



FROM WATCHDOGS TO IDEOLOGUES

HOW POLITICIZED UN RAPORTEURS ARE SUBVERTING HUMAN RIGHTS

From Watchdogs to Ideologues

**How Politicized UN Rapporteurs
Are Subverting Human Rights**

ABOUT UN WATCH

Founded in 1993, UN Watch is a non-governmental organization based in Geneva, Switzerland that monitors the United Nations by the yardstick of its charter

and protects human rights worldwide. For more information, please visit our website: www.unwatch.org.

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Executive Summary

In November 2006, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan described the system of Special Procedures as “the crown jewel of the UN human rights system.”¹ Nearly two decades later, that jewel has lost much of its luster—tarnished by politicization, disregard for impartiality, and a complete failure of accountability to minimal norms and professional standards.

The Human Rights Council today maintains 59 Special Procedures mandates²—46 dealing with global themes, and 13 addressing specific countries—an increase of nearly 30% from when the Council was created in 2006.³ Although Special Procedures are unsalaried, they receive certain financial support when carrying out official duties, including UN funding for country visits, as well as training, staffing support, and other institutional resources.⁴

Mandate-holders are granted a global platform from which to issue UN press releases, hold press conferences, and publish UN reports. While their findings are not legally binding, they can significantly shape public debate, influence UN discussions, and inform how governments, media, and civil society interpret a wide range of policy issues and alleged human rights violations. Their reports are widely treated as credible and authoritative by institutions such as the International Court of Justice and the International Criminal Court, as well as by governments, media outlets, universities, and civil society actors worldwide.

Reports by the Special Procedures “have a weighty doctrinal authority,” according to the European Center for Law and Justice (ECLJ), and are “very often referenced by national and international bodies, in particular by courts.”⁵ As of 2021, the ECLJ had identified 140 judgments of the European Court of Human Rights referring to reports by the Special Procedures, as well as numerous references in the judgments of the Inter-American Court.⁶ Their influence is therefore significant.

Mandate-holders are treated by leading institutions as neutral experts and are regularly invited to address prestigious international forums and academic institutions. Significantly, the UN affiliation enables them to leverage that authority across social media and international media appearances, where their statements are presented as reflecting the voice or expertise of the United Nations. Though their UN press statements carry a footnote indicating that the experts are “independent,” their remarks are routinely cited as representing the United Nations organization as a whole.

Yet, like the body that appoints them—the 47-member Human Rights Council, a majority of whose members are non-democracies—the Special Procedures have become politicized. The mechanism increasingly functions not as an independent human rights safeguard, but as a vehicle for ideological advocacy, selective targeting, and the laundering of unverified and even spurious allegations through the authority of the United Nations.

Academic scholarship overwhelmingly praises the Special Procedures system. In a leading book on the UN’s Special Procedures, Ted Piccone of the Brookings Institution praises them as “catalysts for change” whose independent status enables them to play a “critical role in shaping the content of international human

1 *Annan calls on Human Rights Council to strive for unity, avoid familiar fault lines*, **UN News** (November 29, 2006), <https://news.un.org/en/story/2006/11/201202>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/gk7p8>.

2 *Special Procedures of the Human Rights Council*, **OHCHR** (Last visited January 8, 2026), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures-human-rights-council>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/nIU1J>.

3 *Expanding or Diluting Human Rights?: The Proliferation of United Nations Special Procedures Mandates*, **Human Rights Quarterly** (February 2016), https://research.reading.ac.uk/ungop/wp-content/uploads/sites/13/publications/HRQ-SP.pdf?utm_source=chatgpt.com; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/4j0wO>.

4 *Manual of Operations of the Special Procedures of the Human Rights Council*, **OHCHR** (August 2008), https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/Documents/HRBodies/SP/Manual_Operations2008.pdf; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/OTqAE>.

5 *The Financing of UN Experts in the Special Procedures of the Human Rights Council*, at p. 45, **European Center for Law and Justice** (September 2021), <https://static.eclj.org/pdf/ECLJ%20Report%20-%20THE%20FINANCING%20OF%20UN%20EXPERTS.pdf>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/rYABl>.

6 *Id.*

rights norms.”⁷ According to Piccone, the Special Procedures mechanism is “one of the most effective tools of the international human rights system,” which “deserves further strengthening and support from the international community.”⁸ He advocated increased cooperation and financial support from governments.

Similarly, NYU legal scholar Philip Alston, who himself served in multiple mandates including as the UN Special Rapporteur on extreme poverty,⁹ characterized Special Procedures as “the Council’s most effective mechanism” for responding to human rights violations and holding states to account.¹⁰ He praised their “impartiality” and contribution to interpreting international human rights norms, asserting that some of the experts’ reports had a “major impact.”¹¹

Likewise, according to American University’s Ingrid Nifosi-Sutton, the Special Procedures represent “a tremendous development in UN activity in the field of human rights” and “the climax of the legal and political empowerment” of the UN Commission on Human Rights, which was created in 1946, and then refashioned in 2006 as the Human Rights Council. She argued that the central challenge was to make UN human rights monitoring a “proper technical and effective endeavor,” a goal she concluded Special Rapporteurs ultimately achieved, particularly through country visits, reporting, and urgent appeals. According to Nifosi-Sutton, this success placed Special Procedures “at the front line of the international struggle to extend the rule of law.”¹²

This report finds, however, that the reality of the Special Procedures system increasingly diverges from the admiring scholarly assessments. Rather than operating as independent and impartial experts, many mandate-holders now use country visits and thematic reports to advance politicized narratives, disproportionately target democratic states, and shield authoritarian regimes from scrutiny. As detailed below, structural deficiencies—including politicized appointments, proliferation of mandates, weakened evidentiary standards, lack of transparency, and the absence of accountability—have eroded the credibility and integrity of the system in practice.

7 Ted Piccone, *Catalysts for Rights: The Unique Contribution of the UN’s Independent Experts on Human Rights*, at pp. viii-ix, **Brookings** (October 2010), https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/10_human_rights_piccone.pdf; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/pCSyu>.

8 *Id.*

9 Mr. Philip Alston, former Special Rapporteur (2014-2020), **OHCHR** (Last visited January 8, 2026), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures/sr-poverty/mr-philip-alston-former-special-rapporteur-2014-2020>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/AQBZ6>.

10 Philip Alston, *Hobbling the Monitors: Should U.N. Human Rights Monitors be Accountable?*, at p. 569, **Harvard International Law Journal** (March 17, 2011), <https://biblioteca.corteidh.or.cr/tablas/r29854.pdf>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/S9xRv>.

11 *Id.* at pp. 577-579.

12 Ingrid Nifosi, *The UN Special Procedures in the field of human rights. Institutional history, practice, and conceptual framework*, at pp. 132, 178, **Deusto Journal of Human Rights** (December 11, 2017), <https://djh.revistas.deusto.es/article/view/1137/1324>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/hwMA6>.

Key Findings & Methodology

This report profiles a sample of thirteen thematic Special Procedures of the Human Rights Council, based on a review of their UN statements and press releases, UN reports, UN presentations and press conferences, and open-source materials including social media, articles, interviews, and publicly available videos.

1 Systemic Anti-Western Ideological Bias

The findings reveal a pervasive pattern of anti-Western ideological bias among numerous UN Special Procedures mandate-holders, marked by hostility toward democratic states and the routine minimization or downplaying of abuses by authoritarian regimes. Rather than serving as neutral experts, many advance politicized narratives portraying the West—particularly the United States—as a principal source of global injustice, while assigning comparatively little scrutiny to repression, corruption, and violence committed by the world’s most authoritarian governments. Several openly disparage Western democratic institutions and challenge the legitimacy of international law by portraying it as a Western or colonial construct, rather than a universal framework.

The findings below document recurring features of this ideological bias:

- **Conspiratorial rhetoric and hyperbole.** Several rapporteurs employ extreme and inflammatory analogies. Irene Khan accused American universities of colluding with the U.S. government,¹³ and compared Guantanamo Bay to a gulag.¹⁴ Gina Romero likened Guantanamo Bay to a Nazi concentration camp.¹⁵ Ben Saul has labeled the United States a “dystopia”¹⁶ and Balakrishnan Rajagopal has described it as a “rogue state.”¹⁷

13 @UNGeneva, X (October 18, 2024, 6:28 AM), <https://x.com/UNGeneva/status/1847253361935942016>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/oDbAx>.

14 *Amnesty Calls Guantanamo A ‘Gulag’*, CBS News (May 25, 2005), <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/amnesty-calls-guantanamo-a-gulag/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/7Kdsd>.

15 @Ginitastar, X (January 15, 2012, 7:33 AM), <https://x.com/Ginitastar/status/158542321762308096>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/FuAwV>.

16 @profbensaul, X (June 1, 2020, 9:17 AM), <https://x.com/profbensaul/status/1267445180522614786>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/la54x>.

17 @adequatehousing, X (May 3, 2024, 6:28 PM), <https://x.com/adequatehousing/status/1786553426517569795>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/yv32d>.

- **Disproportionate social media attacks on Western states.** The social media output of Ben Saul,¹⁸ Paula Gaviria,¹⁹ Margaret Satterthwaite,²⁰ and others is dominated by criticism of the United States and Israel, while rarely addressing authoritarian regimes such as Iran, Russia, China, Venezuela, North Korea, or Cuba. The cumulative effect is to disproportionately frame Western democracies as principal sources of global injustice, while minimizing the responsibility of authoritarian regimes.
- **Distortion of international law and dissemination of misinformation.** Several rapporteurs misstate basic facts or misuse legal terminology. Tlaleng Mofokeng falsely accused the United States of occupying Haiti,²¹ while Gina Romero referred to the U.S. as a “developing country.”²² Ben Saul called for the arrest of the U.S. president and defense secretary Hegseth for “mass murder.”²³ Multiple rapporteurs—including Margaret Satterthwaite, Michael Fakhri, and Reem Alsalem—misrepresented the findings of the International Court of Justice in the genocide case against Israel.²⁴ Fakhri also falsely alleged U.S. and EU coercion of non-Western states in trade negotiations²⁵ and Mary Lawlor misquoted the circumstances surrounding NYPD arrests.²⁶
- **Ad hominem attacks and use of foul language.** Rather than engaging in legal analysis, some rapporteurs resort to personal insults. Tlaleng Mofokeng denounced former UK Prime Minister Rishi Sunak as “filthy”²⁷ and mocked former U.S. Secretary of State Antony Blinken.²⁸ Mary Lawlor called for sending U.S. President Donald Trump to the moon,²⁹ while Ben Saul labeled the United States a “gangster state.”³⁰

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- 18 See, e.g., @profbensaul, X (March 18, 2026), [https://x.com/search?q=from%3Aprofbensaul%20\(Germany%20OR%20United%20States%22%20OR%20United%20Kingdom%22%20OR%20Israel\)&src=typed_query&f=top](https://x.com/search?q=from%3Aprofbensaul%20(Germany%20OR%20United%20States%22%20OR%20United%20Kingdom%22%20OR%20Israel)&src=typed_query&f=top); Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/4ivjI>.
- 19 See, e.g., Retweeting @antoniogetherres, X (June 21, 2025, 9:54 PM), <https://x.com/antoniogetherres/status/1936603735330898368>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/GFyXg>. @PaulaGaviriaB, X (February 4, 2025, 1:14 PM), <https://x.com/PaulaGaviriaB/status/1886840883070320887>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/N8oWT>. Retweeting @NickKristof, X (September 27, 2025, 7:20 AM), <https://x.com/NickKristof/status/1971897770262089942>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/Lv5Pq>. @PaulaGaviriaB, X (October 12, 2023, 12:03 PM), <https://x.com/PaulaGaviriaB/status/1712499177068871980>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/zgMCd>. @PaulaGaviriaB, X (January 17, 2025, 2:06 PM), <https://x.com/PaulaGaviriaB/status/1880330975131095522>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/uxeba>.
- 20 See, e.g., @SRjudgeslawyers, X (Last visited January 12, 2026), https://x.com/search?q=%28US%20or%20U.S.%20or%20USA%20or%20%22United%20States%22%29%20%28from%3ASRjudgeslawyers%29&src=typed_query&f=top; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/jJIu0>. @SRjudgeslawyers, X (Last visited January 12, 2026), https://x.com/search?q=%28china%2C%20OR%20russia%2C%20OR%20iran%2C%20OR%20cuba%29%20%28from%3ASRjudgeslawyers%29%20until%3A2025-11-24%20since%3A2025-01-01&src=typed_query; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/kIZLA>. @SRjudgeslawyers, X (November 27, 2024, 11:56 AM), <https://x.com/SRjudgeslawyers/status/1861816503357632646>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/Nc9yj>. @SRjudgeslawyers, X (January 6, 2025, 1:43 PM), <https://x.com/SRjudgeslawyers/status/1876338771207053634>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/w228B>.
- 21 @drtlaleng, X (June 25, 2024, 2:54 PM), <https://x.com/drtlaleng/status/1805706076974989542>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/z0J9g>.
- 22 @Ginitastar, X (October 24, 2011, 5:20 AM), <https://x.com/Ginitastar/status/128430564935077888>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/Wku7o>.
- 23 @profbensaul, X (December 1, 2025, 9:13 PM), <https://x.com/profbensaul/status/1995677768047333451>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/txXlm>.
- 24 @SRjudgeslawyers, X (January 27, 2024, 5:53 PM), <https://x.com/SRjudgeslawyers/status/1751377876048400808>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/lwnww>. @MichaelFakhri, X (January 27, 2024, 9:35 PM), <https://x.com/MichaelFakhri/status/1751448773790986279>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/vGXaB>. @UNSRVAW, X (December 30, 2024, 5:31 AM), <https://x.com/UNSRVAW/status/1873678188326306162>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/6tjRu>.
- 25 *Seeds, right to life and farmers' rights*, UN Doc. A/HRC/49/43, **Human Rights Council** (December 30, 2021), <https://documents.un.org/doc/undoc/gen/g21/397/86/pdf/g2139786.pdf>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/HUAXx>.
- 26 *An Activist Will Defy a Restraining Order to Play a Cello Protest at Citibank's NYC Headquarters Thursday*, **Inside Climate News** (August 7, 2024), <https://insideclimatenews.org/news/07082024/new-york-citibank-cello-protest/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/oFIY4>.
- 27 @drtlaleng, X (July 1, 2024, 2:10 PM), <https://x.com/drtlaleng/status/1807869466271011130>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/EWpWp>.
- 28 @drtlaleng, X (January 11, 2024, 1:07 PM), <https://x.com/drtlaleng/status/1745522746551919056>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/OZicf>.
- 29 @MaryLawlorhrds, X (May 10, 2019, 4:18 PM), <https://x.com/MaryLawlorhrds/status/1126944723632103424>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/4BNYa>.
- 30 *The United States' Dirty War on "Narco Terrorism"*, **Just Security** (September 22, 2025), <https://www.justsecurity.org/121115/united-states-dirty-war-narcoterrorism/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/UGa40>.

- **Double standards toward the United States.** Despite their hostility, several rapporteurs insist that the United States bears special financial and procedural obligations toward the UN and international aid system. Gina Romero claimed the U.S. owes millions in funding to NGOs,³¹ and Paula Gaviria criticized reductions in U.S. foreign aid.³²
- **Ties to authoritarian regimes undermine independence.** The documented relationships between several rapporteurs and authoritarian governments undermines their independence. Prior to appointment, Irene Khan repeatedly visited China and praised its Belt and Road Initiative.³³ Tlaleng Mofokeng lauded a meeting with Cuba's UN ambassador.³⁴ George Katrougalos has maintained close relations with Cuba,³⁵ China,³⁶ Iran,³⁷ and Russia.³⁸ Ashwini K.P. had warm words for Qatar's antisemitic UN representative,³⁹ while Alena Douhan accepted \$1.3 million in funding from China, Russia, and Qatar and conducted country visits exclusively to authoritarian states, under conditions resembling state-sponsored propaganda.⁴⁰

31 *Rights to freedom of peaceful assembly and of association*, UN Doc. A/80/219, **UN General Assembly** (July 22, 2025), <https://docs.un.org/en/A/80/219>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/52h07>.

32 @PaulaGaviriaB, X (February 4, 2025, 1:14 PM), <https://x.com/PaulaGaviriaB/status/1886840883070320887>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/N8oWT>.

33 *China-led Panel Picks Amnesty International's Ex-Chief Irene Khan as U.N. Free Speech Monitor*, **UN Watch** (July 17, 2020), <https://unwatch.org/china-led-panel-picks-amnesty-internationals-ex-chief-irene-khan-as-u-n-free-speech-monitor/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/0PCfO>. *China selects U.N. free speech monitor – Hillel Neuer on Sky News Australia*, **UN Watch** (July 21, 2020), <https://unwatch.org/china-selects-u-n-free-speech-monitor-hillel-neuer-on-sky-news-australia/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/onWOU>.

34 @drtlaleng, X (July 18, 2025, 2:44 AM), <https://x.com/drtlaleng/status/1946128852448641054>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/re9f1>.

35 @gkatr, X (February 3, 2025, 6:13 AM), <https://x.com/gkatr/status/1886372464772468924>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/se8Fx>.

36 @gkatr, X (June 26, 2025, 8:00 AM), <https://x.com/gkatr/status/1938205744949551453>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/XoJdy>.

37 *US, Israeli crimes threaten world peace, destabilize global system: Iran's deputy FM*, **Press TV** (November 16, 2025), <https://www.presstv.ir/Detail/2025/11/16/758904/Iran-US-Israel-undermine-international-law>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/XoJdy>.

38 *SYRIZA's foreign policy chief: Russia has a place in Europe's security system*, **Greek City Times** (February 14, 2022), <https://greekcitytimes.com/2022/02/14/syrizas-foreign-policy-chief-russia/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/OB6y6>.

39 @Ashwini_KP, X (July 16, 2025, 9:45 AM), https://x.com/Ashwini_KP/status/1945479952234840100; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/pm0kl>.

40 *Hillel Neuer Exposes the UN's Alena Douhan and the \$1.3 Million Scandal Funding Dictator Propaganda*, **UN Watch** (December 1, 2025), <https://unwatch.org/hillel-neuer-exposes-the-uns-alena-douhan-and-the-1-3-million-scandal-funding-dictator-propaganda/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/MjIUU>.

Illustrative Examples of Anti-Western Ideological Bias

Michael Fakhri—Ideological Framing of Economic and Humanitarian Policy

As Special Rapporteur on the right to food, Michael Fakhri has repeatedly advanced narratives critical of free-market economies, particularly those of the United States and the European Union.⁴¹ In his official reporting, he has singled out the United States for criticism over alleged discrimination against LGBTQ+ communities⁴² and accused Canada of committing “genocide” against Indigenous peoples.⁴³ During his tenure, he conducted only one country visit—to Venezuela, at the invitation of the Maduro regime—where he largely defended the government against Western sanctions while giving limited attention to its economic mismanagement, repression, and systemic governance failures.⁴⁴

Balakrishnan Rajagopal—Politicized Reframing of International Law

As Special Rapporteur on adequate housing, Balakrishnan Rajagopal has advanced a narrative portraying international law as a mechanism of Western domination. In co-authoring a book with 9/11 conspiracy theorist Richard Falk, he denounced international law as an “imperial” system.⁴⁵ He has also characterized the United States as a “rogue state,” questioned whether it is morally distinguishable from authoritarian regimes,⁴⁶ described it as a global threat to peace and human rights,⁴⁷ and dismissed its elected officials as “relics” and “bullies.”⁴⁸ At the same time, Rajagopal has criticized U.S. law enforcement efforts addressing illegal immigration and public safety,⁴⁹ while downplaying or overlooking abuses by authoritarian governments such as China, Russia, and Iran.

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- 41 See, e.g., *Seeds, right to life and farmers' rights*, UN Doc. A/HRC/49/43, **Human Rights Council** (December 30, 2021), <https://documents.un.org/doc/undoc/gen/g21/397/86/pdf/g2139786.pdf>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/HUAXx>. *Fisheries and the right to food in the context of climate change*, UN Doc. A/HRC/55/49, **Human Rights Council** (January 9, 2024), <https://documents.un.org/doc/undoc/gen/g23/267/70/pdf/g2326770.pdf>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/OZrPt>.
- 42 *Conflict and the right to food*, UN Doc. A/HRC/52/40, **Human Rights Council** (December 29, 2022), <https://documents.un.org/doc/undoc/gen/g22/619/92/pdf/g2261992.pdf>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/oKFhp>.
- 43 @MichaelFakhri, X (July 3, 2019, 9:01 AM), <https://x.com/MichaelFakhri/status/1146433702135652353>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/Jx909>.
- 44 *End of Mission Statement (Venezuela)*, **OHCHR** (February 14, 2024), <https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/documents/issues/food/statements/20240214-eom-statement-venezuela-sr-food-en.pdf>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/D5Rns>.
- 45 Balakrishnan Rajagopal, *Counter-Hegemonic International Law: Rethinking Human Rights and Development as a Third World Strategy*, **Third World Quarterly** (October 15, 2006), https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=937341; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/xCB1b>.
- 46 @adequatehousing, X (May 3, 2024, 6:28 PM), <https://x.com/adequatehousing/status/1786553426517569795>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/yv32d>.
- 47 @adequatehousing, X (June 4, 2025, 3:18 PM), <https://x.com/adequatehousing/status/1930373537958899859>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/yxppx>.
- 48 @adequatehousing, X (June 14, 2024, 9:38 PM), <https://x.com/adequatehousing/status/1801821619586797637>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/Ukm7K>.
- 49 @adequatehousing, X (July 25, 2025, 10:42 PM), <https://x.com/adequatehousing/status/1948967184853553548>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/5BV1b>.

George Katrougalos—Rejection of Democratic Legitimacy in Global Governance

As Independent Expert on “a democratic and equitable international order,” George Katrougalos has openly challenged the legitimacy of Western democratic governance, asserting that international law perpetuates colonialism and racism.⁵⁰ He has cultivated close relationships with authoritarian regimes, including China,⁵¹ Russia,⁵² Iran,⁵³ and Cuba,⁵⁴ and has advocated structural changes to global governance that would diminish the role of democratic states, including calling for a permanent Security Council seat for the Muslim world.⁵⁵

Ben Saul—Reframing Counterterrorism as Abuse of Power

As Special Rapporteur on counterterrorism, Ben Saul has advanced an overtly critical narrative of Western security policy, asserting that “decolonization—not Western liberals—created human rights,”⁵⁶ and claiming that Western civilization itself is responsible for global harm.⁵⁷ He has condemned U.S. counterterrorism operations, including the targeting of senior Al-Qaeda figures⁵⁸ and the designation of the Houthis as a Foreign Terrorist Organization,⁵⁹ while portraying the United States as a principal abuser of counterterrorism law.⁶⁰ He called for the arrest of the U.S. President and Secretary of Defense,⁶¹ while maintaining cordial relations with China, which has contributed \$150,000 to his office.⁶²

50 *Report of the Independent Expert on the promotion of a democratic and equitable international order, George Katrougalos*, UN Doc. A/HRC/57/49, **Human Rights Council** (August 5, 2024), <https://documents.un.org/doc/undoc/gen/g24/130/86/pdf/g2413086.pdf>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/EYg7q>.

51 *Greek edition of ‘Xi Jinping: The Governance of China’ launched in Athens, The People’s Republic of China* (November 20, 2025), https://english.www.gov.cn/news/202511/20/content_WS691e51dec6d00ca5f9a07ae3.html; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/O9bjQ>.

52 *Academics want Putin’s titles stripped, Ekathimerini* (December 3, 2022), <https://www.ekathimerini.com/news/1179453/academics-want-putins-titles-stripped/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/brn1I>.

53 @Gharibabadi, X (November 15, 2025, 1:37 PM), <https://x.com/Gharibabadi/status/1989764732178288753>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/PbdKM>.

54 @BrunoRguezP, X (February 7, 2025, 6:48 AM), <https://x.com/BrunoRguezP/status/1887830686419066925>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/y3jcs>.

55 *Major geopolitical trends and structural drivers of the North-South divide*, UN Doc. A/HRC/60/31, **UN General Assembly** (July 18, 2025), <https://docs.un.org/en/A/HRC/60/31>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/egweh>.

56 @profbensaul, X (September 30, 2016, 5:06 PM), <https://x.com/profbensaul/status/781963519805665280>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/gNg95>.

57 @profbensaul, X (October 12, 2020, 8:01 AM), <https://x.com/profbensaul/status/1315623522199166977>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/RTovL>.

