown to be a Reuters image from a 2006 car accident and unrelated to Israel. Badawi posted a short tweet a week later claiming she had not realized that the photo was from 2006, but did not issue an apology.

This background did not prevent HRW from employing her to author and contribute to analyses that condemn Israel. One “dispatch” from 2017 focused on the trial of Issa Amro and Farid al-Atrash in a West Bank military court on charges of “entering a closed military zone,” “incitement,” and “obstructing an officer.” The clashes took place in Hebron—one of the most sensitive and violence-prone sites inhabited by both Jewish Israelis and Palestinians. Badawi completely ignores the city’s history and background while labeling Amro and Farid al-Atrash as “human rights defenders” without any grounds other than the fact that both are Palestinian. Her allegiance to the narrative is clearly stated: “Sitting in the courtroom, I couldn’t escape feeling that Amro and al-Atrash were on trial for trying to bring a sense of normalcy back to their city and pushing back against entrenched Israeli discrimination…”

In an example from early 2020, Badawi wrote a piece headlined “COVID-19 Restrictions Offer Window into Palestinian Experience: Movement Restrictions, Family Separation Daily Reality for Millions of Palestinians,” again reflecting the propaganda aspect of her contribution to HRW. As in her other work, this piece also contains no mention of the history of terror and conflict. The only hint she provides is in an entirely unsupported claim that “Israel’s closure of Gaza...is vastly disproportionate to any concrete security threat…”

As a “researcher” at HRW, Badawi contributed to HRW’s December 17, 2019 publication, “Born Without Civil Rights: Israel’s Use of Draconian Military Orders to Repress Palestinians in the West Bank,” in which Omar Shakir was lead author. The main accusation is that Israel uses military law to ban “hostile organizations.” Many of the examples are individuals who, as detailed in independent analysis, had been convicted of incitement, terror financing, and membership in terrorist organizations, including Hamas, Hezbollah, and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP).
In parallel, Badawi’s social media posts on Twitter and Facebook consistently reflect an overt pro-Palestine and anti-Israel bias. For example, on December 13, 2018, Badawi tweeted about a clash in which a number of Israelis had been killed and injured, with a link to the Haaretz article that reported on the incident. Badawi omitted all references to the Palestinian terror attack that had triggered the clash. The full tweet reads: “2 Israeli soldiers were killed, and another soldier and an Israeli settler woman were seriously wounded today in a shooting near the settlement of Ofra, located in occupied #Ramallah district. #Palestine #Israel #oPt.”

These and many similar examples reveal Badawi to be a committed Palestinian activist, in sharp contrast to the normative model of a politically neutral research-oriented promoter of human rights. Her consistent omission of Palestinian terrorism in her writings and posts disqualifies her from claiming to engage in credible fact-finding.

Abier al-Masri

Abier al-Masri is listed by Human Rights Watch as a research assistant for the Gaza Strip in the MENA Division and as an “expert” on Israel/Palestine. Her first HRW publication is from July 2016, which coincides with Omar Shakir’s employment by the organization. Al-Masri is a Palestinian from Gaza with a BA degree from al-Azhar University in 2009 in English Language and Literature. She has worked as an interpreter for journalists and as an English teacher at foreign and local nonprofits in Gaza. There is no evidence that she possesses any experience that would qualify her as a human rights researcher or expert.

At HRW, al-Masri has published a number of “commentaries” and op-eds, including one that appeared in the Los Angeles Times in 2017 under the heading “In Gaza, we get four hours of electricity a day—if we’re lucky.” The article presented the situation as, for the most part, Israel’s responsibility, telling American readers, “Israel’s bombings of power plants, its closing of the Gaza border in 2007 and fallout from the split between the Palestinian Authority and Hamas, which governs Gaza, have meant chronic power outages.”

As with other HRW products on Israel, the terror attacks (and their victims) that triggered the Israeli response are erased. Ten years after the Israeli withdrawal, she repeats the fiction that “As the occupying power, Israel bears responsibility under international law to facilitate normal life for the people of Gaza.”

In an op-ed published by Reuters under the headline “At 31, My First Glimpse of Life Outside Gaza” (March 2018), al-Masri presents a moving personal story of being trapped, again blaming Israel without acknowledging the facts. She wrote: “Israel imposed a land, air and sea blockade on Gaza in 2007, including a generalized ban on travel, and has kept Gaza mostly closed ever since.” Similar posts on the HRW website include “Israeli Forces Kill Gaza Fisherman at Sea” (June 18, 2017) and “Israel’s Eurovision: ‘Dare to Dream’ Unless You’re Caged in Gaza” (May 16, 2019),
which was part of a failed attempt to organize a boycott of the international song festival held in Israel.

Al-Masri’s social media posts strongly reflect an emphasis on Palestinian political activism and advocacy. For example, on September 30, 2017, she tweeted, “On the 17th remembrance day of the second Al-Aqsa Intifada...may Palestine get closer to freedom every year”. The Al-Aqsa Intifada (which has many other names, including “Arafat’s war”) was waged through large-scale Palestinian terror attacks targeting Israelis in buses, restaurants, and hotels. Over 1,000 Israelis were killed and many more wounded. Celebration of this horror is hardly consistent with human rights values.