58 @profbensaul, X (August 17, 2022, 7:01 PM), <https://x.com/profbensaul/status/1560039112077623296>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/4Y7Eq>.

59 @profbensaul, X (January 11, 2021, 6:01 PM), <https://x.com/profbensaul/status/1348766968543735810>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/B5tH3>.

60 *Report of the Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms while countering terrorism, Ben Saul*, UN Doc. A/HRC/55/48, **Human Rights Council** (January 17, 2024), <https://docs.un.org/en/A/HRC/55/48>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/8AePJ>.

61 *The United States’ Dirty War on ‘Narco Terrorism,’ Just Security* (September 22, 2025), <https://www.justsecurity.org/121115/united-states-dirty-war-narcoterrorism/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/UGa40>.

62 *Facts and figures with regard to the Special Procedures in 2024*, UN Doc. A/HRC/58/70/Add.1, **Human Rights Council** (March 20, 2025), <https://docs.un.org/en/A/HRC/58/70/Add.1>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/8AePJ>.

Alena Douhan—Normalization of Authoritarian Narratives

As Special Rapporteur on unilateral coercive measures, Alena Douhan has repeatedly advanced narratives that absolve authoritarian regimes of responsibility for humanitarian crises while attributing economic hardship primarily to Western sanctions. Her country visits have consistently exonerated governments such as those of China,⁶³ Russia,⁶⁴ Qatar,⁶⁵ Cuba,⁶⁶ Syria,⁶⁷ Venezuela,⁶⁸ and Zimbabwe.⁶⁹ In her reporting on Iran, Syria, North Korea, and other countries, she has attributed shortages of food, medicine, and medical care to Western sanctions, while giving little or no consideration to corruption, repression, armed conflict, or systemic governance failures by those regimes.⁷⁰ Her mandate has received more than \$1.3 million in funding from China, Russia, and Qatar, raising concerns about independence and impartiality.⁷¹

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- 63 *China: UN expert says unilateral sanctions must not be used as foreign policy tool and means of economic coercion*, **OHCHR** (May 17, 2024), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2024/05/china-un-expert-says-unilateral-sanctions-must-not-be-used-foreign-policy>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/fPRsA>. *Hillel Neuer Confronts the U.N.'s Chief Propagandist for Dictators*, Alena Douhan, **UN Watch** (September 18, 2024), <https://unwatch.org/hillel-neuer-confronts-the-u-n-s-chief-propagandist-for-dictators-alena-douhan/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/VWTqA>.
- 64 *Russia gave \$50,000 to UN expert who wrote report calling Russia a victim*, **UN Watch** (September 14, 2017), <https://unwatch.org/russia-gave-50000-un-expert-wrote-report-calling-russia-victim/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/LtBYU>.
- 65 *UN human rights expert urges four Gulf states to lift unilateral sanctions against Qatar*, **OHCHR** (November 12, 2020), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2020/11/un-human-rights-expert-urges-four-gulf-states-lift-unilateral-sanctions>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/GdOMr>.
- 66 *United States: Experts dismayed by decision to reinstate Cuba as State Sponsor of Terrorism, call for lifting of unilateral coercive measure*, **OHCHR** (February 7, 2025), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2025/02/united-states-experts-dismayed-decision-reinstate-cuba-state-sponsor>, Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/9yOTu>. See also *Preliminary findings of the visit to Cuba by the Special Rapporteur on the negative impact of unilateral coercive measures on the enjoyment of human rights Alena Douhan*, **OHCHR** (November 21, 2025), <https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/statements/20251121-eom-stm-cuba-sr-negative-impact-unilateral-en.pdf>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/BcIVG>.
- 67 *UN expert calls for lifting of long-lasting unilateral sanctions 'suffocating' Syrian people*, **OHCHR** (November 10, 2022), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/node/104160>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/cFzuX>.
- 68 *UN human rights expert urges to lift unilateral sanctions against Venezuela*, **OHCHR** (February 12, 2021), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2021/02/un-human-rights-expert-urges-lift-unilateral-sanctions-against-venezuela>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/CMnyc>.
- 69 *Zimbabwe: Expert calls for lifting of unilateral sanctions, urges talks*, **OHCHR** (October 28, 2021), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2021/10/zimbabwe-expert-calls-lifting-unilateral-sanctions-urges-talks>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/yJaXL>.
- 70 *Impact of unilateral coercive measures on economic, labour and social rights*, UN Doc. A/HRC/60/36, **Human Rights Council** (July 16, 2025), <https://docs.un.org/en/A/HRC/60/36>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/YHcns>.
- 71 *Annual reports on Special Procedures*, **OHCHR** (Last visited January 24, 2026), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures-human-rights-council/annual-reports-special-procedures>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/VOc0E>. See also *Hillel Neuer Confronts the U.N.'s Chief Propagandist for Dictators*, Alena Douhan, **UN Watch** (September 18, 2024), <https://unwatch.org/hillel-neuer-confronts-the-u-n-s-chief-propagandist-for-dictators-alena-douhan/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/VWTqA>. *Hillel Neuer Exposes the UN's Alena Douhan and the \$1.3 Million Scandal Funding Dictator Propaganda*, **UN Watch** (December 1, 2025), <https://unwatch.org/hillel-neuer-exposes-the-uns-alena-douhan-and-the-1-3-million-scandal-funding-dictator-propaganda/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/MjJJU>.

2 Obsession with Demonizing Israel

The mandate-holders' political bias is most evident in their obsessive focus on demonizing Israel. Since October 7, 2023, when Hamas invaded Israel and massacred more than a thousand people, UN Special Procedures issued a disproportionate number of statements condemning Israel—marked by an unusually high number of joint statements—while devoting far less attention to conflicts affecting millions more people elsewhere.

From October 7, 2023 through March 18, 2026, UN Special Procedures issued 148 statements targeting Israel. That is significantly more than twice the number issued on Russia's war against Ukraine (64), more than six times the number on Sudan's civil war (24), and far above the totals for Myanmar (62) and Ethiopia (5). The imbalance is even more pronounced in joint statements: Special Procedures issued 106 joint statements on Israel, compared to 29 on Russia, 16 on Sudan, 14 on Myanmar, and five on Ethiopia.⁷² Because such communications are typically presented as the collective view of "UN experts," they carry particular institutional weight and media influence.

These statements are frequently marked by a denial of Israel's right to self-defense and a pattern of minimizing, excusing, or even justifying Hamas atrocities. The rapporteurs often echo Hamas narratives and propaganda, portraying Israel as uniquely culpable while ignoring the group's documented crimes. In June 2024, a coalition of 25 Special Procedures called on UN Member States to "recognize the State of Palestine" as "a pre-condition for lasting peace in Palestine and the entire Middle East"—an extraordinary intervention they have not made with respect to any other disputed territory.⁷³

As part of this pattern, several UN mandate-holders have used their platforms to defend violent pro-Palestinian protests on university campuses, including incidents involving antisemitic harassment, intimidation, and vandalism.⁷⁴ In doing so, they have criticized efforts to protect Jewish students and uphold campus safety, portraying such measures as violations of human rights rather than as legitimate responses to discrimination and violence.

Notably, subjecting Israel to double standards can constitute antisemitism under the IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism, the most widely accepted international standard adopted by 47 countries.⁷⁵ At least two of the rapporteurs discussed herein have sought to discredit that definition while engaging in conduct that reflects precisely the bias it was designed to address.⁷⁶

These double standards are further illustrated by targeted interventions in which Israel is uniquely singled out. On October 23, 2023—just two weeks after the October 7 massacre—two UN experts, Margaret Satterthwaite and Fionnuala Ní Aoláin, issued an unprecedented statement directed specifically at Israeli military legal advisers.

72 *Special Procedures of the Human Rights Council Latest News*, **OHCHR** (Last visited January 25, 2026), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures-human-rights-council/>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/o9c7H>.

73 *UN experts urge all States to recognise State of Palestine*, **OHCHR** (June 3, 2024), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2024/06/un-experts-urge-all-states-recognise-state-palestine>; Archive Link: <https://unwatch.org/wp-content/uploads/2026/02/A8.pdf>.

74 *See, e.g., Letter to President Minouche Shafik*, **Palais de Nations** (May 10, 2024), <https://spcommreports.ohchr.org/TMResultsBase/DownloadPublicCommunicationFile?gId=29011>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/PgjiQ>. *Towards a just approach to the global housing crisis and migrants*, **UN General Assembly** (January 8, 2025), <https://docs.un.org/en/A/HRC/58/50>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/JsIBW>. @Ginitastar, **X** (March 14, 2025, 1:51 PM), <https://x.com/Ginitastar/status/1900635903837520063>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/SRcXO>. @MaryLawlorhrds, **X** (April 29, 2024, 9:58 PM), <https://x.com/MaryLawlorhrds/status/1785020792197038101>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/H2bvV>. @gkatr, **X** (May 14, 2024, 3:31 PM), <https://x.com/gkatr/status/1790359373966942543>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/6ctce>.

75 *Adoptions and Endorsements of the IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism*, **Combat Antisemitism Movement** (Last visited January 9, 2025), <https://ihra.combatantisemitism.org/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/9jpKy>.

76 *See, e.g., Ben Saul, Australia must combat antisemitism but not simply defer to demand of some voices*, **The Guardian** (July 11, 2025), <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2025/jul/11/australia-must-combat-antisemitism-but-not-simply-defer-to-demands-of-some-voices-ntwnfb>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/hjUBN>. @Irenekhan, **X** (November 24, 2023, 8:56 PM), <https://x.com/Irenekhan/status/1728246363677392924>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/uhnUr>.

Despite its general legal framing, the statement issued explicit warnings to Israeli lawyers to “deny legal authorization for criminal acts” and suggested potential accomplice liability if such actions were approved.” At the same time, it asserted that certain Israeli measures, such as the siege and evacuation orders, could amount to war crimes or crimes against humanity, at a stage when facts were still emerging and before any independent investigation had taken place.⁷⁷

No comparable, personalized warning to military legal advisers has been issued in relation to other ongoing conflicts, including Russia’s war in Ukraine, Turkey’s operations in Syria, Iran’s actions through regional proxies, or Sudan’s internal conflict, despite far more extensive and well-documented allegations of violations.

The result is not merely heightened scrutiny, but a form of selective targeting: Israel is addressed through direct, cautionary instructions implying imminent criminality, while other states engaged in major hostilities are treated through general statements or retrospective reporting. This asymmetry reinforces the perception that the application of international legal scrutiny within the Special Procedures system is not even-handed, but disproportionately focused on one state.

A similar disparity is evident in the treatment of international sports sanctions. While UN anti-racism expert Ashwini K.P. published a joint statement in February 2023 praising the Olympic Committee for considering the participation of individual Russian and Belarusian athletes as “neutral athletes,”⁷⁸ in September 2025 she co-signed a joint statement calling for the exclusion of the Israeli team from international football associations over Israel’s alleged “genocide” in Gaza.⁷⁹ She sought to distinguish the two positions by asserting that the call targeted “the State of Israel” rather than “individual players,” while emphasizing that “there should be no discrimination or sanctions against individual players because of their origin or nationality.”⁸⁰ In practice, however, the effect is to endorse the participation of Russian athletes while pressing for the exclusion of Israeli athletes from international sports.

The same imbalance appears in the treatment of humanitarian crises. Although the Sudan conflict displaced approximately 13 million people,⁸¹ left more than 21 million facing acute food insecurity,⁸² and saw phase-five famine declared in parts of North Darfur as early as July 2024,⁸³ UN experts issued only four statements on hunger in Sudan, in February 2024,⁸⁴ June 2024,⁸⁵ October 2024,⁸⁶ and April 2025.⁸⁷ By contrast, these same experts issued at least twelve statements on famine in Gaza,⁸⁸ accusing Israel of deliberate starvation despite Israel’s facilitation of over two million tons of aid into Gaza during the two-year war.⁸⁹

77 *Israel/Gaza: UN experts urge lawyers advising Israeli military to refuse legal authorisation of actions that could amount to war crimes*, **OHCHR** (October 23, 2023), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2023/10/israelgaza-un-experts-urge-lawyers-advising-israeli-military-refuse-legal>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/ycFGu>.

78 *UN experts commend IOC for considering admission of Russian and Belarusian athletes as neutral contestants*, **OHCHR** (February 1, 2023), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2023/02/un-experts-commend-ioc-considering-admission-russian-and-belarusian-athletes>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/r23Sq>.

79 *UN experts call for suspension of Israel from international football amid unfolding genocide in occupied Palestine*, **OHCHR** (September 23, 2025), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2025/09/un-experts-call-suspension-israel-international-football-amid-unfolding>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/ST4Rx>.

80 *Id.*

81 *Civil war in Sudan is a never-ending humanitarian crisis*, **DW** (March 15, 2026), <https://www.dw.com/en/civil-war-in-sudan-is-a-never-ending-humanitarian-crisis/a-76335589>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/odfQk#selection-505.0-505.56>.

82 *Famine declared in two Sudanese cities cut off by war, fragile gains elsewhere*, **UN News** (November 4, 2025), <https://news.un.org/en/story/2025/11/1166268>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/k2xts>.

83 *Famine in Sudan: IPC Famine Review Committee Confirms Famine in parts of North Darfur*, **IPC** (July 2024), <https://www.ipcinfo.org/ipcinfo-website/countries-in-focus/archive/issue-107/en/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/pRFFY>.

84 *Sudan: 25 million people in dire humanitarian need, say UN experts*, **OHCHR** (February 5, 2024), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2024/02/sudan-25-million-people-dire-humanitarian-need-say-un-experts>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/tMO8A>.

85 *Using starvation as a weapon of war in Sudan must stop: UN experts*, **OHCHR** (June 26, 2024), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2024/06/using-starvation-weapon-war-sudan-must-stop-un-experts>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/AGjr3>.

86 *Sudan faces one of the worst famines in decades, warn UN experts*, **OHCHR** (October 17, 2024), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2024/10/sudan-faces-one-worst-famines-decades-warn-un-experts>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/vUjQY>.

87 *Sudan faces worsening humanitarian catastrophe as famine and conflict escalate: UN experts*, **OHCHR** (April 14, 2025), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2025/04/sudan-faces-worsening-humanitarian-catastrophe-famine-and-conflict-escalate>; Archive Link: <https://unwatch.org/wp-content/uploads/2026/02/A10.pdf>.

88 *Special Procedures of the Human Rights Council Latest News*, **OHCHR** (Last visited January 25, 2026), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures-human-rights-council>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/nUIJ>.

89 *Prime Minister’s Office Statement - 22 August 2025*, **Ministry of Foreign Affairs** (August 22, 2025), <https://www.gov.il/en/pages/pmo-statement-22-aug-2025>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/hsyzc>.

Yet when Israel sought to implement a new aid mechanism—designed to prevent humanitarian assistance from being diverted by Hamas terrorists and used to entrench the group’s control over Gaza’s civilian population—the response of these experts was not approval, but escalation. In addition to a stand-alone statement by the Special Rapporteur on the Palestinian territories on May 30, 2025,⁹⁰ the experts examined in this report issued two joint condemnations of the Gaza Humanitarian Foundation on August 5⁹¹ and August 28, 2025,⁹² and demanded a return to the old system which benefitted Hamas.⁹³ Notably, they accused Israel—not Hamas—of “exploiting” humanitarian aid for “covert military and geopolitical agendas” and of “using food as a tool to conduct targeted and mass disappearances.” The rhetoric escalated even further in a separate statement on August 7, 2025, when a group of five UN experts accused Israel of “exterminating the people of Gaza by any and all means,” falsely blaming it for “slaughtering” over 1,000 Palestinians “as they line up for humanitarian assistance.”⁹⁴

Illustrative Examples of Demonization of Israel

Michael Fakhri—Humanitarian Narratives as Political Instrument

As Special Rapporteur on the right to food, Michael Fakhri has played a central role in advancing narratives portraying Israel as deliberately inflicting famine and genocide, despite the contested and highly politicized nature of such claims. In official reports and public statements, he has accused Israel of committing genocide through starvation⁹⁵ and amplified claims of mass humanitarian catastrophe,⁹⁶ at times invoking explicitly antisemitic imagery.⁹⁷ These claims, disseminated through UN platforms, have contributed to framing Israel as uniquely culpable while minimizing or dismissing the role of armed groups like Hamas. At the same time, while falsely accusing Israel of deliberate starvation, the UN’s expert on the right to food ignored the deliberate starvation of Israeli hostages held by Hamas in Gaza.

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- 90 “Stop the clock on madness”: UN expert appeals to States after Gaza aid distribution shootings, **OHCHR** (May 30, 2025), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2025/05/stop-clock-madness-un-expert-appeals-states-after-gaza-aid-distribution>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/hsyzc>.
- 91 UN experts call for immediate dismantling of Gaza Humanitarian Foundation, **OHCHR** (August 5, 2025), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2025/08/un-experts-call-immediate-dismantling-gaza-humanitarian-foundation>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/1UrTL>.
- 92 UN experts alarmed by reports of enforced disappearances at Gaza Humanitarian Foundation aid distribution sites, **OHCHR** (August 28, 2025), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2025/08/un-experts-alarmed-reports-enforced-disappearances-gaza-humanitarian>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/0jC9A>.
- 93 Gaza: Israel must restore UN humanitarian system to stave off starvation, say UN experts, **OHCHR** (August 7, 2025), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2025/08/gaza-israel-must-restore-un-humanitarian-system-stave-starvation-say-un>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/aysDF>.
- 94 Gaza: “Never again” giving way to endless decimation of displaced Palestinians, warn UN experts, **OHCHR** (August 7, 2025), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2025/08/gaza-never-again-giving-way-endless-decimation-displaced-palestinians-warn>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/8s8Ch>.
- 95 Starvation and the right to food, with an emphasis on the Palestinian people’s food sovereignty, UN Doc. A/79/171, **UN General Assembly** (July 17, 2024), <https://documents.un.org/doc/undoc/gen/n24/212/30/pdf/n2421230.pdf>; UN experts declare famine has spread throughout Gaza strip, **OHCHR** (July 9, 2024), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2024/07/un-experts-declare-famine-has-spread-throughout-gaza-strip>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/dtMx6>.
- 96 If aid doesn’t enter Gaza now, 14,000 babies may die. UN peacekeepers must step in, **The Guardian** (May 22, 2025), <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2025/may/22/israel-gaza-aid-plan-displace-control-palestinians>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/KSzYy>.
- 97 Palestine and the Right to Food, **OHCHR** (August 27, 2024), <https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/documents/issues/food/2024-08-27-visuals-palestinian-people-food-sovereignty.pdf>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/esw0T>. see also *Legal Analysis of UN Food Rapporteur Michael Fakhri’s 2024 Report to UN General Assembly*, **UN Watch** (September 14, 2024), <https://unwatch.org/legal-analysis-of-un-food-rapporteur-michael-fakhris-2024-report-to-un-general-assembly/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/ksCAo>.

Tlaleng Mofokeng—Ideological Radicalization and the Normalization of Violence

As Special Rapporteur on health, Tlaleng Mofokeng has used her platform to legitimize violence against Israel and to echo extremist narratives. She has publicly endorsed slogans such as “from the river to the sea,”⁹⁸ framed violence as an inevitable response to oppression,⁹⁹ and praised figures associated with designated terrorist organizations.¹⁰⁰ In doing so, she blurs the distinction between civilian protection and political advocacy, contributing to the normalization of violence against Israelis and undermining the credibility of her health mandate.

Balakrishnan Rajagopal—Legal and Academic Delegitimization

In his role as Special Rapporteur on adequate housing, Balakrishnan Rajagopal has characterized Israel as a systematic violator of international law,¹⁰¹ employing terms such as “domicide”¹⁰² and “extermination.”¹⁰³ By embedding these highly politicized claims within legal and academic discourse, he lends intellectual legitimacy to narratives that deny Israel’s right to self-defense and portray its very existence as incompatible with international law. This approach transforms legal analysis into a vehicle for ideological advocacy rather than impartial assessment.

Gina Romero—Misuse of the Peaceful Assembly Mandate

As Special Rapporteur on peaceful assembly, Gina Romero has characterized protests involving antisemitic intimidation and campus violence as legitimate expressions of political dissent.¹⁰⁴ She has criticized institutional efforts to protect Jewish students as repressive,¹⁰⁵ and framed enforcement of campus safety standards as violations of human rights.¹⁰⁶ This approach effectively redefines harassment and intimidation as protected political expression and weakens safeguards intended to protect vulnerable communities.

98 @drtlaleng, X (August 31, 2024, 10:51 PM), <https://x.com/drtlaleng/status/1830106240233492646>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/IUOBC>.

99 @drtlaleng, X (October 17, 2023, 2:08 PM), <https://x.com/drtlaleng/status/1714372710371835906>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/P4kWZ>.

100 @drtlaleng, X (May 24, 2024, 3:05 PM), <https://x.com/drtlaleng/status/1794112408639688952>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/P4kWZ>.

101 *UN expert says ongoing occupation hampers Gaza’s reconstruction*, **Andalou Agency** (July 3, 2025), <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/middle-east/un-expert-says-ongoing-occupation-hampers-gazas-reconstruction/3503232>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/WEFDj>.

102 *UN rights expert condemns ‘systematic’ war-time mass destruction of homes*, **UN News** (March 5, 2024), <https://news.un.org/en/story/2024/03/1147272>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/l52eU>. *Conversation with UN Special Rapporteur on Housing Dr. Balakrishnan Rajagopal*, **Harvard Law School** (February 25, 2025), <https://hls.harvard.edu/events/conversation-with-un-special-rapporteur-on-housing-dr-balakrishnan-rajagopal/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/1GgbP>.

103 *Holding Israel to account for destruction of housing in Gaza*, **Al Jazeera** (July 21, 2024), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=43v8pBnlvoM>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/varchive/43v8pBnlvoM>.

104 @Ginitastar, X (July 9, 2024, 10:45 AM), <https://x.com/Ginitastar/status/1810716990467723682>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/kHqwb>.

105 *Protecting the rights to freedom of peaceful assembly and of association from stigmatization*, UN Doc. A/79/263, **UN General Assembly** (July 31, 2024), <https://docs.un.org/en/A/79/263>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/4ubqy>.

106 @Ginitastar, X (March 14, 2025, 1:51 PM), <https://x.com/Ginitastar/status/1900635903837520063>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/SRCXO>.

Reem Alsalem—Undermining the Integrity of the Violence Against Women Mandate

As Special Rapporteur on violence against women, Reem Alsalem presents one of the most troubling examples of mandate distortion. Despite extensive documentation of sexual violence committed during the October 7 attacks, she has minimized or questioned those crimes¹⁰⁷ while advancing unverified allegations that Israeli forces perpetrate sexual crimes.¹⁰⁸ Given her mandate’s core responsibility to protect victims of gender-based violence, this posture represents a profound departure from professional standards and underscores the extent to which ideological bias has displaced evidentiary rigor within parts of the Special Procedures system.

3 Politicization of the Appointment Process

The appointment of Special Procedures mandate-holders has become highly politicized. Although Human Rights Council Resolution 5/1 requires selections based on “independence,” “impartiality,” “personal integrity,” and “objectivity,” many mandate-holders are chosen precisely for the opposite reason—for their known ideological prejudices and political alignment. In a 2011 article, *International Judges and Experts’ Impartiality and the Problem of Past Declarations*, McGill University law professor Frédéric Mégret criticized the UN human rights system for at times selecting mandate-holders “on purpose and not accidentally because of certain known beliefs.”¹⁰⁹

In practice, many of the experts act less as neutral investigators than as advocates advancing predetermined political narratives. This is especially the case where the mandates themselves were designed to advance a controversial agenda. Thus, the persons appointed to the post of UN Special Rapporteur on “unilateral coercive measures,” a mandate designed to delegitimize Western sanctions on dictatorships, were, first, a former Algerian diplomat, and then an employee of Belarus’s state-funded university, each committed to an explicit anti-Western agenda.

Likewise, appointees to the post of Special Rapporteur on “the situation of human rights in the Occupied Palestinian Territory”—a mandate that in reality only scrutinizes “Israel’s violations”—have repeatedly been selected based on the candidate’s record of vitriolic anti-Israel activism.¹¹⁰ In a rare instance when the UN vetting committee did recommend a candidate precisely because she was the one applicant with no prejudicial statements in her record, the Arab and Islamic states immediately pressured the Human Rights Council to quash the recommendation of the impartial candidate, and instead to appoint a candidate of their liking—a fellow diplomat from the Islamic states.¹¹¹

107 *UN rapporteur claims no independent probe found evidence of Oct. 7 sexual assault despite UN report*, **The Jerusalem Post** (November 15, 2025), <https://www.jpost.com/israel-news/article-873910>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/998sQ>.

108 *Israel/oPt: UN experts appalled by reported human rights violations against Palestinian women and girls*, **OHCHR** (February 19, 2024), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2024/02/israelopt-un-experts-appalled-reported-human-rights-violations-against>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/hAoar>. *Sex-based violence against women and girls: new frontiers and emerging issues*, UN Doc. A/HRC/59/47, **Human Rights Council** (June 16, 2025), <https://docs.un.org/en/A/HRC/59/47>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/T3erK>.

109 *International Judges and Experts’ Impartiality and the Problem of Past Declarations*, **The Law & Practice of International Courts and Tribunals** (January 1, 2011), https://brill.com/view/journals/lape/10/1/article-p31_4.xml?language=en; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/fsjHE>.

110 *Mandate to Discriminate, Part II*, **UN Watch** (March 29, 2022), <https://unwatch.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/03/Mandate-to-Discriminate-Part-II.pdf>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/0BTQr>.

111 *Georgetown Prof: UNHRC ‘killed my candidacy’ as Palestine investigator for not being ‘partial’ like William Schabas*, **UN Watch** (November 6, 2014), <https://unwatch.org/georgetown-prof-unhrc-killed-my-candidacy-for-not-being-partial-like-william-schabas/>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/FhHzZ>.

Yet even mandates that were created with the objective purpose of genuinely protecting individual human rights have now become subverted. For example, the current Special Rapporteur on freedom of expression, Irene Khan, has compromised the post by pursuing a sharp anti-Western political agenda, which may explain why she won support for her appointment from the Chinese Communist Party, whose representative on the UN vetting committee helped to select her.¹¹²

Tainted Appointments Committee

This vetting committee is the five-member Consultative Group, composed of one ambassador from each UN regional group. Its task is to interview applicants for UN special procedures positions, and to recommend candidates, often ranking the top three. In most cases, following broader consultation among member states, the President of the Human Rights Council adopts their recommendations, and his list of proposed appointees is then rubber-stamped by the 47-nation body.

At times, members of the Consultative Group have used their positions to improperly favor preferred candidates. For example, as revealed in a leaked diplomatic cable from 2014, Morocco's ambassador, then a member of the Consultative Group, had transmitted to his foreign ministry an internal document from the Group, containing interview questions and procedures in advance of the Group's scheduled interview with Moroccan candidate Houria Es-Slami.¹¹³ Shortly thereafter, by coincidence or not, Ms. Es-Slami won the Consultative Group's top ranking, and was duly appointed to the UN Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances.¹¹⁴

In wake of the revelation, in 2015, a year after the tainted appointment, Amnesty International filed a formal complaint questioning whether other Consultative Group members had similarly abused their positions on the committee to favor their candidates of choice.¹¹⁵ In response, the President of the Human Rights Council acknowledged the need to avoid conflicts of interest, "real or perceived," and to safeguard "the integrity of the process."¹¹⁶ No action was taken, however, and the tainted appointee was allowed to serve the full six years of her UN term.

112 Hillel C. Neuer, *Why China Picked Amnesty International's Ex-Chief as U.N. Free Speech Monitor*, **Newsweek** (July 17, 2020), <https://www.newsweek.com/china-free-speech-united-nations-irene-khan-amnesty-1518604>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/WsVkf>.

113 *A Monsieur le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères et de la Coopération Rabat*, **Mission Permanente du Royaume du Maroc Genève** (January 9, 2014), <https://www.arso.org/Coleman/54.pdf>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/9ooNY>.

114 *Moroccan Woman elected Member of the UN Working Group on Enforced Disappearances*, **Morocco World News** (March 27, 2014), <https://www.morocoworldnews.com/2014/03/128959/moroccan-woman-elected-member-of-the-un-working-group-on-enforced-disappearances/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/I6Sxb>.

115 *Letter from Amnesty International to HRC President*, **Amnesty International** (March 2, 2015), <https://blog.unwatch.org/wp-content/uploads/Letter-from-Amnesty-Ms-Scanella-to-HRC-President-Re-SP-appointment-2-March-2015.pdf>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/P9wgp>.

116 *Letter Reply of HRC President to Amnesty International*, **HRC Office of the President** (March 4, 2015), https://blog.unwatch.org/wp-content/uploads/Letter-of-Reply-of-the-HRC-President-to-Amnesty-International_4March2015-1.pdf; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/EvZR3>.

4 Mandate Proliferation and Dilution of Focus

The proliferation of thematic mandates has compromised the effectiveness and credibility of the Special Procedures system. Beyond core civil and political rights, the Council has created numerous mandates focused on “economic and social” rights, as well as “third-generation” rights, which are purported obligations between states, rather than protections for individuals.¹¹⁷

Many of these mandates were advanced by Cuba’s Communist regime together with the Non-Aligned Movement, a large group of states dominated by authoritarian regimes such as Iran, Belarus, and Pakistan. Despite occasional objections from democratic states, citing the proposed mandates’ lack of legal clarity and relevance, they were easily adopted due to the authoritarian majority in the Council. The result has been a diversion of limited resources away from protecting individuals from state repression, in favor of political advocacy targeting Western democracies. For example, in 2000, Cuba initiated the creation of a mandate on “the right to food,” and then saw to it that a Marxist ideologue and close ally of the Cuban regime, Swiss Socialist Party politician Jean Ziegler, won appointment as the first Special Rapporteur.

Instead of usefully holding governments to account for corrupt or malign policies causing malnutrition or starvation, Ziegler instead weaponized the post to promote a radical anti-Western and anti-capitalist ideology, regularly attacking the U.S., Western democracies, and corporations. Another of his major targets was Israel, so much so that some journalists mistook him as the Special Rapporteur on Palestine.¹¹⁸ Often, the subject matter of his statements bore no obvious connection to his mandate. As shown below, other such mandates abound.

As a result, in UN sessions where such reports are presented and debated before the cameras, authoritarian governments manage to deflect attention from their own violations, while weaponizing the system against political adversaries.

5 Erosion of Evidentiary Standards

The *Code of Conduct*, adopted in 2007, expressly obliges mandate-holders to establish facts on the basis of “objective” and “reliable” information from “credible sources” that have been “duly cross-checked,” where possible. This requirement is likewise reaffirmed in the UN’s more detailed *Manual of Operations*.¹¹⁹

In practice, however, mandate-holders frequently disregard the requirement of cross-checking. Many of their reports instead rely on unverified NGO reports or submissions, anonymous or confidential sources, and unexamined testimony. Once incorporated into UN reports, such allegations acquire institutional legitimacy and are routinely cited by courts, governments, and the media as authoritative. The result is an evidentiary laundering effect, whereby unverified claims are effectively filtered through the UN system without the level of scrutiny required in judicial or quasi-judicial proceedings.

117 Rosa Freedman and Jacob Mchangama, *Expanding or Diluting Human Rights?: The Proliferation of United Nations Special Procedures Mandates*, **Human Rights Quarterly** (February 2016), <https://research.reading.ac.uk/ungop/wp-content/uploads/sites/13/publications/HRQ-SP.pdf>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/4j0wO>.

118 Hillel Neuer, *Ziegler’s Follies*, **Azure** (Spring 2008), <https://unwatch.org/wp-content/uploads/2008/04/Zieglers-Follies-az32-neuer.pdf>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/nccfE>.

119 *Code of Conduct for the Special Procedures Mandate-holders of the Human Rights Council*, UN Doc. A/HRC/RES/5/2, **HRC** (June 18, 2007), <https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/Documents/Issues/Executions/CodeOfConduct.pdf>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/p4YUe>. *Manual of Operations of the Special Procedures of the Human Rights Council*, **OHCHR** (August 2008), https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/Documents/HRBodies/SP/Manual_Operations2008.pdf; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/OTqAE>.

In addition, UN experts on social media will often repost random accusations—even of the most inflammatory kind, especially if the target is the U.S., the West, or Israel—without conducting minimal verification, neither of the content of the accusation, nor of the credibility of the accuser. This undermines the very rationale for appointing UN rapporteurs in the first place: to have experts on human rights matters who could establish facts through objective, reliable, and rigorously verified information, drawn from credible sources.

6 Institutional Influence by OHCHR

Contrary to what the UN often suggests, the UN’s Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR)—the bureaucracy of the UN human rights system, comprising some 1,000 employees based in Geneva—exerts significant influence over the actions of the ostensibly independent Special Procedures.

OHCHR acknowledges that it provides the experts with secretariat services, including organizing country missions, receiving and processing communications, drafting reports, and handling administrative matters.¹²⁰

Less known, however, is that the mandate-holders—who are supposed to be completely independent—have acknowledged, according to one study, that “OHCHR has a lot of influence, even control, over which countries to visit and which not,” as well as “over whether and when to issue press releases.”¹²¹ Selecting which countries to visit, and which press releases to issue, are consequential elements of the experts’ work.

Some of the special procedures, according to another report, have complained of “excessive control” by OHCHR, including efforts to make reports more palatable to certain member states.¹²²

Mandate-holders have also reported that secretariat staff time is not allocated evenly across mandates, with some receiving insufficient or no meaningful assistance. At the same time, OHCHR retains 20 percent of earmarked donations to cover secretariat costs. This arrangement has led some experts to seek funding outside the OHCHR system.¹²³

120 Marc Limon and Ted Piccone, *Policy Report: Human Rights Special Procedures: Determinants of Influence*, at p. 22, **Universal Rights Group** (March 2014), <https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/un-human-rights-experts-evaluation-piccone.pdf>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/DIPkU>.

121 *Id.*

122 *The Financing of UN Experts in the Special Procedures of the Human Rights Council*, at p. 24, **European Center for Law and Justice** (September 2021), <https://static.eclj.org/pdf/ECLJ%20Report%20-%20THE%20FINANCING%20OF%20UN%20EXPERTS.pdf>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/rYABl>.

123 *Id.*

7 Earmarked Funding and Donor Influence on Mandate Priorities

When donors give money to fund a particular UN mandate instead of to the budget of the UN human rights office as a whole, this is called *earmarked funding*. That means the money can only be used for certain mandates or projects chosen by the donor. The problem is that when a mandate-holder relies on this kind of funding, his or her agenda can gradually start to reflect what donors want, rather than what is objectively required.

According to the UN, additional donor funds are needed because the regular budget for the Special Procedures system is insufficient.

In Resolution 16/21 (2011), the Human Rights Council claimed a “continued need for extra-budgetary funding” to support the work of the Special Procedures, while emphasizing that contributions should be “unearmarked” and stressing “the need for full transparency in the funding of the Special Procedures.”¹²⁴ The very inclusion of these safeguards reflects institutional awareness of the risks associated with donor-directed funding of specific mandates.

That same year, the UN Board of Auditors explicitly warned against funding arrangements between individual mandate-holders and specific public or private donors. It raised concerns about earmarked funding that privileges certain mandates, and recommended seeking “ways to reduce the reliance of mandate holders on extrabudgetary funding” and to ensure that mandated activities are “not unduly influenced by the source of funds.”¹²⁵ In other words, the UN’s own oversight body recognized that reliance on external funding threatens the independence of mandate-holders.

Despite these warnings, reliance on private and state donors remains significant. According to the U.S. Government Accountability Office, between 2015 and 2023 the Ford Foundation provided more than \$6 million in external funding to several mandate-holders, while George Soros’s Open Society Foundations contributed approximately \$3 million.¹²⁶

Both organizations openly pursue defined policy and social agendas. The Ford Foundation describes its mission as advancing “social justice,” including initiatives related to gender, racial, and economic equity.¹²⁷ Open Society funds programs advocating racial equity, immigration pathways to citizenship, climate action, and drug-policy liberalization, all framed under its mission to advance “justice, equity, and democracy.” Regarding its UN funding, Open Society publicly acknowledged that a 2017 donation to a feminist activist center at Rutgers University was intended to influence, and did influence, a UN Special Rapporteur’s choice of topic for her annual thematic report.¹²⁸

In some cases, the funding is routed through OHCHR as voluntary contributions earmarked for particular mandates or projects. In others, support bypasses OHCHR entirely and is provided directly to mandate holders.¹²⁹

124 *Review of the work and functioning of the Human Rights Council*, UN Doc. A/HRC/RES/16/21, **Human Rights Council** (March 25, 2011), <https://docs.un.org/en/a/hrc/res/16/21>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/iRA62>.

125 *Financial Report and Audited Financial Statements*, at para. 68-70, **UN Board of Auditors** (December 31, 2011), https://www.unaoc.org/wp-content/uploads/A_67_5_VOL-1-2010-2011.pdf; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/PmlJg>.

126 *United Nations: Information on Independent Human Rights Experts and Their Work*, at p. 9, **U.S. GAO** (February 6, 2025), <https://www.gao.gov/assets/gao-25-107361.pdf>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/1JN3X>.

127 *The Financing of UN Experts in the Special Procedures of the Human Rights Council*, at p. 49, **European Center for Law and Justice** (September 2021), <https://static.eclj.org/pdf/ECLJ%20Report%20-%20THE%20FINANCING%20OF%20UN%20EXPERTS.pdf>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/rYABI>.

128 The UN Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of slavery chose her report topic as a result of funding from Soros’s Open Society. *Id.* at pp. 38, 49.

129 *Id.* at pp. 20-22; *United Nations: Information on Independent Human Rights Experts and Their Work*, at p. 9, **U.S. GAO** (February 6, 2025), <https://www.gao.gov/assets/gao-25-107361.pdf>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/1JN3X>.

Earmarking has the practical effect of privileging certain mandates over others. The GAO reported, for example, that from 2015 to 2023 the Working Group on human rights and transnational corporations and other business enterprises received approximately \$4 million in earmarked funds, while the mandate on internally displaced persons received none.¹³⁰

A comprehensive study published by the European Centre for Law and Justice (ECLJ), based on interviews with mandate-holders between 2015 and 2019, concluded that such funding arrangements influence experts' political agendas. The study reported that donor support affected the selection of thematic priorities, country visits, and the execution of mandates themselves.¹³¹ This dynamic undermines the independence required of Special Procedures.

The experts interviewed by the ECLJ recognized that direct payments influence their work and agenda. For example, Vernor Muñoz, former Special Rapporteur (2004-2010), stated that *"This is the most difficult implication of having resources from external sources, that they just require you to follow certain agendas or certain interests . . . meaning that some donors want to push mandate holders to follow their own interests and their own agenda[s]."* Gabor Rona, former member of the Working Group on the use of mercenaries (2011-2018), said that governments' earmarked financial contributions to individual mandates *"are valuable and necessary to the health of the Special Procedures system, but they create the appearance, if not the fact, of undue influence."*¹³²

8 Deficiencies in Financial Transparency

Beyond the problem of donor influence, there is a serious lack of transparency surrounding the funding of Special Procedures. Although mandate-holders serve in a "voluntary" capacity, the UN covers their official expenses, while other activities rely on external funding. The Manual of Operations provides no clear disclosure requirements. Only in 2015 did Special Procedures begin voluntarily disclosing external support through the Annual Facts & Figures Reports.¹³³ Even now, disclosure remains voluntary, and the reports contain incomplete and inconsistent information.¹³⁴

This absence of transparency obscures conflicts of interest. For example, Special Rapporteur Francesca Albanese's November 2023 visit to Australia and New Zealand was apparently funded in part by the UN, which covered her international flights,¹³⁵ while the sources of funding for internal travel, lodging, and meals were never disclosed. UN Watch documented that partisan pro-Palestinian advocacy groups publicly claimed to have sponsored the visit, yet this support was neither disclosed by Albanese nor reflected in the official UN report.¹³⁶

130 *United Nations: Information on Independent Human Rights Experts and Their Work*, at p. 8-9, **U.S. GAO** (February 6, 2025), <https://www.gao.gov/assets/gao-25-107361.pdf>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/1JN3X>.

131 *The Financing of UN Experts in the Special Procedures of the Human Rights Council*, at p. 37, **European Center for Law and Justice** (September 2021), <https://static.eclj.org/pdf/ECLJ%20Report%20-%20THE%20FINANCING%20OF%20UN%20EXPERTS.pdf>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/rYABI>.

132 Grégor Puppinck, *The 'Scandal' of Foundation Support for UN Human Rights Special Procedures: A Response*, **EJIL:Talk!** (September 3, 2021), <https://www.ejiltalk.org/the-scandal-of-foundation-support-for-un-human-rights-special-procedures-a-response/>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/Uqxgm>.

133 *The Financing of UN Experts in the Special Procedures of the Human Rights Council*, at p. 16, **European Center for Law and Justice** (September 2021), <https://static.eclj.org/pdf/ECLJ%20Report%20-%20THE%20FINANCING%20OF%20UN%20EXPERTS.pdf>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/rYABI>.

134 *Id. Annual reports on Special Procedures*, **OHCHR** (Last visited January 8, 2026), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures-human-rights-council/annual-reports-special-procedures>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/3ZBnk>.

135 *Letter from Coordination Committee to UNHRC President*, **OHCHR** (March 28, 2025), <https://unwatch.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/05/Letter-from-the-2023-2024-and-2024-2025-Chairs-of-the-Coordination-Committee-to-the-HRC-President-concerning-allegations-raised-in-2024-again-the-Special-Rap.pdf>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/UQj2B>.

136 *"Nothing to Hide": How the UN and Francesca Albanese Engaged in a Concerted Cover-Up to Conceal Her Funding by Pro-Hamas Lobby Groups*, **UN Watch** (May 2025), <https://unwatch.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/05/Report-on-UN-Cover-up-of-Francesca-Albaneses-pro-Hamas-funding.pdf>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/lf0Te>.

More broadly, one study shows that politically active NGOs—including the Open Society and Ford Foundations—have provided extensive support to certain mandates, shaping priorities and agendas.¹³⁷ In several cases, mandate-holders have acknowledged funding from authoritarian regimes and serial abusers of human rights. The office of Ben Saul, the Special Rapporteur on counter-terrorism and human rights, accepted \$150,000 from China in one year. Alena Douhan, the Special Rapporteur on “the negative impact of the unilateral coercive measures,” which means Western sanctions on dictatorships, received more than \$1.3 million from Russia, China, and Qatar.¹³⁸ No accounting or explanation has ever been provided as to how these funds were used, or by whom. Such funding undermines the independence and credibility of UN-appointed experts.

It is striking that no public accounting or expense breakdown is provided. The absence of basic disclosure raises serious concerns about the lack of oversight, controls, or safeguards governing hundreds of thousands of dollars paid to UN experts by governments—including China, Qatar, and Russia—as well as by foundations with explicit political agendas.

9 Accountability Failures

These structural weaknesses are compounded by the absence of effective accountability mechanisms. Although a Code of Conduct exists for Special Procedures,¹³⁹ it has not been enforced. The Code prohibits, among other things, accepting gifts or benefits that could influence a mandate-holder’s work.¹⁴⁰ Yet, violations routinely go unaddressed.

When UN Watch raised repeated concerns about Francesca Albanese’s non-compliance, the President of the Human Rights Council declined to act and instead referred the matter to the Coordination Committee, a body composed of fellow mandate holders.¹⁴¹ While that committee does have an “internal advisory procedure” that can examine complaints, it expressly provides that its powers are “limited by its mandate to enhance and facilitate the work of mandate-holders.” The committee has no disciplinary authority, and primarily acts as an advocacy union for the special procedures—the complete opposite of being an investigator or judge.¹⁴²

The result is a system in which Special Procedures can issue false, inflammatory and libelous statements, overtly advance political agendas, and publish reports based on unverified claims and faulty legal reasoning, without any meaningful oversight or accountability.

137 Grégor Puppincq, *The ‘Scandal’ of Foundation Support for UN Human Rights Special Procedures: A Response*, **EJIL:Talk!** (September 3, 2021), <https://www.ejiltalk.org/the-scandal-of-foundation-support-for-un-human-rights-special-procedures-a-response/>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/Uqxgm>.

138 *Hillel Neuer Confronts the U.N.’s Chief Propagandist for Dictators Alena Douhan*, **UN Watch** (September 18, 2024); <https://unwatch.org/hillel-neuer-exposes-the-uns-alena-douhan-and-the-1-3-million-scandal-funding-dictator-propaganda/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/MjJJU>. *Hillel Neuer Exposes the UN’s Alena Douhan and the \$1.3 Million Scandal Funding Dictator Propaganda*, **UN Watch** (December 1, 2025), <https://unwatch.org/hillel-neuer-confronts-the-u-n-s-chief-propagandist-for-dictators-alena-douhan/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/VWTqA>.

139 *Code of Conduct for the Special Procedures Mandate-holders of the Human Rights Council*, UN Doc. A/HRC/RES/5/2, **HRC** (June 18, 2007), <https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/Documents/Issues/Executions/CodeOfConduct.pdf>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/p4YUe>.

140 *Id.* at Article 3(j).

141 *UN Watch legal memo disputes Albanese’s UN status amid US sanctions dispute*, **UN Watch** (September 18, 2025), <https://unwatch.org/un-watch-files-legal-memorandum-to-un-francesca-albaneses-reappointment-defective-immunity-lost/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/3PLLa>.

142 *The Coordination Committee of Special Procedures*, **OHCHR** (Last visited January 11, 2026), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures-human-rights-council/coordination-committee-special-procedures>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/gUYUx>.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Taken together, the patterns of ideological bias and structural deficiencies outlined above reveal a systemic distortion of the Special Procedures mechanism. Rather than advancing universal human rights, parts of the system have become vehicles for politicized advocacy, applying double standards and eroding institutional credibility. This conduct enables authoritarian regimes to deflect scrutiny while disproportionately targeting democracies, thereby weakening the integrity of the broader human rights framework. Coupled with persistent gaps in financial transparency and accountability, these dynamics ultimately undermine the UN's moral authority.

In light of the structural deficiencies identified in this report, the following recommendations aim to restore credibility, ensure accountability, and re-anchor legitimacy in democratic states and independent professional standards.

Legitimacy

Democratic States Should Form a Parallel Accountability Coalition

Like-minded democracies should create a coordinated bloc of states to jointly assess and publicly rate Special Rapporteurs, issuing collective statements when standards are violated. Legitimacy must derive from this democratic coalition, not from a Human Rights Council that is composed mostly of dictatorships and other non-democracies.

Comprehensive Review of Mandates

The coalition of democracies should undertake a systematic review of all Special Procedures mandates with a view to terminating those that are duplicative, fall outside the Council's core competencies, or undermine the promotion and protection of individual human rights. Mandates that overlap with existing UN bodies or lack a clear legal basis should be discontinued. If the Human Rights Council fails to adopt the proposals, the democracies should launch a global campaign to expose the structurally compromised and illegitimate mandates and the Council's failure to reform.

Reform of the Selection Process by External Oversight

Given the structural deficiencies of the Human Rights Council and its Consultative Group, democratic states should not rely on internal UN mechanisms to ensure the integrity of appointments. Instead, a coalition of like-minded democracies should establish an independent external vetting process to assess candidates for Special Procedures mandates against objective criteria of independence, impartiality, and professional integrity. This should be done ahead of each session based on the applications that are published, and by interviews—independent of those conducted by the UN process—with willing candidates. The democratic coalition should publicly evaluate shortlisted candidates, issue reasoned assessments, and oppose the appointment of individuals with records of political advocacy, bias, or conflicts of interest. Legitimacy in the selection process must be established externally and not delegated to a politicized body.

Funding and Influence

Prohibition on Earmarked External Funding

To safeguard independence, Special Procedures mandate-holders should be prohibited from receiving or benefiting from any earmarked or external funding, whether channeled through OHCHR or provided directly or indirectly by states, foundations, or other entities, including through the funding of staff or volunteers. All funding should be centralized within the UN regular budget and allocated in a transparent, rules-based manner that ensures fairness and institutional neutrality.

Prohibition on Sponsored Travel and Hospitality

Special Procedures mandate-holders should be prohibited from accepting travel, accommodation, meals, or any form of hospitality or in-kind benefit from external actors, including governments, NGOs, academic institutions, or advocacy groups. All official travel and related expenses should be funded exclusively through the UN regular budget under transparent and standardized rules. This requirement reflects existing obligations under the Code of Conduct, which provides that mandate-holders must act free from any form of external influence and must not accept any favor, gift, or remuneration from governmental or non-governmental sources in connection with their mandate. The current practice whereby mandate-holders are invited, hosted, and financially supported by interested parties is inconsistent with these principles, creates clear conflicts of interest, and undermines the independence and impartiality required of their functions.