In March 2017, al-Masri posted a series of tweets praising Basel al-A’raj, a terrorist leader killed by the IDF during a violent exchange. According to the IDF, Al-A’raj was active in purchasing the weapons used in the terror attacks. Masri tweeted and retweeted pictures of Al-A’raj, as well as Al-A’raj’s will, stating, “Peace be upon your pure spirit.” In his will, A’raj writes: “All the wills of the Shahids... do not quench our thirst in the search for the question of the Martyr... is there anything more eloquent than the Martyr’s deeds?”

In 2017, al-Masri was also active in support of a high-profile media campaign seeking to focus attention on a hunger strike by Palestinian terrorists held in Israeli jails. She promoted Marwan Barghouti, found guilty for killing five Israelis and on an additional count of attempted murder. Al-Masri’s tweet reads: “Bargouthi’s health seriously deteriorates #DignityStrike.” Another post focused on Ahmad Saadat, commander of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) terrorist organization, as designated by the governments of the US, Canada, the EU, and Israel. Saadat was convicted in the murder of Israeli minister Rehavam Ze’evi in 2001.

As even this small sample demonstrates, Abier al-Masri is a Palestinian activist. Her employment by HRW as a research assistant is another example of the organization’s deep bias as reflected in the “experts” it employs.

Zena Al Tahhan

Zena Al Tahhan is a research assistant for the West Bank and East Jerusalem for HRW. Like Badawi, she contributed to HRW’s December 17, 2019 tendentious publication, "Without Civil Rights: Israel’s Use of Draconian Military Orders to Repress Palestinians in the West Bank.”

As in the case of both Badawi and al-Masri, Al Tahhan’s Twitter posts reflect deep involvement and experience in propaganda, political activism, and acceptance if not endorsement of terror and violence. In January 2015, for example, she compared the terror attack on the offices of the Charlie Hebdo magazine in Paris, which killed 17, to the “Battle of Shuja’iyya” during the 2014 Gaza war (Operation Protective Edge). The translation of her tweet is: “17 died and they called it a massacre...120 were slaughtered [while fighting] courageously and they called it a battle.” She called the
use of the term “massacre” to refer to the Charlie Hebdo attack a “hypocrisy.” In October 2016, she posted two tweets appearing to justify attacks that killed Israeli civilian Levana Malikhi and police officer Yossi Kirmah. In one tweet, Al Tahhan wrote, “Misbah Abu Sbeih’s family tell me he was terrorized by the Israeli occupation,” and in the second, “Family of Palestinian who shot and killed two Israelis say he was pressured by occupation, barred from praying at Al Aqsa.” And like al-Masri, Al Tahhan posted a tweet sympathizing with Basel al-Araj: “#Basel al-Araj is a reminder to the world that after 69 yrs of injustice & dispossession #Palestinians will not remain silent.” The hashtag reads: “Basil the revolutionary.”

On January 28, 2018, Al Tahhan posted a tweet quoting Israa Ja’abis, who was injured while detonating a gas canister at a checkpoint in 2015. Ja’abis had planned a major bombing inside Jerusalem but was stopped by a policeman for suspicious driving. When the officer approached, she yelled “Allahu Akbar” and detonated the explosive, injuring the policeman and herself. Al Tahhan’s tweet, starting with the quote from Ja’abis, read: “’I feel scared when I look at my face in the mirror, so imagine what others must feel when they look at me.’ Heartbreaking story of Israa Ja’abi.”

In another example of her Palestinian activism, on March 31, 2018, Al Tahhan tweeted a reference to Israeli PM Netanyahu’s statement on clashes along the Gaza border prior to the Passover holiday. Netanyahu said, “Well done to our soldiers who are guarding the state’s borders and allowing the citizens of Israel to celebrate the holiday in peace,” which Al Tahhan turned into: “#Netanyahu thanks his army for massacring #Palestinians so that Israelis can ‘celebrate the holiday [Passover] peacefully.’ #Gaza @GreatReturnMarch.”

Recommendations

Given HRW’s unambiguous bias against Israel, as reflected by the words of its officials and researchers and their influence in the media, at the UN, and elsewhere, it would make sense for the Israeli government to have a clear and consistent policy regarding the organization and its employees.

However, to date, Israeli behavior toward HRW has been ad hoc and erratic. For many years, the Israeli government—particularly the Foreign Ministry, the IDF, and the Ministry of Justice—have paid little or no attention to either HRW specifically or NGOs in general. Their policy was “We deal with governments, not NGOs,” reflecting a lack of understanding of the ways organizations like HRW shape perceptions of Israel both directly and indirectly. That influence is spread through the media and among foreign officials and institutions, and has a significant influence on policies.