Interim Transparency and Disclosure Requirements

Pending the elimination of external funding arrangements, full and detailed public disclosure of all forms of external support, financial or in-kind, received by Special Procedures—including any funded staff or volunteers, or expenses such as travel, accommodation, meals, and other hospitality provided by external actors—should be mandatory. This should include the identity of donors, amounts, purposes, and any conditions attached. In addition, mandate-holders should publish detailed accounts of expenditures and operational costs. Such disclosure is essential to expose conflicts of interest and ensure accountability.

Disclosure of Staffing, Contributors, and Expenditures

Special Procedures mandate-holders should be required to publicly disclose the full composition of their teams, including all staff, consultants, and volunteers, regardless of whether they are funded through the UN or by external actors, or if they are unpaid. Given the authority exercised by mandate-holders, transparency regarding who produces their work is essential to ensure accountability and guard against undisclosed influence.

Standards & Conduct

Strengthened Evidentiary Standards

Given that Special Procedures reports are increasingly cited by international courts, all reporting must adhere to rigorous evidentiary standards. OHCHR should apply and enforce clear methodological requirements to ensure that factual assertions are based on objective, reliable, and independently verified information drawn from credible sources, and that unsubstantiated or advocacy-based claims are excluded. However, in light of documented concerns regarding OHCHR's inconsistent application of standards, internal oversight cannot be regarded as sufficient and must be complemented by independent external scrutiny.

Prohibit Social Media Statements by Mandate-Holders

The use of social media by Special Procedures mandate-holders is incompatible with the methodological rigor required by their role and should be prohibited. Instantaneous commentary or advocacy on social media is antithetical to the functions and duties of Special Procedures, which require rigorous verification, consultation with concerned states, and measured reporting, through formal outputs such as annual reports to the Human Rights Council and General Assembly and official press communications. Moreover, as documented in this report, the egregious social media conduct of certain mandate-holders—including the use of abusive language, endorsement of violence, and amplification of unverified claims—has exposed patterns of bias and conduct fundamentally inconsistent with basic professional standards. Democratic states should therefore treat any public statements made by mandate-holders on social media as evidence of compromised professional judgment and decline to engage with or rely upon individuals who make such statements in connection with their mandate.

Accountability & Consequences

Establish an Independent External Review and Accountability Mechanism

Democratic governments should jointly establish an independent external mechanism to review the work and conduct of Special Procedures mandate-holders. This mechanism should not only audit reports, but also investigate alleged violations of professional standards, publish detailed findings, and systematically expose methodological flaws, bias, and reliance on unverified sources.

The Coordination Committee, whose members are the professional peers of those under review, cannot be expected to act with full independence. Its recent conduct underscores this reality. The Committee has repeatedly rallied behind fellow mandate-holders despite credible complaints, while its own past Chair was condemned for the use of abusive and inappropriate language on social media, for which she was found guilty of unprofessional conduct by South Africa's health regulatory authority.

In the absence of credible UN enforcement, external scrutiny by democracies should serve as the primary vehicle for accountability.

Deny Platform Legitimacy to Compromised Mandate-Holders

Governments and parliaments should refuse to host, meet, or cite mandate-holders who violate basic standards of impartiality. No invitations, no endorsements, no amplification.

Introduce National-Level Vetting and Rebuttal Mechanisms

Foreign ministries should systematically review and formally rebut flawed UN reports, placing authoritative responses on the public record and circulating them to courts, media, and diplomatic partners.

Challenge the Use of Deficient UN Reports in International Litigation

Where Special Procedures reports that fail to meet basic standards of evidence and impartiality are cited before international judicial bodies such as the ICJ or ICC, states should formally challenge their admissibility and probative value, documenting bias, procedural deficiencies, and the absence of evidentiary rigor.

Build a Public Database of Bias and Misconduct

The democratic coalition should maintain a centralized, evidence-based repository tracking statements, affiliations, funding sources, and methodological failures of mandate-holders, making patterns of bias impossible to ignore.

Impose Targeted Diplomatic Consequences

States should consider visa restrictions, diplomatic downgrades, or formal censure for mandate-holders who engage in egregious misconduct, particularly where incitement or endorsement of violence is involved.

Redirect Engagement to Credible Human Rights Mechanisms

If reforms are not forthcoming, democracies should shift political and financial support toward international or regional bodies and independent mechanisms that retain higher professional standards, rather than legitimizing compromised Special Procedures. These should include, inter alia, mechanisms of the OSCE and the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights.

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1 Irene Khan

Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Expression

Irene Zubaida Khan has been Special Rapporteur on the right to freedom of opinion and expression since August 2020.¹⁴³ Born in 1957 in East Pakistan, now Bangladesh, she joined UNHCR in 1980, working there for two decades. In 2001, Amnesty International announced her as “the first woman, the first Asian, and the first Muslim” to be appointed as the organization’s Secretary-General.¹⁴⁴ The appointment of Khan in 2020 to the UN post came despite serious questions about her competence and ethics. She was forced to leave Amnesty International in 2009, under mysterious circumstances.¹⁴⁵ Amnesty supporters were shocked later to discover that Khan had received a secret payout package from the organization of some £533,103 (around \$904,000 at the time)—more than four times her annual salary, and amounting to 4% of Amnesty’s annual budget.¹⁴⁶

143 *Ms. Irene Khan: Special Rapporteur on freedom of expression and opinion*, **OHCHR** (Last visited January 9, 2026), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures/sr-freedom-of-opinion-and-expression/ms-irene-khan>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/7uzfu>.

144 *Irene Khan Biography*, **Amnesty International** (February 13, 2007), <https://www.amnesty.org/en/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/org100012007en.pdf>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/eO7Qw>. In 2007, Khan was voted to the “Muslim Power 100 list.” See *The Muslim Power 100*, **Mohammedamin.com** (February 10, 2007), https://www.mohammedamin.com/About_me/Muslim_power_100.html; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/kJocE>.

145 *A letter to all AI members and staff from the International Executive Committee*, **Amnesty International** (2011), <https://www.amnesty.ch/de/ueber-amnesty/dok/2011/irene-khan/brief-internationaler-vorstand>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/UMMqg>.

146 *Amnesty’s payoff sparks outrage*, **The Times of London** (February 20, 2011), <https://www.thetimes.com/uk/politics/article/amnestys-pay-offs-spark-outrage-qnb7k3cmtg>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/O7h9T>. see also @HillelNeuer, **X** (July 19, 2020, 2:12 AM), <https://x.com/HillelNeuer/status/1284627211946012680>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/MvTyw>. Speaking on BBC’s Panorama, on December 10, 2013, Amnesty UK’s chief Kate Allen acknowledged that “we were wrong to make such significant severance payments to our former Secretary General,” and she apologized. *Panorama Response from Kate Allen*, **Amnesty International UK** (December 11, 2013), <https://www.amnesty.org.uk/panorama-response-kate-allen>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/mS6MX>. A high-profile Amnesty supporter called on Khan to do the right thing” and return the money to the charity. There is no record that she ever did so. *Hagley human rights campaigner calls on ex-Amnesty International boss to give golden goodbye payoff back*, **Stourbridge News** (December 11, 2013), <https://www.stourbridgenews.co.uk/news/10869738.hagley-human-rights-campaigner-calls-on-ex-amnesty-international-boss-to-give-golden-goodbye-payoff-back/>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/p9zCF>. For more information, see *Irene Khan*, **Wikipedia** (Last visited January 28, 2026), https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Irene_Khan#Pay_controversy; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/I3XCM> and Hillel C. Neuer, *Why China Picked Amnesty International’s Ex-Chief as U.N. Free Speech Monitor*, **Newsweek** (July 17, 2020), <https://www.newsweek.com/china-free-speech-united-nations-irene-khan-amnesty-1518604>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/WsVkf>.

Khan was selected to be Rapporteur by a 5-member UN committee led by China.¹⁴⁷ The mandate, created in 1993, is to report and make recommendations on the right to freedom of expression.¹⁴⁸ Her selection by a China-led panel is particularly noteworthy in light of her longstanding public engagement with Beijing, and the thematic agenda that she promoted.

As Secretary-General of Amnesty International from 2001 to 2009, she prioritized criticism of the United States, famously describing the Guantanamo Bay detention facility, which held some of the world's most dangerous terrorists, as "the gulag of our time."¹⁴⁹

Gradually, Khan redirected the organization's focus away from civil and political rights, away from the organization's founding mission of defending prisoners of conscience, and toward broad issues of global poverty.

As director of the International Development Law Organization from 2012 to 2019, she celebrated the organization's "fruitful history of partnership with China" during a speech in Beijing.¹⁵⁰ Over the years, Khan frequently visited China and praised the regime, including its Belt and Road initiative, which has facilitated Beijing's persecution of the Uyghurs.¹⁵¹

Since assuming her UN post, Khan has repeatedly used her platform to advance an anti-Western and anti-Israel narrative while giving a free pass to authoritarian regimes that systematically restrict freedom of expression.

147 *China-led Panel Picks Amnesty International's Ex-Chief Irene Khan as U.N. Free Speech Monitor*, **UN Watch** (July 17, 2020), <https://unwatch.org/china-led-panel-picks-amnesty-internationals-ex-chief-irene-khan-as-u-n-free-speech-monitor/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/0PCfO>.

148 *About the mandate: Special Rapporteur on freedom of expression and opinion*, **OHCHR** (Last visited January 9, 2026), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures/sr-freedom-of-opinion-and-expression/about-mandate>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/YGIOR>.

149 *Amnesty Calls Guantanamo A 'Gulag'*, **CBS News** (May 25, 2005), <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/amnesty-calls-guantanamo-a-gulag/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/7Kdsd>.

150 *DG Irene Khan's statement at Forum on the Belt and Road Legal Cooperation*, **IDLO** (July 2, 2018), <https://www.idlo.int/news/policy-statements/forum-belt-and-road-legal-cooperation>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/Sc5ko>.

151 *China-led Panel Picks Amnesty International's Ex-Chief Irene Khan as U.N. Free Speech Monitor*, **UN Watch** (July 17, 2020), <https://unwatch.org/china-led-panel-picks-amnesty-internationals-ex-chief-irene-khan-as-u-n-free-speech-monitor/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/0PCfO>. *China selects U.N. free speech monitor – Hillel Neuer on Sky News Australia*, **UN Watch** (July 21, 2020), <https://unwatch.org/china-selects-u-n-free-speech-monitor-hillel-neuer-on-sky-news-australia/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/onWOU>; *Why China Picked Amnesty International's Ex-Chief as U.N. Free Speech Monitor*, **Newsweek** (July 17, 2020), <https://www.newsweek.com/china-free-speech-united-nations-irene-khan-amnesty-1518604>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/WsVkf>.

Known Funders (Excludes In-Kind Support)¹⁵²

- **Wellspring Philanthropic Fund:** \$775,000 as follows:

- \$25,000 in 2021
- \$300,000 in 2022
- \$150,000 in 2023
- \$150,000 in 2024
- \$150,000 in 2025

- **UNESCO:** \$200,000 in 2023

- **Sweden (SIDA):** \$225,000 as follows:

- \$150,000 in 2021
- \$75,000 in 2022 to hire a legal advisor

- **Austria:** \$23,392 in 2025

- **Switzerland:** \$150,000 in 2025

Since its creation in 2001, the Wellspring Philanthropic Fund has donated over \$1 billion, with a focus on social justice and far-left organizations. In 2024, it announced that it would wind down by the end of 2028.¹⁵³ In 2023 alone, Wellspring gave over \$5 million to Human Rights Watch and \$1.7 million to Amnesty International, both of which have been criticized for applying double standards in their treatment of Israel, while devoting comparatively less scrutiny to authoritarian regimes. It has also given millions to organizations such as openDemocracy, which regards democratic institutions and free speech norms as instruments that enable oppression;¹⁵⁴ Oxfam-America, which has been criticized for advancing an ideologically driven critique of Western economic systems and capitalism;¹⁵⁵ and trans-rights-in-sports advocacy groups, which advocate ideological positions that override sex-based categories in competitive athletics.¹⁵⁶

As noted in the Key Findings, earmarked funding from private foundations with overt political agendas, like the Wellspring Philanthropic Fund, whether routed through OHCHR or provided directly to mandate-holders, unduly influences mandate implementation and undermines the independence required of Special Procedures.

Sweden and Switzerland also should not be funding a UN position that has been politicized and weaponized to attack the West.

152 *Annual reports on Special Procedures*, **OHCHR** (Last visited March 18, 2026), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures-human-rights-council/annual-reports-special-procedures>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/BHY6v>.

153 *See Economic justice for all people*, **Wellspring Philanthropic Fund** (last visited January 29, 2026), <https://wpfund.org/>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/kBHR0>.

154 *See openDemocracy website*, **openDemocracy** (Last visited March 5, 2026), <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/dP9uX>.

155 *Oxfam Is Entitled to Its Own Opinions. but Not Its Own Facts*, **Cato Institute** (January 23, 2018), <https://www.cato.org/commentary/oxfam-entitled-its-own-opinions-not-its-own-facts>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/w5Xxs>.

156 *See Wellspring Philanthropic Fund, Inc. 990 Filings*, **ProPublica** (Last visited January 29, 2026), <https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/organizations/223692921>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/LPHuN>.

Attacks the West While Ignoring Violations by Repressive Regimes

During her tenure at Amnesty International, Khan repeatedly praised China while entirely overlooking its authoritarian repression of dissidents.¹⁵⁷ Since assuming the role of Special Rapporteur, her criticism has remained strikingly muted. She has tweeted only two weak criticisms about China, three on Vietnam, two on Pakistan, one on Venezuela,¹⁵⁸ and none at all about Cuba, Eritrea, Nicaragua, North Korea, or numerous other repressive regimes.¹⁵⁹

By contrast, she condemns Western democracies—particularly the U.S. and Europe—for allegedly silencing dissent on Palestine. In May 2024, Khan praised Chilean President Gabriel Boric’s “calm” handling of a pro-Palestine protest, urging U.S. leaders and Columbia President Minouche Shafik to follow his example.¹⁶⁰ She argued that American universities have a “duty” to support student protesters’ freedom of expression¹⁶¹—ignoring the fact that such protests have included overt antisemitism, incitement to violence, glorification of terror, and destruction of university property.

This pattern intensified over time. In October 2024, Khan claimed that “the best universities & cultural institutions in Western countries” were colluding with their governments “to intimidate, isolate & silence dissenting voices on the Palestinian situation,” thereby, she argued, diminishing the vitality of democratic life.¹⁶² In March 2025, she went further still, retweeting Francesca Albanese’s assertion that the “Western pretence of civility is over”¹⁶³—a sweeping condemnation that equates democratic institutions protecting Jewish students with authoritarian repression.

Khan Muted on Major Abuses of Freedom of Expression

This selective outrage stands in stark contrast to her relative silence on far more egregious and systematic violations of freedom of expression by authoritarian regimes. For example:

- **Venezuela** - In five years as the UN’s free speech monitor, she has issued only one tweet and two statements criticizing the Maduro government’s free speech violations.¹⁶⁴ Her only other tweet about Maduro criticized the U.S. raid that led to his arrest.¹⁶⁵

157 *Id.*

158 “China,” “Vietnam,” “Pakistan,” “Venezuela” word searches of @Irenekhan, X (Last visited March 17, 2026), [https://x.com/search?q=\(China%20OR%20Vietnam%20OR%20Pakistan%20OR%20Venezuela\)%20\(from%3AIrenekhan%20since%3A2020-08-01%20until%3A2026-03-17\)&src=typed_query&f=top](https://x.com/search?q=(China%20OR%20Vietnam%20OR%20Pakistan%20OR%20Venezuela)%20(from%3AIrenekhan%20since%3A2020-08-01%20until%3A2026-03-17)&src=typed_query&f=top); Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/xrNsv>.

159 “Cuba,” “Eritrea,” “Nicaragua,” “North Korea” word searches of @Irenekhan, X (Last visited March 17, 2026), [https://x.com/search?q=\(Cuba%20OR%20Eritrea%20OR%20Nicaragua%20OR%20%22North%20Korea%22\)%20\(from%3AIrenekhan%20since%3A2020-08-01%20until%3A2026-03-17\)&src=typed_query&f=top](https://x.com/search?q=(Cuba%20OR%20Eritrea%20OR%20Nicaragua%20OR%20%22North%20Korea%22)%20(from%3AIrenekhan%20since%3A2020-08-01%20until%3A2026-03-17)&src=typed_query&f=top); Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/tcPD0>.

160 @Irenekhan, X (May 4, 2024, 10:51 AM), <https://x.com/Irenekhan/status/1786800744428871727>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/tZ4dt>.

161 @Irenekhan, X (April 30, 2024, 5:15 PM), <https://x.com/Irenekhan/status/1785447920139116784>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/BuH2b>.

162 @UNGeneva, X (October 18, 2024, 6:28 AM), <https://x.com/UNGeneva/status/1847253361935942016>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/oDbAx>.

163 Retweeting @FranceskAlbs, X (March 22, 2025, 4:45 PM), <https://x.com/FranceskAlbs/status/1903457894328045629>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/2XgkY>.

164 @Irenekhan, X (January 15, 2025, 10:15 AM), <https://x.com/Irenekhan/status/1879442179338424770>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/ZN0tL>. Venezuela must respect right to peaceful protest and democratic dissent as new presidential term begins: UN Experts, OHCHR (January 10, 2025), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2025/01/venezuela-must-respect-right-peaceful-protest-and-democratic-dissent-new>; Freedom of Expression in Venezuela: state of play and lines of action, OAS (August 30, 2022), <https://www.oas.org/en/iachr/expression/reports/VEN-UN-OAS-Statement-AUG22.pdf>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/Vs7ag>.

165 @Irenekhan, X (January 4, 2026, 8:29 AM), <https://x.com/Irenekhan/status/2007700802908143979>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/XGUZh>.

- **Turkey** - When Turkey's Erdogan shut down the internet in the country multiple times during her tenure, Khan was completely silent—in September 2025,¹⁶⁶ March 2025,¹⁶⁷ February 2023,¹⁶⁸ and in November 2022.¹⁶⁹ As Special Rapporteur, she has issued no statements or reports on free speech violations by the Turkish government.¹⁷⁰
- **Iran** - When the Islamic regime shut down the internet amidst its crackdowns on the 2022 Mahsa Amini protests and the 2025-26 anti-government protests, Khan was completely silent on X. During her entire tenure as Special Rapporteur, she tweeted about Iran only seven times.¹⁷¹ While she signed onto joint UN statements criticizing the government crackdown in each instance, she did not issue any independent statements of her own. Moreover, the joint statements were not issued promptly: the first was released on October 26, 2022, in response to protests that began on September 16, 2022; and the second on January 13, 2026, in response to protests that began on December 28, 2025.¹⁷²
- **Myanmar** - Since the February 2021 military coup in Myanmar, Freedom House has noted a 22 point drop in the country's internet freedom score.¹⁷³ For the last three years in a row—2023, 2024, and 2025—Myanmar was ranked at the bottom of Freedom House's freedom on the net index,¹⁷⁴ together with China. Yet, Khan has issued only two joint press releases on Myanmar in June 2022 and March 2023.¹⁷⁵ She has tweeted on the issue only four times.¹⁷⁶

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- 166 *September 2025 date search of @Irenekhan, X* (Last visited February 24, 2026, 9:53 PM), https://x.com/search?q=from%3AIrenekhan%20since%3A2025-09-01%20until%3A2025-09-30&src=typed_query&f=top; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/kkKab>.
- 167 *March 2025 date search of @Irenekhan, X* (Last visited February 24, 2026, 9:53 PM), https://x.com/search?q=from%3AIrenekhan%20since%3A2025-03-01%20until%3A2025-03-31&src=typed_query; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/1mnFT>.
- 168 *February 2023 date search of @Irenekhan, X* (Last visited February 24, 2026, 9:53 PM), https://x.com/search?q=from%3AIrenekhan%20since%3A2023-02-01%20until%3A2023-02-28&src=typed_query&f=top; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/W47iI>.
- 169 *November 2022 date search of @Irenekhan, X* (Last visited February 24, 2026, 9:54 PM), https://x.com/search?q=from%3AIrenekhan%20since%3A2022-11-01%20until%3A2022-11-30&src=typed_query&f=top; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/coxVF>.
- 170 *Special Rapporteur on freedom of opinion and expression, OHCHR* (Last visited February 24, 2026), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures/sr-freedom-of-opinion-and-expression>.
- 171 *"Iran" word search of @Irenekhan, X* (Last visited February 24, 2026), https://x.com/search?q=from%3AIrenekhan%20iran&src=typed_query&f=live; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/ykcDk>.
- 172 *Iran: Crackdown on peaceful protests since death of Jina Mahsa Amini needs independent international investigation, say UN experts, OHCHR* (October 26, 2022), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2022/10/iran-crackdown-peaceful-protests-death-jina-mahsa-amini-needs-independent>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/0hhg7>. *Experts urge Iran to break cycle of violence, create space for dialogue, OHCHR* (January 13, 2026), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2026/01/experts-urge-iran-break-cycle-violence-create-space-dialogue>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/2sPZk>.
- 173 *Freedom on the net 2020: Myanmar, Freedom House* (2020), <https://freedomhouse.org/country/myanmar/freedom-net/2020>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/sUSP2>. *Freedom on the Net 2025: Myanmar, Freedom House* (2025), <https://freedomhouse.org/country/myanmar/freedom-net/2025>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/c6IoU>.
- 174 *Freedom on the Net 2025, Freedom House* (2025), <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-net/2025/uncertain-future-global-internet>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/AaOnE>. *Freedom on the Net 2024, Freedom House* (2024), <https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/2024-10/FREEDOM-ON-THE-NET-2024-DIGITAL-BOOKLET.pdf>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/g3RgY>. *Freedom on the Net 2023, Freedom House* (2024), <https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/2023-10/Freedom-on-the-net-2023-DigitalBooklet.pdf>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/SPaQE>.
- 175 *Myanmar: UN experts condemn military's "digital dictatorship," OHCHR* (June 7, 2022), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2022/06/myanmar-un-experts-condemn-militarys-digital-dictatorship>; *Myanmar: Social media companies must stand up to junta's online terror campaign, say UN experts, OHCHR* (March 13, 2023), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2023/03/myanmar-social-media-companies-must-stand-juntas-online-terror-campaign-say>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/p10CN>.
- 176 *"Myanmar" word search for @Irenekhan, X* (Last visited February 24, 2026), https://x.com/search?q=from%3AIrenekhan%20myanmar&src=typed_query&f=top; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/EuSic>.

- **Saudi Arabia** - Saudi Arabia has a poor record on freedom of expression, with a ranking of 162 out of 180 on the Reporters Without Porters press freedom index¹⁷⁷ and regular crackdowns against government critics. Censorship is widespread with all media outlets requiring a government license and approval by the Ministry of Media of all senior personnel.¹⁷⁸ Even after completing his full ten-year sentence in March 2022, *Saudi Liberal Network* blogger Raif Badawi continues to be subject to a ten-year travel ban.¹⁷⁹ Moreover, prosecutions for social media activity deemed critical of the government continue. In May 2025, a Saudi Arabian court sentenced British citizen Ahmad Al-Doush to ten years (later reduced to eight years) in prison, apparently over a deleted 2018 social media post that mentioned his relationship with the son of a Saudi critic.¹⁸⁰ Yet, Khan has only made one critical post on X regarding Saudi Arabia—in March 2021—a brief statement about freedom of journalists.¹⁸¹ During her entire tenure, she has co-signed only four official UN statements on Saudi Arabia—only one addressing censorship,¹⁸² and one consisting primarily of praise.¹⁸³ The other two concerned executions, an issue not directly related to her mandate.¹⁸⁴

Defends Hamas-Affiliated Al Jazeera Journalists

In addition to targeting Western democracies, Khan also used her mandate to repeatedly amplify anti-Israel narratives while downplaying or ignoring abuses committed by terrorist groups and authoritarian regimes. Since October 7, 2023, her interventions have reflected a striking lack of objectivity. She has endorsed pro-Palestinian student protests, invoking #FreeKhalil—referring to pro-Palestinian activist Mahmoud Khalil who was detained for three months during his deportation proceedings—and framed demonstrations, marked by intimidation, harassment of Jewish students, and incendiary rhetoric as exercises of “fundamental rights.”¹⁸⁵

Khan uses her mandate to defend *Al Jazeera*, Qatar’s state-funded broadcaster which routinely amplifies Hamas propaganda and serves as a mouthpiece for the terrorist group’s messaging.¹⁸⁶ In April 2024, Khan described Israel’s closure of *Al Jazeera* as “blatant censorship” and part of a broader campaign to suppress news of “atrocities.”¹⁸⁷ In May 2024, Khan attacked Israel’s ban on *Al Jazeera* repeatedly, calling it “unlawful,”

177 *Press Freedom Index: Saudi Arabia*, **RSF** (Last visited February 25, 2026), <https://rsf.org/en/country/saudi-arabia>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/SgT6h>.

178 *2024 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices: Saudi Arabia*, **U.S. State Department** (August 12, 2025), <https://www.state.gov/reports/2024-country-reports-on-human-rights-practices/saudi-arabia>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/xfqBG>.

179 *One year after his release from prison, Saudi blogger Raif Badawi is still not free*, **RSF** (March 10, 2023), <https://rsf.org/en/one-year-after-his-release-prison-saudi-blogger-raif-badawi-still-not-free>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/G4AzU>.

180 *British banking analyst jailed in Saudi Arabia for 10 years over ‘unknown tweet’*, **AP** (May 14, 2025), <https://apnews.com/article/saudi-arabia-bank-of-america-analyst-ahmed-aldoush-e2e6a8a9bb069f95d64b3c6fd5d6e3a1>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/jXM3V>.

181 @Irenekhan, **X** (March 2, 2021, 4:42 PM), <https://x.com/Irenekhan/status/1366760802020171778>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/i3BQR>.

182 *Saudi Arabia: Revoke death penalty for social media activity, UN experts urge*, **OHCHR** (September 15, 2023), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2023/09/saudi-arabia-revoke-death-penalty-social-media-activity-un-experts-urge>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/p10CN>.

183 *Saudi Arabia: UN experts welcome commutation of death sentences for three minors, urge charges be dropped*, **OHCHR** (March 3, 2021), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2021/03/saudi-arabia-un-experts-welcome-commutation-death-sentences-three-minors>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/5uszu>.

184 *Saudi Arabia: UN experts alarmed by imminent executions linked to NEOM project*, **OHCHR** (May 3, 2023), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2023/05/saudi-arabia-un-experts-alarmed-imminent-executions-linked-neom-project>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/e83PS>. *Saudi Arabia must halt executions of persons convicted for offences committed as minors: UN experts*, **OHCHR** (September 5, 2025), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2025/09/saudi-arabia-must-halt-executions-persons-convicted-offences-committed>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/1Wll8>.

185 @Irenekhan, **X** (March 20, 2025 10:50 AM), <https://x.com/Irenekhan/status/1902764644089188749>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/arcEl>.

186 *Documentary Evidence of Hamas-Al Jazeera Relations and Cooperation*, **The Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center** (October 20, 2025), <https://www.terrorism-info.org.il/en/documentary-evidence-of-hamas-al-jazeera-relations-and-cooperation>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/JaT4p>.

187 @Irenekhan, **X** (April 1, 2024, 4:48 PM), <https://x.com/Irenekhan/status/1774931946361217399>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/yhHHr>.

“disproportionate,” and an attempt to “deprive Palestinians of their #Right2Info.”¹⁸⁸ Likewise, she criticized the Palestinian Authority when it banned *Al Jazeera* in January 2025.¹⁸⁹ In October 2024, Khan met with *Al Jazeera* representatives as part of her advocacy for the pro-Hamas outlet.¹⁹⁰

Khan’s condemnation of Israel is grounded in claims that Gaza is the most deadly place for journalists in “the past 30 years”¹⁹¹—conveniently ignoring the fact that many of Gaza’s purported journalists are terror operatives working for Hamas and other terror groups.¹⁹² She has repeated this claim multiple times, including at a September 15, 2025 UN Press Conference.¹⁹³ At least five *Al Jazeera* “journalists” killed during the Gaza war have been documented to be Hamas operatives,¹⁹⁴ yet Khan dismisses these reports as “unsubstantiated claims”¹⁹⁵ and “smear campaigns.”¹⁹⁶ Khan also advocated for Wael Dahdouh,¹⁹⁷ a known Palestinian Islamic Jihad operative,¹⁹⁸ calling on the IDF to guarantee his safety while falsely presenting him as a civilian despite his terror affiliations.¹⁹⁹

In September 2024, Khan co-signed a UN statement condemning Israel’s targeted pager attack on top Hezbollah operatives as a “terrifying” violation of international law and a possible “war crime.”²⁰⁰ Her retweet of the statement demanded an independent UN investigation into Israel’s alleged “indiscriminate and dangerous explosion of pagers and radios in Lebanon.”²⁰¹ Whatever the merits of Israel’s attack on Hezbollah operatives, the issue falls entirely outside Khan’s mandate as UN Special Rapporteur on freedom of expression.

These charges dovetail with Khan’s embrace of lawfare against Israel. She endorsed the politicized ICJ genocide case filed by South Africa, tweeting that “all states must act together to prevent, halt, and punish genocide.”²⁰² In a grotesque act of Holocaust inversion, Khan condemned Germany—“of all countries”—for opposing the case against the Jewish state.²⁰³ Once again, the issue was entirely outside Khan’s UN mandate on defending free speech.

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- 188 @Irenekhan, X (May 7, 2024, 11:27 AM), <https://x.com/Irenekhan/status/1787896937716531248>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/3NMKG>.
- 189 *Al Jazeera ban represents dangerous precedent, risks contributing to impunity for human rights violations: Experts*, OHCHR (January 13, 2025), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2025/01/al-jazeera-ban-represents-dangerous-precedent-risks-contributing-impunity>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/FpEOc>.
- 190 @Irenekhan, X (October 10, 2024, 12:57 AM), <https://x.com/Irenekhan/status/1844271011140882599>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/4mjVV>.
- 191 @Irenekhan, X (April 1, 2024, 4:48 PM), <https://x.com/Irenekhan/status/1774931946361217399>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/yhHHR>.
- 192 @EFischberger, X (August 3, 2024, 10:28 AM), <https://x.com/EFischberger/status/1819772360779784194>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/2SA0r>.
- 193 *Gaza has become the Deadliest Conflict Ever for Journalists - UN Expert Irene Khan*, UN Palestinian Rights Committee (September 17, 2025), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JfqV18aq2QY>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/varchive/JfqV18aq2QY>.
- 194 *Documentary Evidence of Hamas-Al Jazeera Relations and Cooperation*, The Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center (October 20, 2025), <https://www.terrorism-info.org.il/en/documentary-evidence-of-hamas-al-jazeera-relations-and-cooperation/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/JaT4p>.
- 195 *Anas al-Sharif among four Al Jazeera journalists killed by Israel in Gaza*, Al Jazeera (August 10, 2025), <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2025/8/10/al-jazeera-journalist-anas-al-sharif-killed-in-israeli-attack-in-gaza-city>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/Sfuue>.
- 196 *OHCHR Special Procedures - Press conference: Human rights situation in Gaza and OPT*, UN Web TV (September 15, 2025), <https://webtv.un.org/en/asset/k18/k18iky4lpf>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/2gWAh>.
- 197 @Irenekhan, X (October 31, 2023, 4:09 PM), <https://x.com/Irenekhan/status/1719476780510171462>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/iDW5f>.
- 198 @EFischberger, X (September 14, 2025, 10:40 PM), <https://x.com/EFischberger/status/1967310101557223895>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/myH3w>; *IDF response to CPJ’s report from February 12th 2025*, IDF (February 2025), <https://www.idf.il/en/mini-sites/idf-response-to-cpjs-report-from-february-12th-2025/>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/7q4TB>.
- 199 @Irenekhan, X (October 31, 2023, 4:12 PM), <https://x.com/Irenekhan/status/171947577243333007>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/nxefW>.
- 200 *Exploding pagers and radios: A terrifying violation of international law, say UN experts*, OHCHR (September 19, 2024), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2024/09/exploding-pagers-and-radios-terrifying-violation-international-law-say-un>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/DZDOg>.
- 201 @Irenekhan, X (September 19, 2024, 12:49 PM), <https://x.com/Irenekhan/status/1836840032046321954>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/JN6gl>.
- 202 @Irenekhan, X (January 12, 2024, 9:28 AM), <https://x.com/Irenekhan/status/1745830085498642765>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/JVzGN>.
- 203 @Irenekhan, X (January 13, 2024, 2:57 AM), <https://x.com/Irenekhan/status/1746094177476358471>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/18D99>.

Not surprisingly, Khan collaborates with and supports the UN’s antisemitic rapporteur Francesca Albanese, a major promoter of the genocide libel against Israel. Khan not only defended Albanese against corruption allegations by UN Watch, but commended her for “carrying out her mandate with great integrity and transparency.”²⁰⁴ In September 2025, the two issued a joint statement condemning Israel for allegedly trying to “silence” Gaza’s journalists,²⁰⁵ highlighting the case of Anas Al-Sharif while completely ignoring Israel’s evidence-backed assertion that he was a Hamas military operative receiving a Hamas salary.²⁰⁶

Justifies Antisemitic Double Standards as Criticism of Israel

Khan participated in a webinar hosted by *7amleh*,²⁰⁷ a group that actively campaigns against the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance’s (IHRA) definition of antisemitism²⁰⁸—the most widely accepted contemporary definition, adopted by 47 countries including the United States, United Kingdom, Canada, Germany, and France.²⁰⁹

In November 2023, Khan shared a joint UN statement she co-authored condemning “attacks, reprisals, criminalisation and sanctions” against those expressing solidarity with Palestinians.²¹⁰ She insisted that “criticizing Israel is not antisemitism,” yet notably failed to acknowledge the widespread antisemitic violence, intimidation, and harassment carried out by the very individuals she was defending.

In March 2024, Khan escalated this line of argument, claiming that antisemitism is being “weaponized” to silence critics of Israel,²¹¹ echoing a false narrative frequently advanced by the UN’s antisemitic rapporteur Francesca Albanese. The latter regularly dismisses the alarming global rise in antisemitism by alleging that Jews fabricate such claims to shield Israel from scrutiny.²¹² Khan adopted a similar framing in her August 2024 report to the UN General Assembly, which was dedicated entirely to examining “the impact of the conflict in Gaza on freedom of expression globally.” She accused Western governments of “unfairly equating advocacy of Palestinian rights with terrorism or antisemitism,” which she called a “disproportionate response” and evidence of “institutional racism against Palestinians.”²¹³

204 @Irenekhan, X (June 7, 2024, 9:12 PM), <https://x.com/Irenekhan/status/1799278234246562210>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/nlbwT>.

205 States must stop Israel before all journalists in Gaza are silenced: UN experts, **OHCHR** (September 4, 2025), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2025/09/states-must-stop-israel-all-journalists-gaza-are-silenced-un-experts>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/OgqD9>.

206 Amid global outcry, IDF says Al Jazeera reporter it killed was receiving Hamas salary, **Times of Israel** (August 12, 2025), <https://www.timesofisrael.com/amid-global-outcry-idf-says-al-jazeera-reporter-it-killed-was-receiving-hamas-salary/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/QtqPH>.

207 @APC_News, X (October 24, 2024, 9:32 AM), https://x.com/APC_News/status/1849474102991401439; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/AYF9Z>. Webinar - From Local to Global: The genocide in Gaza and its impact on freedom of expression worldwide, **Association for Progressive Communications** (October 30, 2024), <https://www.apc.org/en/event/webinar-local-global-genocide-gaza-and-its-impact-freedom-expression-worldwide>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/SJPMB>.

208 Digital Rights Advocates Share Concern Over Meta’s Updated Hate Speech Policy, **7amleh** (July 11, 2024), <https://7amleh.org/post/digital-rights-advocates-share-concern-over-meta-s-updated-hate-speech-policy>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/nZp7m>.

209 Adoptions and Endorsements of the IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism, **Combat Antisemitism Movement** (Last visited January 9, 2025), <https://ihra.combatantisemitism.org/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/9jpKy>.

210 @Irenekhan, X (November 24, 2023, 8:56 PM), <https://x.com/Irenekhan/status/1728246363677392924>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/uhnUr>. Speaking out on Gaza/Israel must be allowed, **OHCHR** (November 23, 2023), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2023/11/speaking-out-gaza-israel-must-be-allowed-un-experts>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/bC6NE>.

211 @Irenekhan, X (February 29, 2024, 7:54 PM), <https://x.com/Irenekhan/status/1763382254687125821>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/X5SOn>.

212 Francesca Albanese’s Eight Worst Statements of Hate in May 2025, **UN Watch** (June 3, 2025), <https://unwatch.org/eight-worst-statements-of-hate-in-may-2025/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/rBZce>.

213 Global threats to freedom of expression arising from the conflict in Gaza, UN Doc. A/79/319, **UN General Assembly** (August 23, 2024), <https://docs.un.org/en/A/79/319>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/KTJX9>.

Uses Concept of “Anti-Palestinian Racism” to Suppress Free Speech

Khan’s report repeatedly made reference to “anti-Palestinian racism,” a very recent concept that was actually created to suppress freedom of speech—the one human right that Khan is mandated to protect.²¹⁴ The concept of “anti-Palestinian racism” (“APR”) was primarily advanced in 2022 by the Arab Canadian Lawyers Association.²¹⁵

APR overlaps significantly with existing protections against discrimination based on national origin, which are already covered under established human rights law. Instead, the concept is used to frame Zionism as inherently racist, and to insulate pro-Palestinian narratives from criticism while labeling opposing views as discriminatory, effectively reviving the discredited 1975 UN resolution equating Zionism with racism. Unlike the IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism, APR provides no safeguards for legitimate debate or differing viewpoints on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. For instance, stating that Jews have had a continuous presence in Israel for over 3,000 years—countering narratives of Israel as a settler-colonial state—could be deemed racist under APR.

As President and CEO of Canada’s Centre for Israel and Jewish Affairs (CIJA), Shimon Koffler Fogel, wrote in Canada’s *National Post*, that the concept of APR represents “a transparent move to drape a specific opinion on a geopolitical issue using social justice buzzwords, both to insulate the pro-Palestinian narrative from criticism and silence opposing views on the conflict.”²¹⁶

As the UN’s global monitor on freedom of expression, Khan should be the first to take a principled stand against APR. Instead, she has used her UN platform to elevate and legitimize a politicized concept created in 2022 by the Arab Canadian Lawyers Association. This decision demonstrates that she is using her mandate to advance a political agenda rather than to defend universal human rights principles.

214 *Unmasking Anti-Palestinian Racism*, **Honest Reporting Canada** (August 2025), <https://honestreporting.ca/wp-content/uploads/2025/08/APR-HRC-Final-Documents.pdf>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/wTINM>.

215 Mika Hackner, *A New Kind of Racism*, **Quillette** (October 11, 2024), <https://quillette.com/blog/2024/10/11/a-new-kind-of-racism-anti-palestinian/>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/0i0gj>.

216 Shimon Koffler Fogel, *The push to define anti-Palestinian racism is not about fighting discrimination*, **National Post** (July 2, 2024), <https://nationalpost.com/opinion/the-push-to-define-anti-palestinian-racism-is-not-about-fighting-discrimination>; also at <https://archive.ph/aFAc0#selection-2821.0-2821.20>.



2 Tlaleng Mofokeng

Special Rapporteur on the Right to Health

Tlaleng Mofokeng was appointed Special Rapporteur on the right to health in July 2020.²¹⁷ A South African physician, Mofokeng was appointed to the South African Commission on Gender Equality in 2019 and has served as an adviser to the Gates Foundation, the International Women’s Health Coalition, and other health-related organizations. She also served in the South African Gauteng Department of Health and in the DISA Health Care (women’s) Clinic.²¹⁸

The UN mandate that she holds, which was created in 2002, is charged with researching and reporting on the right to health throughout the world.²¹⁹ Instead, Mofokeng actively promotes prostitution to teens, blatantly violates the UN Code of Conduct and core professional standards, and explicitly denies Israel’s right to exist.

217 *Tlaleng Mofokeng: Special Rapporteur on the right to health*, OHCHR (Last visited January 9, 2026), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures/sr-health/tlaleng-mofokeng>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/3eCNq>.

218 *Tlaleng Mofokeng’s UN application form*, OHCHR (April 14, 2020), https://unwatch.org/wp-content/uploads/2026/01/MOFOKENG_Tlaleng_form.pdf; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/PcROY>.

219 *About the mandate: Special Rapporteur on the right to health*, OHCHR (Last visited January 9, 2026), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures/sr-health/about-mandate>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/xChVa>.

Known Funders (Excludes In-Kind Support)²²⁰

- Georgetown University: \$250,000 in 2024

Pattern of Anti-Western Hostility and Ideological Extremism

Mofokeng exhibits a consistent hostility toward Western states—particularly the United States—often expressed through highly personal attacks. She has labeled President Trump a “fascist,”²²¹ told him to “stay home” from a meeting with South Africa’s president,²²² and mocked his press conference as a “bad reality show.”²²³ She has denounced American foreign aid as “neocolonialism,”²²⁴ even endorsing claims that the U.S. is “occupying” Haiti,²²⁵ while simultaneously criticizing instances where foreign aid is insufficient.²²⁶ When *Time* magazine featured former U.S. Secretary of State Antony Blinken on its cover, she dismissed the image with a sneering “surely there’s no way.”²²⁷

“Filthy Rishi Sunak”

Her disdain is not limited to the United States. Mofokeng attacked UK Prime Minister Rishi Sunak, calling him “filthy”²²⁸ and “drunk, fucked up”²²⁹ after he issued statements on illegal immigration.

While condemning Western leaders and policies, Mofokeng has embraced authoritarian regimes. In July 2025, she met with the Cuban ambassador to the UN and praised the meeting as a “great time.”²³⁰ In fact, the Cuban regime has an abysmal record on protecting the right to health of its people, while exporting its doctors abroad in a form of forced labor.²³¹ Yet, Mofokeng has never once condemned Cuba’s gross and systematic violations of the right to health.

On the contrary, she venerated one of the violent leaders of Cuba’s Marxist revolution, Che Guevara, retweeting his claim that the United States is “the perpetrator of exploitation and oppression against the peoples of the world,” and affectionately referring to him as “Grandfather.”²³²

220 *Annual reports on Special Procedures, OHCHR* (Last visited March 18, 2026), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures-human-rights-council/annual-reports-special-procedures>.

221 @drtlaleng, X (November 23, 2025, 4:22 AM), <https://x.com/drtlaleng/status/1992539342297030779>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/V4QdZ>.

222 @drtlaleng, X (May 18, 2025, 10:24 PM), <https://x.com/drtlaleng/status/1924320117116088437>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/3ecXw>.

223 @drtlaleng, X (February 23, 2025, 5:00 AM), <https://x.com/drtlaleng/status/1893616811658060138>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/Tqnvh>.

224 @drtlaleng, X (February 8, 2025, 5:40 AM), <https://x.com/drtlaleng/status/1888191197396492770>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/XaC4c>.

225 @drtlaleng, X (June 25, 2024, 2:54 PM), <https://x.com/drtlaleng/status/1805706076974989542>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/z0J9g>.

226 @drtlaleng, X (July 24, 2024, 11:02 AM), <https://x.com/drtlaleng/status/1816156967456457185>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/jPXWc>.

227 @drtlaleng, X (January 11, 2024, 1:07 PM), <https://x.com/drtlaleng/status/1745522746551919056>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/OZicf>.

228 @drtlaleng, X (July 1, 2024, 2:10 PM), <https://x.com/drtlaleng/status/1807869466271011130>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/EWpWp>.

229 @drtlaleng, X (December 8, 2023, 9:14 AM), <https://x.com/drtlaleng/status/1733142972835762280>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/SG7i2>.

230 @drtlaleng, X (July 18, 2025, 2:44 AM), <https://x.com/drtlaleng/status/1946128852448641054>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/re9f1>.

231 *Cuban Medical Brigades to Mexico, Wall Street Journal* (June 14, 2020), <https://www.wsj.com/articles/cuban-medical-brigades-to-mexico-11592164194>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/IsARV>. *The Myth of Cuban Health, Fundación Internacional Bases* (February 7, 2021), <https://victimsofcommunism.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/The-Myth-of-Cuban-Health.pdf>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/dbVM8>.

232 @drtlaleng, X (May 23, 2024, 1:45 PM), <https://x.com/drtlaleng/status/1793730067077501163>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/71dcB>.

Promotes Prostitution to Teens

Mofokeng's record is both erratic and deeply controversial. She is a prominent advocate for the decriminalization of prostitution,²³³ even authoring an op-ed encouraging *Teen Vogue's* adolescent readers to view it as a legitimate form of labor.²³⁴ While serious debate exists around the decriminalization of sex work, it is profoundly irresponsible for a UN expert to downplay its risks by assuring teenagers that "some people may have fantasies and kink preferences that they are able to fulfill with the services of a sex worker." She said: "in some ways, aren't we all [sex workers]?" Mofokeng's op-ed ignores the widespread exploitation, abuse, and trafficking experienced by many women in the prostitution industry, offering minors a distorted and dangerously incomplete portrayal of a deeply complex issue.

When Mofokeng was appointed in 2020, Taina Bien-Aimé, Executive Director of the Coalition Against Trafficking in Women, criticized the selection, stating: "It is astounding that of all the experienced medical experts, the Human Rights Council would pick someone who encourages adolescent girls to consider prostitution as a job." She further added, "We rely on special rapporteurs to document human rights violations and urge governments to protect their most vulnerable populations from debilitating harm, inequalities, sexual exploitation and violence. Instead, it appears that OHCHR, which supports the Human Rights Council, is signaling that it too endorses legal frameworks that empower sex buyers and brothel owners."²³⁵

Prostitution survivors, together with fifteen other women's-rights groups, filed a detailed complaint against Mofokeng for libel and defamation after she "publicly disparaged and demeaned" a fellow UN expert who opposed efforts to legitimize prostitution.²³⁶

233 @HillelNeuer, X (January 19, 2025, 5:19 PM), <https://x.com/HillelNeuer/status/188119225168953698>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/V9bip>.

234 *Why Sex Work Is Real Work*, **Teen Vogue** (April 26, 2019), <https://www.teenvogue.com/story/why-sex-work-is-real-work>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/WwmuQ>.

235 *Not All Human Rights Council Specialists Are Perfect: The Latest Controversy*, **PassBlue** (August 19, 2020), <https://passblue.com/2020/08/19/not-all-human-rights-council-specialists-are-perfect-the-latest-controversy/>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/o6pMK>.

236 *Letter to HRC Coordinating Committee re Code of Conduct*, **Migrant Women Network** (November 25, 2024), <https://www.migrantwomennetwork.org/wp-content/uploads/Letter-to-HRC-Coordinating-Committee-re-Code-of-Conduct-November-2024-B.pdf>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/StwMq>.

Pattern of Profanity, Racist Abuse, and Unprofessional Conduct

Mofokeng frequently uses explicit and abusive language on her X feed. Interspersed with posts about health and the United Nations, she refers to individuals as “that hoe”²³⁷ and a “disgusting elder.”²³⁸ When someone disagreed with her views on the COVID-19 vaccine, Mofokeng—the UN’s Special Rapporteur on the Right to Health—responded by telling them to “Shove it up your a**.”²³⁹

In January 2025, she tweeted that Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu should “F**k off.”²⁴⁰ Then, after UN Watch Executive Director Hillel Neuer called for her to be disciplined for inappropriate conduct, Mofokeng launched into a racist tirade against him, referring to Neuer as an “evil scum” “white man.”²⁴¹

While the UN took no action, the South African Health Professions Council found her guilty of misconduct for “using abusive and inappropriate language on social media and for bringing the medical profession into disrepute.”²⁴² Undeterred, Mofokeng doubled down, insisting that her tweets do not affect her professional integrity.²⁴³ In a follow-up post, she dismissed the council’s findings, accusing critics of “weaponizing” medical ethics.²⁴⁴

Supports BDS and Delegitimization of Israel

On social media, Tlaleng Mofokeng publicly endorsed the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) movement²⁴⁵ and promoted the imposition of arms embargoes against Israel.²⁴⁶ She has accused Western healthcare workers of complicity in what she falsely labeled “Israel’s genocide.”²⁴⁷ At a March 2025 UNISPAL event, she declared: “We have watched the horror of a genocide in Gaza that has escalated in the West Bank, in Jerusalem, and Lebanon as well...”²⁴⁸ Her rhetoric goes beyond criticism of Israeli policy—she has rejected Israel’s right to exist entirely, tweeting the eliminationist slogan “From the river to the sea Palestine will be free,” accompanied by a map erasing Israel.²⁴⁹

237 @drtlaleng, X (October 9, 2024, 9:02 AM), <https://x.com/drtlaleng/status/1844030631199822165>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/9JAXn>.