This began to change with the 2009 Goldstone report on the Gaza conflict, which opened the door to ICC investigations, but the Israeli response was too late and too narrow to have an impact. HRW’s role in the process triggered some interest in the
organization, but that interest was short-lived. Throughout the period, as different officials came and went in the relevant government offices, the biases and antisemitism that drove the agendas of Roth, Whitson, and others in the organization continued to demonize Israel, without a significant response. In some cases, officials were careful to avoid being seen as opposing “civil society organizations,” reflecting the automatic esteem such groups are often automatically granted by Western elites, including Western European diplomats.

By 2016, when Omar Shakir applied for an Israeli work visa, the government’s initial rejection and explanation, citing in part evidence from the relatively new Ministry of Strategic Affairs, reflected an understanding that HRW was a major leader in different forms of political warfare against Israel. But without explanation, the decision was reversed and Shakir’s application was approved, and a Foreign Ministry diplomat was sent to meet him at the airport. A few months later, responding to evidence presented by NGO Monitor and a court action brought by a civil society organization (Shurat HaDin) arguing that Shakir had violated the terms of his visa, the Interior Ministry announced that it would not be extended. But once he was in the country, Shakir and HRW used the Israeli court process, which dragged out over two years, to highlight the “attempt to silence legitimate criticism,” using the term they used in the campaign and echoed by European diplomats. Roth came to Israel twice (without interference) to add to the visibility of the campaign to demonize Israel over this issue. The entire episode reinforced the delegitimization of Israel and highlighted the absence of a coherent policy.

Regarding the Gaza-based “researchers” Badawi, al-Masri, and Al Tahhan, although the Israeli government cannot prevent HRW from employing active supporters of conflict, Israeli officials tasked with combating demonization should make the relevant audiences aware of this fundamental contradiction between the norms and HRW’s actual behavior.

In parallel, it is important to counter the soft-power influence HRW enjoys among liberal government officials, particularly in Western Europe, and in international institutions such as the UN Human Rights Council and the International Criminal Court. To be effective, this strategy should include transmission of detailed information on the deep bias and lack of credibility under the facade of researching and promoting a universal and neutral “human rights” agenda.
Recent BESA Center Publications

Mideast Security and Policy Studies

No. 153  China's Military Base in Djibouti, Mordechai Chaziza, August 2018
No. 154  The Oslo Disaster Revisited: How It Happened, Efraim Karsh, September 2018
No. 155  The "Separation Fence": A Political Border in a Security Guise, Gershon Hacohen, October 2018 (Hebrew only)
No. 156  The North Korean Air Force: A Declining or Evolving Threat? Noam Hartoch and Alon Levkowitz, October 2018
No. 157  The 1981 AWACS Deal: AIPAC and Israel Challenge Reagan, Arnon Gutfeld, November 2018
No. 158  Pakistan and Its Militants: Who Is Mainstreaming Whom? James M. Dorsey, November 2018
No. 159  American Jews and Their Israel Problem, Kenneth Levin, December 2018
No. 160  The West Bank's Area C: Israel's Vital Line of Defense, Gershon Hacohen, January 2019 (Hebrew) April 2019 (English)
No. 161  The Islamic State's Religious Nationalism: Challenging the Existing International Order, Galit Truman Zinman, April 2019 (Hebrew only)
No. 162  Israeli Nuclear Deterrence in Context: Effects of the US-Russian Rivalry, Louis René Beres, June 2019
No. 163  A Geopolitical Crossfire: Al Azhar Struggles to Balance Politics and Tradition, Dr. James M. Dorsey, August 2019
No. 164  EU Funding of Illegal Palestinian Settlement in Area C, Edwin Black, September 2019
No. 165  What Happens to Israel If the US and Israel Go to War? Louis René Beres, September 2019
No. 166  Trump’s Trade Wars: A New World Order? James M. Dorsey, November 2019
No. 167  Land Combat Vehicles: Protection Comes First, Maxi Blum, November 2019
No. 168  The Soleimani Killing: An Initial Assessment, Hillel Frisch, Eytan Gilboa, Gershon Hacohen, Doron Itzchakov, and Alex Joffe, January 2020
No. 169  Iranian Missiles and Its Evolving "Rings of Fire", Uzi Rubin, January 2020
No. 170  Operation "Shahid Soleimani": Iran’s Revenge, Uzi Rubin, February 2020
No. 171  The Coronavirus Crisis: Origins and the Way Forward, Hanan Shai, April 2020 (Hebrew only)
No. 172  The San Remo Conference 100 Years On: How the Jewish National Home Entered International Law, Efraim Karsh, April 2020
No. 173  The Coronavirus Pandemic: Getting Back to Normal while Controlling the Disease, Maxi Blum, May 2020
No. 174  Coronavirus, China, and the Middle East, Mordechai Chaziza, June 2020
No. 175  The Trump Peace Plan: Aiming Not to Make a Deal but to Make a Deal Possible, Douglas J. Feith and Lewis Libby, July 2020
No. 176  The COVID-19 Crisis: Impact and Implications, Efraim Karsh, ed., July 2020
No. 177  Palestinian Activists at Human Rights Watch, Gerald M. Steinberg and Maayan Rockland, July 2020

www.besacenter.org