238 @drtlaleng, X (October 8, 2024, 8:59 AM), <https://x.com/drtlaleng/status/1843667425977606617>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/wGF98>.

239 @HillelNeuer, X (January 22, 2025, 4:12 PM), <https://x.com/HillelNeuer/status/1882189647889207489>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/JJpUE>.

240 @HillelNeuer, X (January 23, 2025, 10:24 AM), <https://x.com/HillelNeuer/status/1882464354123079793>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/sx4I1>.

241 @HillelNeuer, X (January 25, 2025, 6:06 PM), <https://x.com/HillelNeuer/status/1883305389145608476>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/PvImk>.

242 *HPCSA Sanctions UN Special Rapporteur Dr Tlaleng Mofokeng for Unprofessional Conduct*, **SAZF** (October 28, 2025), <https://www.sazf.org/current-issues/hpcs-sanctions-un-special-rapporteur-dr-tlaleng-mofokeng>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/2ckp9>.

243 *Doctor defends social media posts after HPCSA fine*, **Juta Medical Brief** (November 5, 2025), <https://www.medicalbrief.co.za/doctor-defends-social-media-posts-after-hpcs-fine/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/6icyf>.

244 @drtlaleng, X (November 6, 2025, 11:54 AM), <https://x.com/drtlaleng/status/1986492350193881543>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/iIAWS>.

245 @drtlaleng, X (April 15, 2025, 4:28 PM), <https://x.com/drtlaleng/status/1912271812924170516>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/kfIW4>.

246 @drtlaleng, X (March 24, 2025, 9:38 PM), <https://x.com/drtlaleng/status/1904377388370211004>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/2Vcfg>.

247 @drtlaleng, X (January 26, 2025, 10:32 AM), <https://x.com/drtlaleng/status/1883553484613804535>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/kGgcD>.

248 @UNISPAL, X (March 24, 2025, 1:12 PM), <https://x.com/UNISPAL/status/1904249873370603536>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/FYRCA>.

249 @drtlaleng, X (August 31, 2024, 10:51 PM), <https://x.com/drtlaleng/status/1830106240233492646>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/IUOBC>.

Openly Endorses Hamas Terrorists

Mofokeng's first public response after October 7 was to justify the violence. In a thread on X, she wrote: "you cannot extinguish the human desire for freedom." She said nothing at all about the massacred and tortured Israeli victims.²⁵⁰ Since then, she has stated that Hamas fighters—who documented their own mass atrocities on October 7, 2023—"are not terrorists," and has explicitly endorsed their "armed struggle."²⁵¹ Further downplaying Hamas atrocities, she defended convicted Palestinian terrorists, implying their imprisonment was itself genocidal, writing, "October 7th 2023 was not the genesis of this genocide" alongside a post noting that some prisoners had served 40 years.²⁵² Likewise, in a May 2024 tweet, she praised PFLP terrorist Leila Khaled—notorious for her role in plane hijackings—writing "Leila Khaled battalion" with a rose emoji.²⁵³ In this regard, Mofokeng also endorsed and amplified a Chinese government statement that "armed struggle against colonisation is not terrorism."²⁵⁴

In May 2024, Mofokeng told British Prime Minister Rishi Sunak to "shut up" after he expressed solidarity with Israeli victims and affirmed Israel's right to self-defense.²⁵⁵ Likewise, when a February 2025 post noted that the U.S. had opened an investigation into Hamas for the October 7 attacks, Mofokeng dismissed it with a curt, "Come on, brother."²⁵⁶ Her rhetoric escalated further in May 2025, when she posted three consecutive disparaging tweets declaring: "Stop the genocide.²⁵⁷ / Imperialism is violence.²⁵⁸ / What a despicable human species."²⁵⁹

In a public show of solidarity, she and fellow pro-Hamas UN rapporteur Francesca Albanese have shared mutual support, with Albanese referring to Mofokeng as her "comrade and sister."²⁶⁰

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- 250 @drtlaleng, X (October 17, 2023, 2:08 PM), <https://x.com/drtlaleng/status/1714372710371835906>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/P4kWZ>.
- 251 @HillelNeuer, X (January 22, 2025, 4:23 PM), <https://x.com/HillelNeuer/status/1882192284374233157>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/xBoAB>.
- 252 @drtlaleng, X (January 18, 2025, 7:07 PM), <https://x.com/drtlaleng/status/1880784235398857215>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/ho4sl>.
- 253 @drtlaleng, X (May 24, 2024, 3:05 PM), <https://x.com/drtlaleng/status/1794112408639688952>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/gSEXN>.
- 254 @drtlaleng, X (February 22, 2024, 11:05 AM), <https://x.com/drtlaleng/status/1760712497324024044>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/71dcB>.
- 255 @drtlaleng, X (April 7, 2024, 10:49 PM), <https://x.com/drtlaleng/status/1777196972639649801>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/FQ3kc>.
- 256 @drtlaleng, X (February 9, 2025, 11:13 AM), <https://x.com/drtlaleng/status/1888637348730057043>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/qWprH>.
- 257 @drtlaleng, X (May 11, 2025, 9:48 AM), <https://x.com/drtlaleng/status/1921593210838655050>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/5euEe>.
- 258 @drtlaleng, X (May 11, 2025, 9:49 AM), <https://x.com/drtlaleng/status/1921593465315401911>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/BsmMI>.
- 259 @drtlaleng, X (May 11, 2025, 9:52 AM), <https://x.com/drtlaleng/status/1921594379594023300>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/CZg2r>.
- 260 @drtlaleng, X (April 5, 2025, 11:52 AM), <https://x.com/drtlaleng/status/1908442602665292008>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/GzOxw>. @FranceskaAlbs, X (April 5, 2025, 6:13 AM), <https://x.com/FranceskaAlbs/status/1908538451504275695>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/2TU0J>.



3 George Katrougalos

Independent Expert on Democratic and Equitable International Order

In April 2024, George Katrougalos, the former foreign minister of Greece, was appointed Independent Expert on the promotion of a democratic and equitable international order.²⁶¹ A Greek lawyer and politician, Katrougalos is a professor of constitutional law at the Democritus University of Greece. He has served in the European Parliament, the Greek Parliament, and has held multiple posts in the Greek government.²⁶² Katrougalos was a member of SYRIZA, a radical-left political party that ruled Greece from 2015 to 2019²⁶³ and has been linked to antisemitism,²⁶⁴ including through its self-described “anti-Zionist” stance²⁶⁵—most recently evidenced by its support for the Hamas-linked²⁶⁶ Sumud flotilla seeking to break Israel’s lawful blockade of Gaza.²⁶⁷

261 *Appointments at the 55th session of the Human Rights Council (26 February to 5 April 2024)*, **OHCHR** (Last visited January 13, 2026), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/hr-bodies/hrc/sp/hrc55>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/0Pw37>.

262 *George Katrougalos’s UN application form*, **OHCHR** (October 23, 2023), https://unwatch.org/wp-content/uploads/2026/01/KATROUGALOS_George_form.pdf; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/ZfanD>.

263 *The Crisis in Syriza and the Prospects for the Radical Left in Greece*, **Transform!Europe** (January 28, 2025), <https://transform-network.net/blog/analysis/the-crisis-in-syriza-and-the-prospects-for-the-radical-left-in-greece/>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/gOaiH>. *From protest to paradox: a decade of SYRIZA’s ascent, governance and decline*, **frontiers** (August 21, 2025), <https://www.frontiersin.org/journals/political-science/articles/10.3389/fpos.2025.1663569/full>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/lsvv5>.

264 *Antisemitism Worldwide 2015*, **Tel Aviv University Kantor Center** (2015), <https://cst.tau.ac.il/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/Doch2015-160117.pdf>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/5t5Oe>. *Jewish leaders expressed mixed feelings on new Greek government*, **Algemeiner** (January 26, 2015), <https://www.algemeiner.com/2015/01/26/jewish-leaders-express-mixed-feelings-on-new-greek-government/>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/09cuJ>. *AJC: Greek SYRIZA party candidate’s antisemitic Facebook post*, **Jewish Community of Athens** (January 17, 2015), <https://athjcom.gr/en/2015/01/17/ajc-greek-syriza-party-candidates-anti-semitic-facebook-post/>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/B5yKZ>.

265 *Analysis: The victory of Syriza in Greece is bad news for Israel*, **Jerusalem Post** (January 26, 2015), <https://www.jpost.com/international/analysis-the-victory-of-syriza-in-greece-is-bad-news-for-israel-388960>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/Zi4Bv>.

266 *Official Hamas documents prove Hamas’s direct involvement in the Gaza flotilla*, **Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs** (Last visited February 17, 2026), <https://www.gov.il/en/pages/official-hamas-documents-prove-hamas-s-direct-involvement-in-the-gaza-flotilla-30-sep-2025>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/rjEnC>.

267 *Leftist Greek opposition party expresses full support for Gaza-bound aid flotilla*, **Andalou Agency** (September 15, 2025), <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/europe/leftist-greek-opposition-party-voices-full-support-for-gaza-bound-aid-flotilla/3688641>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/ayzwd>.

Under its 2011 founding resolution, the mandate is to make recommendations concerning the promotion and protection of a “democratic and equitable international order.”²⁶⁸ In practice, the mandate was created with the political aim of targeting the West. It was established by the UN Human Rights Council in 2011 at Cuba’s initiative and over the objections of all Western democracies.²⁶⁹ At the time, the EU criticized the resolution for addressing issues beyond the Council’s remit and for sidestepping core civil and political rights obligations.

The inaugural mandate-holder, Alfred de Zayas—an ideologue known for backing authoritarian regimes—has defended Iran’s “right” to nuclear weapons and claimed that Germany suffered a genocide in 1945.²⁷⁰ He is celebrated in Holocaust-denial circles. In November 2017, de Zayas conducted a propaganda trip to Venezuela under the guise of his UN mandate, during which he whitewashed the Maduro regime’s abuses and posted staged images suggesting that starving Venezuelans enjoyed abundant food.²⁷¹

Katrougalos questions the value of democracy, defends autocracies, and whitewashes Hamas terrorism.

Known Funders (Excludes In-Kind Support)²⁷²

- **China:** \$100,000 in 2025

Undermines Liberal Democracy and the Western Order

Katrougalos’s worldview reflects a deeply anti-Western posture. In his report to the Human Rights Council’s September 2024 session, he questioned whether democracy is a “universal value and the only legitimate form of government,” casting doubt on liberal democracy. He argued that international law as developed by the Western world perpetuates “the legacy of colonialism and racism,” and that “Indigenous elites in former colonies” replicate the repressive practices of their colonial predecessors. His discussion of the “famine in Gaza” framed the crisis in a way that implicitly absolved Hamas and amplified anti-Israel narratives.²⁷³

Soft Spot for Authoritarian Regimes: Cuba, China, Iran, and Russia

Katrougalos openly cultivates ties with authoritarian regimes. In January 2025, he met with Cuba’s dictator Miguel Díaz-Canel at the Havana-based *Balance of the World Conference*,²⁷⁴ proudly posting photos with Díaz-Canel²⁷⁵ and Cuban Ambassador Aramis Fuentes.²⁷⁶ Katrougalos also met with former Cuban repre-

268 *Mandate: Independent Expert on international order*, **OHCHR** (Last visited January 23, 2026), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures/ie-international-order/mandate>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/D9Wp7>.

269 *Promotion of a democratic and equitable international order*, **HRC Meetings** (September 22, 2011), <https://hrcmeetings.ohchr.org/HRCSessions/RegularSessions/18thSession>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/kqGH4>.

270 *The End of Human Rights at the U.N. — Panel was “Mother of All Rogues’ Galleries”*, **UN Watch** (September 14, 2017), <https://unwatch.org/end-human-rights-u-n-panel-mother-rogues-galleries/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/gc7Xn>.

271 *UN rights council report glorifies Venezuela’s Maduro regime*, **UN Watch** (October 2, 2018), <https://unwatch.org/un-rights-council-report-glorifies-venezuelas-maduro-regime/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/0azPL>.

272 *Annual reports on Special Procedures*, **OHCHR** (Last visited March 18, 2026), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures-human-rights-council/annual-reports-special-procedures>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/UGhku>; *Facts and figures with regard to the special procedures in 2025*, UN Doc. A/HRC/61/66/Add.1, **Human Rights Council** (March 17, 2026), <https://docs.un.org/en/A/HRC/61/66/Add.1>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/o3BKR>.

273 *Report of the Independent Expert on the promotion of a democratic and equitable international order*, George Katrougalos, UN Doc. A/HRC/57/49, **Human Rights Council** (August 5, 2024), <https://documents.un.org/doc/undoc/gen/g24/130/86/pdf/g2413086.pdf>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/EYg7q>.

274 @gkatr, X (February 3, 2025, 6:13 AM), <https://x.com/gkatr/status/1886372464772468924>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/se8Fx>.

275 @gkatr, X (January 30, 2025, 7:07 AM), <https://x.com/gkatr/status/1884936526477328460>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/se8Fx>.

276 @gkatr, X (February 7, 2025, 5:02 AM), <https://x.com/gkatr/status/1887804220788609509>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/D0wqp>.

sentative to the UN Anayansi Rodríguez Camejo.²⁷⁷ The Cuban Foreign Ministry publicized the visit,²⁷⁸ and Díaz-Canel personally thanked Katrougalos for attending.²⁷⁹ Katrougalos even retweeted praise, framing his visit as proof of Cuba’s “cooperation” with the UN human rights system.²⁸⁰ Unsurprisingly, Katrougalos later condemned the re-designation of Cuba as a state sponsor of terrorism by the U.S.²⁸¹

His affinity extends to China. In June 2025, Katrougalos spoke at the inauguration of the Chinese School of Classical Studies in Athens, lauding Greek–Chinese cooperation.²⁸² Separately, he praised Xi Jinping’s vision as one of “openness, development and dialogue.”²⁸³ He has made multiple visits to China—including to the CCP-run *International Forum on Democracy* in Beijing²⁸⁴—and, as Greek Foreign Minister, chose China for his first official trip. During that visit he gave interviews to *The People’s Daily*, dismissing Western media accounts and insisting that China was “nothing like” its documented record.²⁸⁵ China gave him \$100,000 in 2025.

Katrougalos has also embraced the Islamic Republic Iran. In November 2025, he traveled to Tehran to speak at a conference accusing Western powers of replacing international law with a selective, Western-driven “rules-based order.”²⁸⁶ He met with Deputy Foreign Minister Kazem Gharibabadi—notorious for his “lecherous” conduct as a diplomat²⁸⁷—and the two lamented supposed Israeli and American “crimes” against the Iranian regime.²⁸⁸ As Foreign Minister, Katrougalos had previously met Iran’s Foreign Minister Javad Zarif²⁸⁹ and expressed interest in developing trade between the countries.²⁹⁰

His record with Russia follows the same pattern. In an interview with *Sputnik News* just ten days before Russia invaded Ukraine, he criticized sanctions against Putin’s regime, insisted Greece did not view Russia as “a hostile power,” and called for Russia’s reintegration into Europe’s “security architecture.”²⁹¹ In 2018, he attended the University of the Peloponnese’s controversial ceremony awarding Vladimir Putin an honorary doctorate.²⁹²

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- 277 @AnayansiRCamejo, X (January 29, 2025, 2:45 PM), <https://x.com/AnayansiRCamejo/status/1884689405887017091>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/SS4pr>.
- 278 @CubaMINREX, X (January 29, 2025, 1:57 PM), <https://x.com/CubaMINREX/status/1884677295379464615>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/ACI5Y>.
- 279 @DiazCanelB, X (January 29, 2025, 8:58 PM), <https://x.com/DiazCanelB/status/1884783300050399672>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/t0rt7>.
- 280 Retweeting of @BehmarasI, X (February 2, 2025, 8:00 PM), <https://x.com/BehmarasI/status/1886218068654723124>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/iLg5R>.
- 281 @BrunoRguezP, X (February 7, 2025, 6:48 AM), <https://x.com/BrunoRguezP/status/1887830686419066925>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/y3jcs>.
- 282 @gkatr, X (June 26, 2025, 8:00 AM), <https://x.com/gkatr/status/1938205744949551453>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/XoJdy>.
- 283 Greek edition of ‘Xi Jinping: The Governance of China’ launched in Athens, **The People’s Republic of China** (November 20, 2025), https://english.www.gov.cn/news/202511/20/content_WS691e51dec6d00ca5f9a07ae3.html; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/O9bjQ>.
- 284 @gkatr, X (March 26, 2024, 2:56 AM), <https://x.com/gkatr/status/1772517947031859432>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/19pgV>.
- 285 China’s successful development experience inspiring for other countries: former Greek Foreign Minister, **People’s Daily Online** (June 7, 2021), <https://en.people.cn/n3/2021/0607/c90000-9858282.html>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/NXF3J>.
- 286 Expert Panel at Tehran Dialogue Forum Warns of Global Shift From Law-Based to “Rules-Based” Order, **IPIS** (November 16, 2025), <https://ipis.ir/en/newsview/778346>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/8Sf4r>.
- 287 Tehran’s New Nuclear Negotiator: ‘The Most Lecherous Iranian Diplomat’, **Iran Wire** (September 25, 2025), <https://iranwire.com/en/news/145083-irans-new-nuclear-negotiator-the-most-lecherous-iranian-diplomat/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/Dwe5i>.
- 288 US, Israeli crimes threaten world peace, destabilize global system: Iran’s deputy FM, **Press TV** (November 16, 2025), <https://www.presstv.ir/Detail/2025/11/16/758904/Iran-US-Israel-undermine-international-law>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/TgIBh>.
- 289 Iran-Greece Ties on the Right Track: FM Zarif, **Iran Front Page** (December 19, 2016), <https://ifpnews.com/iran-greece-ties-on-the-right-track-fm-zarif/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/O5gzA>.
- 290 Greece interested in Iran’s gas, **Tehran Times** (December 2016), <https://tehrantimes.com/news/409328/Greece-interested-in-Iran-s-gas>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/mum4u>.
- 291 SYRIZA’s foreign policy chief: Russia has a place in Europe’s security system, **Greek City Times** (February 14, 2022), <https://greekcitytimes.com/2022/02/14/syrizas-foreign-policy-chief-russia/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/OB6y6>.
- 292 Academics want Putin’s titles stripped, **Ekathimerini** (December 3, 2022), <https://www.ekathimerini.com/news/1179453/academics-want-putins-titles-stripped/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/brn1I>.

Implicit Anti-American Mindset

Katrougalos has a consistent record of singling out the United States for criticism, often in ways that reveal a clear anti-American bias.

He retweeted Alena Douhan’s calls for the U.S. to lift “unilateral sanctions” on Cuba²⁹³ and condemned Trump’s strikes on Venezuelan boats²⁹⁴—despite credible evidence that those vessels were trafficking narcotics to fund Nicolás Maduro’s regime.²⁹⁵ Disregarding this documented criminal activity, he dismissed the U.S. strikes as “unprovoked.”²⁹⁶ He even publicly challenged Venezuelan President-elect and Nobel laureate María Corina Machado for supporting the operations, insisting that “as UN experts we have condemned these attacks as blatantly illegal.”²⁹⁷

Katrougalos has also joined a UN statement attacking the United States for its June 2025 strikes on Iranian nuclear facilities, branding them “lawlessness” and denying the U.S. any right to self-defense against Iran’s escalating nuclear threats.²⁹⁸

Calls for “Muslim World” to Get Permanent Seat on UN Security Council

In his report to the 60th Session of the UNHRC in September 2025, Katrougalos’s first recommendation was to give the Muslim World a permanent seat on the UN Security Council—“The Independent Expert recommends that: (a) The reform of the Security Council include permanent representation from India, Africa, Latin America and the Muslim world.”²⁹⁹

His proposal is at odds with the state-based structure of the United Nations Charter, which recognizes sovereign states, not religious or civilizational blocs, as members. It is unclear who would represent this category, but in practice such a seat would likely be controlled or heavily influenced by the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, a political bloc that includes some of the world’s most repressive regimes. Katrougalos’s proposal would effectively hand veto power to governments such as the Islamic Republic of Iran, Pakistan, Turkey, Qatar, and others with documented records of sponsoring extremism or suppressing basic freedoms. Institutionalizing a religious seat would politicize faith within global security governance, entrench bloc voting, and deepen paralysis. Rather than advancing meaningful reform, the proposal would undermine the universality, neutrality, and effectiveness of the Security Council itself.

293 Retweeting @UN_SPExperts, X (November 21, 2025, 12:21 PM), https://x.com/UN_SPExperts/status/1991919866149060783; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/X1f60>.

294 UN experts condemn coercive intervention in Venezuela by the United States, OHCHR (October 21, 2025), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2025/10/un-experts-condemn-coercive-intervention-venezuela-united-states>; Archive Link: [@UN_SPExperts, X \(October 21, 2025, 5:21 PM\), https://x.com/UN_SPExperts/status/1980746341203550212; Archive Link: https://ghostarchive.org/archive/h9BEF.](https://archive.ph/6dzrO)

295 ‘Largest drug offload’ in U.S. Coast Guard history includes cocaine found in ‘many’ vessels from Venezuela, feds say, Local 10 (August 25, 2025), <https://www.local10.com/news/national/2025/08/25/venezuela-was-source-of-about-22-billion-in-drugs-seized-at-sea-so-far-this-year-feds-say/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/eo3iA>.

296 @UN_SPExperts, X (November 4, 2025, 1:46 PM), https://x.com/UN_SPExperts/status/1985780738017423596?s=20; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/y6Tlo>.

297 @gkatr, X (October 11, 2025, 5:49 AM), <https://x.com/gkatr/status/1976948204462809559>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/n5z6i>.

298 UN experts condemn United States attack on Iran and demand permanent end to hostilities, OHCHR (June 26, 2025), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2025/06/un-experts-condemn-united-states-attack-iran-and-demand-permanent-end>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/eDkli>.

299 Major geopolitical trends and structural drivers of the North-South divide, UN Doc. A/HRC/60/31, UN General Assembly (July 18, 2025), <https://docs.un.org/en/A/HRC/60/31>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/egweh>.

Undermines Israel's Security and Whitewashes Terror

Katrougalos has consistently advanced pro-Palestinian narratives that deny Israel's right to self-defense and whitewash Hamas. In a lengthy October 28, 2023 tweet, he equated the October 7 Hamas attacks on Israeli civilians with Israel's military response targeting Hamas, during which Palestinian civilians were regrettably killed.³⁰⁰ By portraying the two as equivalent violations of international law, he ignored the fundamental legal distinction between the intentional targeting of civilians, which is categorically prohibited, and incidental civilian casualties resulting from attacks on lawful military objectives. He likewise ignored Hamas's responsibility for endangering Gaza civilians by failing to abide by the rules of distinction—embedding military operations within civilian areas, using civilians to shield military objectives from attack, and systematically failing to distinguish its fighters from civilians, including by operating in civilian dress.

In September 2024, following targeted IDF operations against Hezbollah in Lebanon—including airstrikes on Hezbollah targets and Israel's pager operation—Katrougalos accused Israel of “extrajudicial killings” and called for the “punishment of war crimes.”³⁰¹ In June 2025, he endorsed the controversial “Freedom Flotilla,” which sought to breach Israel's lawful Gaza blockade³⁰²—a widely criticized provocation intended to delegitimize Israel.³⁰³

He has also advocated for the return of Palestinian refugees, a demand that would, in practice, end Israel's existence as a Jewish state.³⁰⁴ In addition, he has defended pro-Hamas campus protests that target Jewish students and cause property damage,³⁰⁵ as well as the UK-based pro-Hamas group Palestine Action which was banned by the UK under its anti-terror laws.³⁰⁶

Katrougalos defended his antisemitic colleague Francesca Albanese, sharing posts expressing solidarity with her following U.S. sanctions.³⁰⁷ In September 2025, he appeared at an official UN press conference alongside Albanese, where he shamefully invoked the Holocaust to accuse Israel of genocide, asking, “Is it possible that the people who endured the Holocaust are now committing the most high of crimes, genocide against their neighbors?” He further accused Israel of undermining “the international legal order” and called for arms embargoes against the country.³⁰⁸

300 @gkatr, X (October 28, 2023, 4:57 AM), <https://x.com/gkatr/status/1718190225506115657>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/zEGh9>.

301 @gkatr, X (September 30, 2024, 2:01 PM), <https://x.com/gkatr/status/1840814222734692842>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/OAEdS>.

302 Gaza: UN experts demand safe passage for Freedom Flotilla Coalition, OHCHR (June 2, 2025), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2025/06/gaza-un-experts-demand-safe-passage-freedom-flotilla-coalition>; Archive Link: [@UN_SPExperts, X \(June 2, 2025, 11:45 AM\), https://x.com/UN_SPExperts/status/1929565096402890996; Archive Link: https://ghostarchive.org/archive/PY5I0.](https://archive.ph/o0OLO)

303 The Gaza flotilla is a fraud, JNS (September 6, 2025), <https://www.jns.org/the-gaza-flotilla-is-a-fraud/>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/xdAza>.

304 @gkatr, X (May 16, 2021, 10:10 AM), <https://x.com/gkatr/status/1393931871008997385>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/3eiuu>.

305 @gkatr, X (May 14, 2024, 8:31 AM), <https://x.com/gkatr/status/1790359373966942543>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/6ctce>.

306 UN experts urge United Kingdom not to misuse terrorism laws against protest group Palestine Action, OHCHR (July 1, 2025), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2025/07/un-experts-urge-united-kingdom-not-misuse-terrorism-laws-against-protest>; Archive Link: [@UN_SPExperts, X \(July 1, 2025, 12:50 PM\), https://x.com/UN_SPExperts/status/1940090602559004976; Archive Link: https://ghostarchive.org/archive/BVQIO.](https://archive.ph/t8buQ)

307 Retweeting @profbensaul, X (July 9, 2025, 7:52 PM), <https://x.com/profbensaul/status/1943096046676250821>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/m7CkO>.

308 OHCHR Special Procedures - Press conference: Human rights situation in Gaza and OPT, UN Web TV (September 15, 2025), <https://webtv.un.org/en/asset/k18/k18iky4pf>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/Mlevu>.



4 Michael Fakhri

Special Rapporteur on the Right to Food

Michael Fakhri has been Special Rapporteur on the Right to Food since May 2020.³⁰⁹ A Lebanese-Canadian law professor now teaching at the University of Oregon, he specializes in food law and international economic law and has lectured in Qatar, Egypt, Lebanon, and other countries.³¹⁰

Officially, his UN task is to report and make recommendations on “the right to food.”³¹¹ In reality, the mandate was conceived as an anti-Western project, and that has been its history. It was established by the UN Commission on Human Rights in 2000—at the initiative of Cuba’s Communist dictatorship.³¹²

The first to hold the position was Jean Ziegler, a Marxist ideologue who in 1989 announced to the world the creation of the Muammar Qaddafi Human Rights Prize.³¹³ Subsequent mandate-holders included Hilal Elver, wife and close colleague of 9/11-conspiracy-theorist Richard Falk.³¹⁴ Both the U.S. and Canada condemned Elver’s appointment due to her extreme views and lack of relevant experience.

309 *Mr. Michael Fakhri: Special Rapporteur on the right to food*, **OHCHR** (Last visited January 8, 2026), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures/sr-food/mr-michael-fakhri>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/TCRpl>.

310 *Michael Fakhri’s UN application form*, **OHCHR** (October 16, 2019), https://unwatch.org/wp-content/uploads/2026/01/FAKHRI_Michael_form.pdf; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/FfToA>.

311 *About the mandate: Special Rapporteur on the right to food*, **OHCHR** (Last visited January 8, 2026), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures/sr-food/about-mandate>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/iaI2r>.

312 Cuba introduced the resolution creating the “right to food” mandate, with fellow dictatorships co-sponsoring, including Syria’s Assad regime, Libya’s Qaddafi regime, and North Korea’s Kim Jong-il regime. However, when the U.S. called a vote, the 49 voting in favor included Canada, Germany, France, and the UK, with only the U.S. voting in opposition, and the Czech Republic and Latvia abstaining. See *Commission on Human Rights : report on the 56th session, 20 March-28 April 2000*, at 421-22, UN Doc. E/CN.4/2000/167, **Commission on Human Rights** (2000), https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/423758/files/E_2000_23_E_CN.4_2000_167-EN.pdf; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/I6MzV>.

313 *Switzerland’s Nominee to the UN Human Rights Council and the Moammar Khaddafi Human Rights Prize*, **UN Watch** (November 9, 2006), <https://unwatch.org/9043-2/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/duy29>. *Prizes: And the Winner is...*, **Time** (May 8, 1989), <https://time.com/archive/6702484/prizes-and-the-winner-is/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/fxwOY>.

314 *U.S. and Canada blast today’s UN appointment of Richard Falk’s wife, citing ‘biased and inflammatory views’*, **UN Watch** (May 8, 2014), <https://unwatch.org/u-s-and-canada-blast-todays-un-appointment-of-richard-falks-wife-citing-biased-and-inflammatory-views-abysmal-judge/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/bpfYj>.

Following in this tradition, over his 6-year term, Fakhri has demonstrated a penchant for promoting anti-Western, antisemitic, and anti-Israel rhetoric.

Known Funders (Excludes In-Kind Support)³¹⁵

- **Switzerland:** \$690,657 as follows:
 - \$36,829 in 2021
 - \$164,828 in 2022
 - \$163,000 in 2023
 - \$163,000 in 2024
 - \$163,000 in 2025
- **Germany:** 220,000 Euros in 2023. Paid to Fakhri's employer, the University of Oregon, and earmarked for research assistants for 2023-2024.

Switzerland and Germany should not be funding a UN position that has been politicized and weaponized to attack the West.

Backed Maduro Regime in Propaganda Trip to Venezuela

In February 2024, Fakhri visited Caracas at the invitation of the Maduro regime. This visit is especially notable given that the Chávez and Maduro governments have systematically refused to permit genuine, independent UN scrutiny.

Over the past two decades, Venezuela has rejected official visit requests from a dozen different UN human rights mechanisms, including the Special Rapporteurs on human rights defenders, freedom of expression, torture, and freedom of assembly, and from the Working Groups on arbitrary detention and enforced disappearances. Many of these requests were followed by repeated reminders spanning more than a decade. All were denied.³¹⁶

Instead, the regime has selectively permitted only tightly managed propaganda visits by ideologically aligned, anti-Western UN appointees. In 2017, Alfred de Zayas, the Special Rapporteur on “a democratic and equitable international order,” became the first UN expert to visit Venezuela in 15 years. He was warmly received by the foreign minister and appeared at a government press conference, but failed to hold the Maduro regime to account.³¹⁷ Rather than addressing the government's abuses, de Zayas praised Maduro's efforts to “promote peace” through “national dialogue,” blamed Venezuela's human rights catastrophe on external actors, and even posted propaganda images on X falsely depicting food abundance amid widespread hunger.³¹⁸

315 *Annual reports on Special Procedures*, OHCHR (Last visited March 18, 2026), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures-human-rights-council/annual-reports-special-procedures>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/roqRX>.

316 For example, following are just some of the UN experts that have officially requested to conduct visits to Venezuela: Special Rapporteur on human rights defenders (request submitted in 2007, reminders sent in 2008, 2010 & 2015); Special Rapporteur on freedom of expression (request submitted in 2003, reminders sent in 2009 & 2015); Special Rapporteur on torture (requested submitted in 2010, reminders sent in 2013 & 2018); Special Rapporteur on freedom of assembly (requested submitted in 2011, reminders sent in 2013, 2017, 2018, 2019 & 2020); Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial executions (request submitted in 2006, reminders in 2018 & 2021); Special Rapporteur on violence against women (reminders in 2014 and 2021); Special Rapporteur on independence of judges (request submitted in 2011, reminders in 2014 & 2015); Working Group on arbitrary detention (requests submitted in 2011 & 2017, reminders in 2013, 2014, 2015, 2018 & 2019); Working Group on disappearances (request submitted in 2019, reminders in 2020, 2022, 2023 & 2025). All these requested UN visits were rejected by the Venezuelan regime. *Country visits of Special Procedures*, OHCHR (Last visited February 4, 2026), <https://spinternet.ohchr.org/ViewCountryVisits.aspx?visitType=all&lang=en>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/wGO57>.

317 *U.N. chief must condemn own expert's 'fake investigation' of Venezuela rights record*, UN Watch (November 29, 2017), <https://unwatch.org/u-n-experts-venezuela-visit-fake-investigation-swiss-rights-group/>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/INeD6>.

318 Id. See also *UN rights council report glorifies Venezuela's Maduro regime*, UN Watch (October 2, 2018), <https://unwatch.org/un-rights-council-report-glorifies-venezuelas-maduro-regime/>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/INeD6>.

Similarly, in 2021, Alena Douhan, the Special Rapporteur on “unilateral coercive measures,” conducted another propaganda visit, after which she attributed Venezuela’s economic collapse primarily to Western sanctions.³¹⁹

Fakhri’s visit followed this same pattern. He was warmly welcomed by Foreign Minister Yván Gil, who tweeted that it was an “honor” to host Fakhri and expressed eagerness to “collaborate” with him on “strengthening food security” in the face of U.S. sanctions.³²⁰ Fakhri met with senior government officials and concluded his visit with a press conference in Caracas, as reported by pro-Maduro media outlets.³²¹

His statement at the end of his Venezuela mission made no reference to victims of the regime’s gross human rights abuses, nor did he condemn Nicolás Maduro, whose rule had driven nearly eight million people to flee,³²² creating South America’s largest refugee crisis. Instead, in a striking moral inversion, Fakhri portrayed the regime as a victim, calling for the lifting of “unilateral coercive measures”—that is, Western sanctions—against the dictatorship.³²³

Ironically, on February 15, one day after Fakhri concluded his visit, Foreign Minister Gil shut down the UN human rights office in Caracas, denounced the UN Charter as “colonialist” and “abusive,” and branded the UN “the private law firm of the coup plotters and terrorists who permanently conspire against Venezuela.”³²⁴ Fakhri made no response.

In his March 2025 UN report on his visit, Fakhri wrote that he was “reassured that the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela has many progressive laws...which hold the potential to realize the right to food,” and he commended legislation recognizing “the seed as a living being and a constituent part of Mother Earth and therefore as an object and subject of law.”³²⁵

Accuses Canada of “Committing Genocide”

Fakhri accused Canada of “committing genocide” against indigenous people³²⁶ and claimed that human rights were born not of “western liberals” but of the “decolonization” movement.³²⁷ These claims reflect a distortion of established legal standards and a revisionist account of human rights history. The characterization of Canada’s conduct as “genocide” departs from the legal definition set out in the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, which requires specific intent and enumerated acts, thereby substituting advocacy language for legal analysis. Likewise, attributing the origins of human rights solely to “decolonization” ignores the central role of post-war legal frameworks developed within Western democratic systems.

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- 319 *Venezuela Report: UN’s Alena Douhan Blames Western Sanctions for Country Collapse*, **UN Watch** (September 15, 2021), <https://unwatch.org/venezuela-uns-alena-douhan-blames-west-for-maduros/>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/IVIrJ>.
- 320 @yvangil, **X** (February 1, 2024, 10:36 AM), <https://x.com/yvangil/status/1753079983176638725>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/m45MX>.
- 321 *See, e.g., In Venezuela, UN special rapporteur on the Right to Food*, **Ultimas Noticias** (February 1, 2024), <https://en.ultimasnoticias.com.ve/politica/en-venezuela-relator-especial-de-la-onu-sobre-derecho-a-la-alimentacion/>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/y6h66>. *UN rapporteur to assess the impact of sanctions on food security in Venezuela*, **Diario VEA** (February 1, 2024), <https://diariovea.com.ve/relator-de-la-onu-evaluara-impacto-de-las-sanciones-en-seguridad-alimentaria-de-venezuela/>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/JNRPi>. *UN special rapporteur on the right to food calls for the immediate lifting of sanctions against Venezuela*, **la Iguana tv** (February 14, 2024), <https://www.laiguana.tv/articulos/1198350-relator-onu-alimentacion-levantamiento-sanciones-venezuela/>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/hUX7P>.
- 322 *Venezuela Crisis Explained*, **USA for UNHCR** (April 17, 2024), <https://www.unrefugees.org/news/venezuela-crisis-explained/>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/aOy1o>.
- 323 *End of Mission Statement (Venezuela)*, **OHCHR** (February 14, 2024), <https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/documents/issues/food/statements/20240214-eom-statement-venezuela-sr-food-en.pdf>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/D5Rns>.
- 324 *Venezuela Shuts Down UN Human Rights Office, Expels Staff*, **Voa News** (February 15, 2024), <https://www.voanews.com/a/venezuela-shuts-down-un-human-rights-office-expels-staff-/7489547.html>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/Sp7v6>.
- 325 *Visit to the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela*, UN Doc. A/HRC/58/48/Add.1, **Human Rights Council** (March 5, 2025), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/documents/country-reports/ahrc5848add1-visit-bolivarian-republic-venezuela-report-special>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/RgXpt>.
- 326 @MichaelFakhri, **X** (July 3, 2019, 9:01 AM), <https://x.com/MichaelFakhri/status/1146433702135652353>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/Jx909>.
- 327 @MichaelFakhri, **X** (October 1, 2016, 9:28 AM), <https://x.com/MichaelFakhri/status/782240835735736321>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/hL0Lk>.

Ideological Bias Against Western Policies

Fakhri's reports show a clear bias against Western democracies, especially the United States and Europe, while paying little or no attention to serious abuses by the world's most repressive regimes.

In a 2021 report about seeds, Fakhri accused the U.S. and EU of pressuring poorer countries into unfair trade agreements, claiming these countries had “no real choice.”³²⁸ In a 2024 report on fishing, he attacked Western-backed conservation efforts, calling them a new form of colonialism. The report ended with the line, “The ocean is our Mother and the rivers are her kin,” an emotive statement more typical of advocacy rhetoric than of the legal or empirical analysis expected of a UN Special Rapporteur.³²⁹ In a 2022 report on war and food, Fakhri singled out the United States as the only country in the world that he explicitly accused of discrimination against LGBTQ+ adults.³³⁰ Taken together, these reports reflect a consistent focus on Western democracies as primary violators, rather than a balanced assessment of global food-related human rights challenges.

Promotes Famine Libel and Anti-Israel Propaganda

On Oct. 12, 2023, in his first public response to the Hamas October 7 massacre, Fakhri condemned not Hamas, but the country it invaded: “Israel tightened its 16-yr blockade by now denying Palestinians in Gaza access to food & fuel: starvation of civilians is a war crime. Nothing justifies crimes against humanity as we are witnessing.”³³¹ He has never issued a statement condemning Hamas's mass murder, rape, and hostage-taking, nor has he acknowledged the plight of Israeli civilians or hostages, tortured and starved in Hamas captivity.

As the UN expert on the right to food, Fakhri ought to have documented in detail the only deliberate starvation taking place in Gaza: Hamas's starvation of hostages. Following her November 2023 release, former hostage Sapir Cohen testified that she was forced to “collect food scraps from the floor.”³³² Murdered hostage Eden Yerushalmi weighed just 36 kilos (80 pounds) when her body was recovered by the IDF on September 1, 2024.³³³ Fellow hostages Hersh Goldberg-Polin and Alexander Lobanov lost approximately 30% of their body weight in captivity.³³⁴

Hostages released in February 2025—Ohad Ben-Ami, Or Levy, and Eli Sharabi—appeared visibly emaciated during a Hamas-staged propaganda ceremony and testified to surviving on little more than a rotten pita every few days.³³⁵ In August 2025, Hamas released additional propaganda footage showing the emaciated hostages Evyatar David and Rom Braslavski.³³⁶ Yet Fakhri failed to issue a single statement addressing Hamas's starvation of Israeli hostages.

328 *Seeds, right to life and farmers' rights*, UN Doc. A/HRC/49/43, **Human Rights Council** (December 30, 2021), <https://documents.un.org/doc/undoc/gen/g21/397/86/pdf/g2139786.pdf>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/HUAXx>.

329 *Fisheries and the right to food in the context of climate change*, UN Doc. A/HRC/55/49, **Human Rights Council** (January 9, 2024), <https://documents.un.org/doc/undoc/gen/g23/267/70/pdf/g2326770.pdf>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/OZrPt>.

330 *Id.*

331 @MichaelFakhri, **X** (October 12, 2023, 11:48 PM), <https://x.com/MichaelFakhri/status/1712706934296764506>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/lKtTR>.

332 ‘Relentless daily torture’: Ex-hostage pleads with President-elect Donald Trump to free hostages, **The Jerusalem Post** (November 29, 2024), <https://www.jpost.com/israel-news/article-828243>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/tuUEZ>.

333 *Slain hostages struggled with their killers in final moments, IDF probe said to find*, **Times of Israel** (September 9, 2024), <https://www.timesofisrael.com/slain-hostages-struggled-with-their-killers-in-final-moments-idf-probe-said-to-find/>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/9y4M5>.

334 *As the Families of Murdered Hostages, Our Message to People in Power Is Simple: Act*, **Time** (September 25, 2024), <https://time.com/7023806/israel-hostage-families-letter/>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/TXSpC>.

335 *Three ex-hostages in serious condition, appear starved, lost 30% of weight*, **Jerusalem Post** (February 8, 2025), <https://www.jpost.com/israel-news/article-841186>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/EFiU3>. *Hostages were choked, hung from the ceiling and starved by Hamas, freed captives claim*, **The JC** (February 10, 2025), <https://www.thejc.com/news/israel/hostages-choked-hung-starved-hamas-jqu0tt2>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/vv3zt>.

336 *Back-to-Back Savage Videos Depict Emaciated Hostages, One Digging His Own Grave*, **The Media Line** (August 3, 2025), <https://themedialine.org/top-stories/back-to-back-savage-videos-depict-emaciated-hostages-one-digging-his-own-grave/>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/yMwpb>.

Instead, Fakhri was one of the leaders of the United Nations’ famine libel campaign against Israel, ignoring substantial countervailing evidence. Even after the IPC Famine Review Committee’s June 2024 conclusion that “the available evidence does not indicate that Famine is currently occurring,” Fakhri insisted otherwise, tweeting that famine had spread “across all of Gaza.”³³⁷ In May 2025, he amplified the libel that 14,000 babies could die without immediate aid to Gaza, publishing an op-ed in *The Guardian* that falsely accused Israel of “19 months of a starvation campaign” while summarily dismissing Israel’s extensive efforts to facilitate humanitarian assistance throughout that period.³³⁸

This distortion of the humanitarian crises reflects Fakhri’s broader campaign to target Israel and deny its legitimacy. In May 2024, he accused Israel of “dispossessing the Palestinian people for more than 75 years,” *i.e.*, since its creation in 1948.³³⁹ Meanwhile, he has defended UNRWA—the UN agency that keeps Palestinians as perpetual refugees. He also misrepresented the provisional order of the International Court of Justice in the *South Africa v. Israel* genocide case, falsely suggesting the court found Israel guilty of genocide—when in fact the ICJ merely issued preliminary measures without ruling on the merits.³⁴⁰ He further participated with University of Oregon faculty and staff in supporting the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) movement against Israel, which seeks to isolate Israel economically, academically, and politically and openly contests Jewish sovereignty.³⁴¹

Fakhri also uses his platform to bolster bigoted UN officials. He has repeatedly defended Francesca Albanese,³⁴² the Special Rapporteur on Palestine, who has been condemned for antisemitism by France, Germany, the U.S., Canada, and many others.³⁴³ Fakhri previously dismissed UN Watch’s documentation of Albanese’s record as a “witch hunt.”³⁴⁴ He also endorsed the anti-Israel tweets of fellow Rapporteur Tlaleng Mofokeng, while hailing her as “Sister Tlaleng.”³⁴⁵ As detailed above, Mofokeng defends Hamas and endorses “armed struggle.”³⁴⁶

337 @MichaelFakhri, X (July 9, 2024, 9:45 AM), <https://x.com/MichaelFakhri/status/1810701727815131437>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/cQrPt>.

338 *If aid doesn’t enter Gaza now, 14,000 babies may die. UN peacekeepers must step in*, **The Guardian** (May 22, 2025), <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2025/may/22/israel-gaza-aid-plan-displace-control-palestinians>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/cQrPt>.

339 @MichaelFakhri, X (May 8, 2024, 11:29 PM), <https://x.com/MichaelFakhri/status/1788441065500164498>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/NPCE2>.

340 @MichaelFakhri, X (January 27, 2024, 9:35 PM), <https://x.com/MichaelFakhri/status/1751448773790986279>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/vGXaB>.

341 @MichaelFakhri, X (June 6, 2024, 9:06 AM), <https://x.com/MichaelFakhri/status/1798733167286755335>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/km806>.

342 @MichaelFakhri, X (July 2, 2024, 10:50 PM), <https://x.com/MichaelFakhri/status/1808362677326209503>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/vXLvO>.

343 *Condemnations Against Antisemitic UN Rapporteur Francesca Albanese*, **UN Watch** (July 1, 2025), <https://unwatch.org/condemnations-against-antisemitic-un-rapporteur-francesca-albanese/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/RAKf7>.

344 @MichaelFakhri, X (June 6, 2024, 7:52 AM), <https://x.com/MichaelFakhri/status/1798714549627150749>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/Lo38B>.

345 @MichaelFakhri, X (November 13, 2023, 12:08 PM), <https://x.com/MichaelFakhri/status/1724127100402339852>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/Wpk3H>.

346 @HillelNeuer, X (January 22, 2025, 3:14 PM), <https://x.com/HillelNeuer/status/1882192284374233157>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/xBoAB>.

Grotesque Antisemitic Report to UN General Assembly

In his 2024 report to the UN General Assembly, Fakhri accused Israel of genocide via starvation and included a cartoon graphic that evoked antisemitic tropes.³⁴⁷ The report marked a culmination of his campaign to criminalize Israel's response to the Hamas invasion and massacre. In March 2025, during a press conference on the Occupied Palestinian Territory, Fakhri escalated his rhetoric against Israel, accusing it of "the fastest starvation campaign in modern history" and stating that "when Israel attacks the UN" it "is attacking everyone."³⁴⁸

During the press conference, Fakhri also asserted that Israel "owes the Palestinian people reparations and the only way we are going to see a permanent ceasefire is through sanctions, wide-scale economic sanctions." He elaborated that "If you're going to sanction Israel, you're also going to have to deal with its allies, and you have to reposition your place in the global economy. This is going to be difficult but it is necessary to protect yourselves and your own people."³⁴⁹ In reality, Israeli military pressure on Hamas combined with the leadership of U.S. President Trump brought about a ceasefire in October 2025 which achieved a cessation of hostilities and the return of all of the living Israeli hostages, as well as all deceased hostages.

Fakhri's record reveals a troubling pattern of weaponizing his mandate to exonerate authoritarian regimes, demonize Israel, and promote an ideological agenda antithetical to the UN's purported values.

347 *Starvation and the right to food, with an emphasis on the Palestinian people's food sovereignty*, UN Doc. A/79/171, **UN General Assembly** (July 17, 2024), <https://documents.un.org/doc/undoc/gen/n24/212/30/pdf/n2421230.pdf>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/xpmQ2>. *Palestine and the Right to Food*, **OHCHR** (August 27, 2024), <https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/documents/issues/food/2024-08-27-visuals-palestinian-people-food-sovereignty.pdf>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/esw0T>. See also *Legal Analysis of UN Food Rapporteur Michael Fakhri's 2024 Report to UN General Assembly*, **UN Watch** (September 14, 2024), <https://unwatch.org/legal-analysis-of-un-food-rapporteur-michael-fakhri-2024-report-to-un-general-assembly/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/ksCAo>.

348 *OHCHR Press Conference: The situation in occupied Palestinian territory*, **UNOG Multimedia Newsroom** (March 12, 2025), <https://www.unognewsroom.org/story/en/2555/ohchr-press-conference-the-situation-in-occupied-palestinian-territory/7678>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/BZsiH>.

349 *Id.*



5 Balakrishnan Rajagopal

Special Rapporteur on Adequate to Housing

In May 2020, Balakrishnan Rajagopal assumed the role of Special Rapporteur on the right to adequate housing.³⁵⁰ An Indian law professor with a PhD from Harvard Law School, Rajagopal has been teaching at MIT since 2000 where he founded MIT's Displacement Research and Action Network, the first university-based global network to focus on displacement and evictions. His academic specialty is "Global South" perspectives on human rights, inspired by his Indian roots.³⁵¹

Under the founding resolution, the mandate is to promote the realization of the right to adequate housing, identify obstacles and practical solutions, and identify "gender-specific vulnerabilities" in relation to the right to adequate housing.³⁵² Rajagopal has used his mandate to defend dictatorships, whitewash Hamas crimes, and assail the West for supporting Israel.

350 *Mr. Balakrishnan Rajagopal: Special Rapporteur on the right to adequate housing*, OHCHR (Last visited January 9, 2026), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures/sr-housing/mr-balakrishnan-rajagopal>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/hX1cU>.

351 *Balakrishnan Rajagopal's UN application form*, OHCHR (October 15, 2019), https://unwatch.org/wp-content/uploads/2026/01/RAJAGOPAL_Balakrishnan_form.pdf; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/CXcbM>.

352 *Special Rapporteur on the right to adequate housing*, OHCHR (Last visited January 9, 2026), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures/sr-housing>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/GorkQ>.

Known Funders (Excludes In-Kind Support)³⁵³

- **Germany:** \$287,676 as follows:
 - \$44,793 in 2020
 - \$79,015 in 2021
 - \$66,145 in 2022
 - \$54,526 in 2023
 - \$43,197 in 2024
- **Open Society Policy Center:** \$80,000 in 2023

The Open Society Policy Center, now called the Open Society Action Fund, is affiliated with the Open Society Foundations, founded by George Soros.³⁵⁴ The foundations have funded groups that trained activists in property destruction during the 2020 riots, backed Antifa, glorified the October 7 Hamas attack, and have links to the PFLP terrorist organization.³⁵⁵ In at least one instance, Open Society publicly acknowledged that a 2017 donation to a feminist activist center at Rutgers University was intended to influence—and did influence—a UN Special Rapporteur’s choice of topic for her annual thematic report.³⁵⁶

As noted in the Key Findings, earmarked funding from private foundations with overt political agendas, like the Open Society Policy Center, whether routed through OHCHR or provided directly to mandate-holders, unduly influences mandate implementation and undermines the independence required of Special Procedures.

Germany also should not be funding a UN position that has been politicized and weaponized to attack the West.

Ideological Hostility to the West and Democratic Governance

In 2008, Rajagopal co-edited a compilation of essays, *International Law and the Third World*, with former UN Palestine Rapporteur Richard Falk, a pro-Hamas official who was condemned by Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon for spreading 9/11 conspiracy theories.³⁵⁷ The book centers on dismantling the Western democratic state and advancing a narrative of “struggle against colonialism and economic imperialism.” Chapters include “Why Should Muslims Abandon Jihad?” and “Resistance in the Age of Empire.”³⁵⁸ In his own chapter (first published in 2006), Rajagopal denounces international law as an “imperial” system that supposedly “legitimizes the exercise of raw power by the USA,” even questioning whether the United States is morally distinct

353 *Annual reports on Special Procedures*, **OHCHR** (Last visited March 18, 2026), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures-human-rights-council/annual-reports-special-procedures>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/ZiPkX>.

354 *Open Society Action Fund*, **Influence Watch** (Last visited March 5, 2026), <https://www.influencewatch.org/non-profit/open-society-policy-center/>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/6KWtS>.

355 See, e.g., *Exclusive: Soros’ Open Society Gave Terrorist and Pro-Terror Groups Over \$80 Million*, **Capital Research Center** (September 17, 2025), <https://capitalresearch.org/article/exclusive-soros-open-society-gave-80-million-to-pro-terror-groups/>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/TsUGu>.

356 The UN Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of slavery chose her report topic as a result of funding from Soros’ Open Society. *The Financing of UN Experts in the Special Procedures of the Human Rights Council*, at p. 38, **European Center for Law and Justice** (September 2021), <https://static.eclj.org/pdf/ECLJ%20Report%20-%20THE%20FINANCING%20OF%20UN%20EXPERTS.pdf>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/rYABI>.

357 *Richard Falk*, **UN Watch** (Last visited January 10, 2026), <https://unwatch.org/tag/richard-falk/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/5AVpM>.

358 Richard Falk, Balakrishnan Rajagopal, and Jacqueline Stevens, *International Law and the Third World*, **Third World Quarterly** (2008), https://api.pageplace.de/preview/DT0400.9781134070251_A25028193/preview-9781134070251_A25028193.pdf; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/7DAnS>.

from China.³⁵⁹ He turned to Falk again for guidance on his 2009 book, *International Law from Below*, which reiterates the same ideological critique. Falk served as an external reader who reviewed and critiqued the manuscript.³⁶⁰

Rajagopal's hostility towards law enforcement underpins his work as a UN expert. His social media posts routinely condemn the United States for enforcing basic laws—policing homelessness,³⁶¹ clearing dangerous encampments,³⁶² and deporting illegal immigrants³⁶³—revealing a deep bias against the core functions of the modern democratic state. He attacked the U.S. president's executive order to “End Crime and Disorder on America's Streets” and even urged individual states to defy it.³⁶⁴ He labeled the clearing of dangerous homeless encampments in Washington, D.C. as “cruel” and a “violation of rights,” ignoring the well-documented risks these encampments pose to women and other vulnerable residents.³⁶⁵

Rajagopal's ideological worldview translates directly into a skewed application of his UN mandate. Rajagopal routinely excoriates the United States while excusing or ignoring the abuses of authoritarian regimes such as China, Russia, and Iran. He has described the U.S. as a “rogue state,”³⁶⁶ the world's “biggest threat to international peace and security” and “the protection of human rights,”³⁶⁷ and dismissed U.S. senators as “relics” and “bullies.”³⁶⁸ Instead of focusing on genuine housing rights violations worldwide, Rajagopal uses his position to advance a political agenda that targets democratic states while giving dictatorships a free pass.

359 Balakrishnan Rajagopal, *Counter-Hegemonic International Law: Rethinking Human Rights and Development as a Third World Strategy*, **Third World Quarterly** (October 15, 2006), https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=937341; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/xCB1b>.

360 *International Law from Below: Developments, Social Movements, and Third World Resistance*, **Cambridge University Press** (Jul 9, 2009), https://assets.cambridge.org/052181/6467/frontmatter/0521816467_frontmatter.pdf; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/DX5Jn>.

361 @adequatehousing, **X** (June 28, 2024, 8:36 AM), <https://x.com/adequatehousing/status/1806698254194622780>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/OwyGm>.

362 @adequatehousing, **X** (July 28, 2024, 9:25 AM), <https://x.com/adequatehousing/status/1817582188705042733>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/JY8jL>.

363 @adequatehousing, **X** (April 8, 2025, 6:40 AM), <https://x.com/adequatehousing/status/1909587222199742585>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/ZesKG>.

364 @adequatehousing, **X** (July 25, 2025, 10:42 PM), <https://x.com/adequatehousing/status/1948967184853553548>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/5BVlb>.

365 @adequatehousing, **X** (August 14, 2025, 5:46 PM), <https://x.com/adequatehousing/status/1956140449632280745>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/YXRUG>.

366 @adequatehousing, **X** (May 3, 2024, 6:28 PM), <https://x.com/adequatehousing/status/1786553426517569795>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/yv32d>.

367 @adequatehousing, **X** (June 4, 2025, 3:18 PM), <https://x.com/adequatehousing/status/1930373537958899859>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/yxppx>.

368 @adequatehousing, **X** (June 14, 2024, 9:38 PM), <https://x.com/adequatehousing/status/1801821619586797637>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/Ukm7K>.

Attacks the U.S., Israel, and Western Media While Whitewashing Hamas

Throughout 2024—on issues having no primary connection with his mandate on adequate housing—Rajagopal targeted the U.S., Israel, and Western media while amplifying pro-Hamas narratives. In January 2024, Rajagopal quote-tweeted Francesca Albanese’s critique of “western media,” adding that when it is “this biased against Palestinian deaths and suffering, they not only fail the test of professionalism; they fail the test of human decency.”³⁶⁹ In May, he attacked Israel’s decision to ban *Al Jazeera*, portraying the Qatari network as a champion of “freedom” while questioning Israel’s democratic legitimacy: “The decision by Israel to close down Al Jazeera negates, once again, Israel’s claim to be a democracy. This is the reaction of a panicked and defensive regime that is afraid of freedom. Western preaching of democracy has never been more hollow.”³⁷⁰

Rajagopal’s anti-American rhetoric escalated in August, when he tweeted “It is now clear that it is America itself which is leading genocidal war against the Palestinians. Israel is simply the instrument. All are equally guilty of grave breaches of international law and elementary decency but America is primarily at fault.”³⁷¹ This statement not only accused the U.S. of orchestrating genocide but also denied any Palestinian or terrorist culpability in the conflict. In November, he hailed the ICC’s arrest warrants against Israeli leaders as an indictment of the West, tweeting: “The ICC’s historic arrest warrants against leaders of a ‘Western democracy’—in the words of western media—is a TWAIL moment: impunity of the West for its grave crimes is ending.”³⁷²

His attacks on “western” media continued into 2025. In a May 2025 tweet, promoting a report by the radical-left +972 Magazine, Rajagopal accused Israel of “systematic destruction of homes in Gaza” as part of “the main strategy to commit genocide and annexation,”³⁷³ and scolded major Western media outlets: “Western media—@FT @TheEconomist @guardian @Independent and @nytimes @washingtonpost @BBCWorld—wake up!”³⁷⁴

Rajagopal condemned any celebration of the rescue of four Israeli hostages that didn’t also mention Palestinian victims.³⁷⁵ He supported Francesca Albanese’s conspiratorial suggestion that the U.S. was engaging in psychological warfare by overwhelming the media to normalize “a narrative of genocide and mass expulsion.”³⁷⁶

369 @adequatehousing, X (January 21, 2024, 6:26 PM), <https://x.com/adequatehousing/status/1749227081672589472>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/BvFf4>.

370 @adequatehousing, X (May 5, 2024, 9:04 AM), <https://x.com/adequatehousing/status/1787136291106140355>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/E6bn8>.

371 @adequatehousing, X (August 13, 2024, 9:11 PM), <https://x.com/adequatehousing/status/1823558000314839435>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/emE68>.

372 @adequatehousing, X (November 21, 2024, 5:04 PM), <https://x.com/adequatehousing/status/1859734698072695208>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/z9h1V>.

373 @adequatehousing, X (May 17, 2025, 4:24 PM), <https://x.com/adequatehousing/status/1923867335422558529>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/B7cec>.

374 *Id.*

375 @adequatehousing, X (June 8, 2024, 1:25 PM), <https://x.com/adequatehousing/status/1799523148527788177>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/ENI8k>.

376 @adequatehousing, X (February 26, 2025, 10:23 AM), <https://x.com/adequatehousing/status/1894785310338289692>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/NVqMz>.

Extreme Anti-Israel Bias

In a March 2025 interview with Turkey's *Andalou Agency*, Rajagopal accused Israel of committing genocide, implementing apartheid policies in Gaza for decades, and grossly violating international law.³⁷⁷ All of these issues are beyond his mandate to address adequate housing. In a July 2024 interview with *Al Jazeera*, he implicitly questioned Israel's right to self-defense after the October 7 Hamas massacre, suggesting that Israel had not met the threshold for a legitimate defensive response. He claimed that "*if there was a military justification to respond to the attacks of October 7th... one would have to see a military operation,*" and then dismissed Israel's campaign in Gaza as "*an extermination campaign, not a military operation.*"³⁷⁸

In the interview, Rajagopal further accused Israel of seeking to make Gaza uninhabitable "by erasing all signs of life, including their homes, food systems, and agricultural lands," allegedly for the purpose of annexation.³⁷⁹ He has been accusing Israel of "genocide" since at least November 2023, citing the destruction of buildings in Gaza as evidence.³⁸⁰ These distortions ignore the central reality of Hamas's human shield tactics and its vast 350-mile terror tunnel network beneath Gaza.³⁸¹

Rajagopal has repeatedly called on the international community to act against what he calls "domicide" in Gaza, which he argues should be its own "crime against humanity," and has inserted these accusations into official UN statements.³⁸² In November 2023, he initiated a UN statement accusing Israel of mass war crimes in Gaza for damage to civilian housing and infrastructure, conveniently ignoring Hamas's responsibility for that destruction through its use of civilian areas and underground tunnels.³⁸³ In February 2025, he spoke at a Harvard Law School event sponsored by the Justice for Palestinians group, where he again alleged "domicide" in Gaza, reinforcing his narrative that Israel is systematically destroying Palestinian life.³⁸⁴

Institutional Bias and Defense of Pro-Hamas Protesters

Rajagopal's anti-Israel advocacy predates October 7, 2023. In his July 2022 report to the General Assembly, he accused Israel of apartheid and land confiscation.³⁸⁵ One of the individual cases highlighted in the report was that of Gazan resident Jawad Mahdi, who lost his home to Israeli airstrikes on Gaza City in May 2021. The report, however, omits the fact that Hamas initiated that round of fighting by launching unprovoked missiles at Jerusalem on May 10, 2021.

In his January 2025 report to the Human Rights Council on the global housing crisis, Rajagopal doubled down on his extreme positions. The report downplays current migration pressures affecting Western countries, dismissing them as "manufactured" and driven by "racist and nativist" sentiment. Rajagopal characterizes the term "migration crisis" as "political sloganeering" and shifts attention to Western states'

377 *UN expert says ongoing occupation hampers Gaza's reconstruction*, **Andalou Agency** (July 3, 2025), <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/middle-east/un-expert-says-ongoing-occupation-hampers-gazas-reconstruction/3503232>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/WEFDj>.

378 *Holding Israel to account for destruction of housing in Gaza*, **Al Jazeera** (July 21, 2024), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=43v8pBnlvoM>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/varchive/43v8pBnlvoM>.

379 *Id.*

380 *@adequatehousing*, **X** (November 27, 2023, 12:33 PM), <https://x.com/adequatehousing/status/1729206835226530183>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/XKKeh>.

381 *See, e.g., Andrew Fox and Salo Aizenberg, Hamas's Human Shield Strategy in Gaza*, **Henry Jackson Society** (April 2025), <https://henryjacksonsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/05/HJS-Hamass-Human-Shield-Strategy-in-Gaza-Report-WEB.pdf>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/ds0jJ>.

382 *UN rights expert condemns 'systematic' war-time mass destruction of homes*, **UN News** (March 5, 2024), <https://news.un.org/en/story/2024/03/1147272>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/l52eU>.

383 *Gaza: Destroying civilian housing and infrastructure is an international crime, warns UN expert*, **OHCHR** (November 8, 2023), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2023/11/gaza-destroying-civilian-housing-and-infrastructure-international-crime>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/TjY9l>.

384 *Conversation with UN Special Rapporteur on Housing Dr. Balakrishnan Rajagopal*, **Harvard Law School** (February 25, 2025), <https://hls.harvard.edu/events/conversation-with-un-special-rapporteur-on-housing-dr-balakrishnan-rajagopal/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/1GgbP>.

385 *The right to adequate housing during violent conflict*, UN Doc. A/77/190, **UN General Assembly** (July 19, 2022), <https://documents.un.org/doc/undoc/gen/n22/431/55/pdf/n2243155.pdf>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/bTbh5>.

19th-century colonial practices, arguing that present-day migration policies should account for “colonial-era burdens.” The report ultimately treats Western criticism of migration policy as evidence of a racist global order.³⁸⁶

Rajagopal applied a broad definition of migrants to include “international students.” In that context, he defended pro-Hamas student protesters who were expelled from university housing as a consequence for their actions. “It is particularly egregious,” he wrote, “that universities in the global North have sought to expel students from university housing as a punitive measure for protesting against the ongoing genocidal war in Gaza and the complicity of their universities through their endowments.”³⁸⁷ Rajagopal’s decision to focus on this issue as a primary concern for adequate housing demonstrates his selective political agenda.

By contrast, the report did not address major violations by authoritarian regimes that have generated millions of refugees worldwide, contributing to the global migration crisis. For example, while the living conditions for Venezuelan and Ukrainian refugees in certain countries were referenced, the report did not address the Maduro government policies or Russian aggression against Ukraine that caused those crises. The report was also completely silent on other major refugee crises caused by conflict, including in Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo, and Myanmar.

When presenting his report to the Council in March 2025—despite the issues having no essential nexus to his mandate on adequate housing—Rajagopal urged the UN Human Rights Council to support both the International Criminal Court and UNRWA for their roles in addressing what he called global threats to “peace, accountability, and human rights.”³⁸⁸ He ignored, however, the weaponization of these institutions against Israel, and in particular, the extensive evidence of Hamas infiltration within UNRWA.³⁸⁹

Ignores Housing Violations by Oppressive Regimes

By contrast to his fixation on the rights of pro-Hamas protesters in Western countries, Rajagopal ignored many major housing violations by oppressive regimes during the course of his tenure.

386 *Towards a just approach to the global housing crisis and migrants*, UN Doc. A/HRC/58/50, **Human Rights Council** (January 8, 2025), <https://docs.un.org/en/A/HRC/58/50>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/JsIBW>.

387 *Id.*

388 *21st Meeting - 58th Session of Human Rights Council*, **UN Web TV** (March 7, 2025), <https://webtv.un.org/en/asset/k1a/k1aib5oyyg>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/ip6Xv>.

389 *The Case Against UNRWA*, **UN Watch** (Last visited January 13, 2026), <https://unwatch.org/the-case-against-unrwa/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/HCHdD>.

- **China** - Since 2017, China has forcibly displaced from their homes more than one million Uyghurs—members of China’s minority Muslim population—detaining them in forced labor and re-education camps.³⁹⁰ Rajagopal has tweeted only minimally about China,³⁹¹ with his most recent post addressing housing violations dating to 2021.³⁹² He has never referenced Xinjiang³⁹³ or the Uyghurs³⁹⁴ on his X feed. His Special Procedures engagement on China is similarly limited: he co-signed only one statement directly addressing Xinjiang, in September 2022³⁹⁵ following High Commissioner Michelle Bachelet’s report,³⁹⁶ and one additional China-related statement in June 2020 that mentioned Xinjiang only in passing and did not concern housing rights.³⁹⁷
- **Turkey** - Following the February 2023 earthquake that destroyed thousands of buildings and killed approximately 50,000 people in Turkey and Syria, the Erdoğan government faced sharp criticism for failing to enforce building safety codes.³⁹⁸ The disaster left an estimated 1.5 million people newly homeless in Turkey, according to the UN.³⁹⁹ Yet Rajagopal’s most recent tweet addressing homelessness in Turkey dates to 2016,⁴⁰⁰ before he became Special Rapporteur. He has co-signed only one Special Procedures statement on Turkey, in March 2021, which did not address housing violations.⁴⁰¹

390 *Made in China: Forced Labor and the Uyghur People*, **USCRI** (September 3, 2025), <https://refugees.org/made-in-china-forced-labor-and-the-uyghur-people/>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/v2qj8>.

391 “China” word search of @adequatehousing, **X** (Last visited February 25, 2026), https://x.com/search?q=from%3Aadequatehousing%20China&src=typed_query&f=top; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/c7C3j>.

392 @adequatehousing, **X** (September 24, 2021, 3:39 PM), <https://x.com/adequatehousing/status/1441381878565539840>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/JeLSB>.

393 “Xinjiang” word search of @adequatehousing, **X** (Last visited February 25, 2026), https://x.com/search?q=from%3Aadequatehousing%20Xinjiang&src=typed_query&f=top; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/bmRie>.

394 “Uyghur” word search of @adequatehousing, **X** (Last visited February 25, 2026), https://x.com/search?q=from%3Aadequatehousing%20Uyghur&src=typed_query&f=top; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/V8nwl>.

395 *Xinjiang report: China must address grave human rights violations and the world must not turn a blind eye, say UN experts*, **OHCHR** (September 7, 2022), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2022/09/xinjiang-report-china-must-address-grave-human-rights-violations-and-world>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/JHp2m>.

396 *UN Human Rights Office issues assessment of human rights concerns in Xinjiang, China*, **OHCHR** (August 31, 2022), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2022/08/un-human-rights-office-issues-assessment-human-rights-concerns-xinjiang>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/QcSpz>.

397 *UN experts call for decisive measures to protect fundamental freedoms in China*, **OHCHR** (June 26, 2020), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2020/06/un-experts-call-decisive-measures-protect-fundamental-freedoms-china>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/wDBKX>.

398 *Turkey’s lax policing of building codes known before quake*, **AP** (February 10, 2023), <https://apnews.com/article/politics-2023-turkey-syria-earthquake-government-istanbul-fbd6af578a6056569879b55ef6c55d322>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/9pnsp>. *Turkey arrests nearly 200 people over alleged poor building construction following quake tragedy*, **CNN** (February 26, 2023), <https://edition.cnn.com/2023/02/26/europe/turkey-earthquake-arrests-intl>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/Kj9TK>.

399 *1.5 million now homeless in Türkiye after quake disaster, warn UN development experts*, **UN News** (February 21, 2023), <https://news.un.org/en/story/2023/02/1133717>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/8kWYC>.

400 “Turkey” word search of @adequatehousing, **X** (Last visited February 25, 2026), https://x.com/search?q=from%3Aadequatehousing%20Turkey&src=typed_query&f=top; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/GUdDy>.

401 *Turkey: Withdrawal from Istanbul Convention is a pushback against women’s rights, say human rights experts*, **OHCHR** (March 23, 2021), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2021/03/turkey-withdrawal-istanbul-convention-pushback-against-womens-rights-say>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/JOebH>.

- **Ethiopia** - Since 2023, tens of thousands of homes in Ethiopia's capital, Addis Ababa, have been demolished under the government's Corridor Development Project, resulting in widespread forced evictions and homelessness.⁴⁰² In addition, the two-year Tigray war, which ended in November 2022, caused massive displacement.⁴⁰³ As of January 2025, approximately one million people remained unable to return home.⁴⁰⁴ Yet, Rajagopal has tweeted about Ethiopia only three times, all before becoming Special Rapporteur on housing.⁴⁰⁵ During his tenure, he has not issued or joined a single official UN statement addressing Ethiopia.⁴⁰⁶

402 *Country policy and information note: internal relocation, Ethiopia, September 2025, UK Visas and Immigration* (September 25, 2025), <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/ethiopia-country-policy-and-information-notes/country-policy-and-information-note-internal-relocation-ethiopia-september-2025-accessible>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/3WwIV>. *Ethiopia's Authoritarianism is Built on Bulldozer Politics*, **Ethiopia Insight** (June 17, 2025), <https://www.ethiopia-insight.com/2025/06/17/ethiopias-authoritarianism-is-built-on-bulldozer-politics/>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/uoJV3>.

403 *Ethiopia: Tigray's forgotten internally displaced people*, **Deutsche Welle** (January 20, 2025), <https://www.dw.com/en/tigray-war-survivors-internally-displaced/a-71350039>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/O3Xp6>.

404 *Ethiopia: Tigray's forgotten internally displaced people*, **Deutsche Welle**, (January 20, 2025), <https://www.dw.com/en/tigray-war-survivors-internally-displaced/a-71350039>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/O3Xp6>.

405 "Ethiopia" word search of @adequatehousing, **X** (Last visited February 25, 2026), https://x.com/search?q=from%3Aadequatehousing%20Ethiopia&src=typed_query&f=top; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/OAY41>.

406 *Special Rapporteur on the right to adequate housing*, **OHCHR** (Last visited February 25, 2026), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures/sr-housing>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/Ffr5M>.



6

Ben Saul

Special Rapporteur on Human Rights While Countering Terrorism

In November 2023, Ben Saul began his term as Special Rapporteur on counter-terrorism and human rights.⁴⁰⁷ A law professor at the University of Sydney, he specializes in counterterrorism and international law, and has taught at Oxford, Harvard, and the Xiamen Academy in China. The Chinese government is his largest funder, giving \$150,000 in 2024. Saul has advised UN bodies, governments, and NGOs, including Amnesty International and Medecins Sans Frontiers.⁴⁰⁸

Under the 2005 founding resolution, the mandate focuses on offering technical assistance and expertise to states to ensure that counter-terrorism legislation and policies protect human rights and fundamental freedoms.⁴⁰⁹ Ben Saul has repeatedly demonstrated deep-seated anti-Western and anti-Israel bias through interviews, public commentary, UN statements, and social media posts.

407 *Mr. Ben Saul: Special Rapporteur on counter-terrorism and human rights*, **OHCHR** (Last visited January 14, 2026), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures/sr-terrorism/mr-ben-saul>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/0XFjT>.

408 *Ben Saul's UN application form*, **OHCHR** (April 5, 2023), https://unwatch.org/wp-content/uploads/2026/01/SAUL_Ben_form.pdf; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/WVoNr>.

409 *Special Rapporteur on counter-terrorism and human rights*, **OHCHR** (Last visited January 14, 2026), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures/sr-terrorism>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/ldro3>.

Known Funders (Excludes In-Kind Support)⁴¹⁰

- **Spain:** \$127,209 as follows:
 - \$31,646 in 2023
 - \$31,480 in 2024
 - \$30,000 in 2024
 - \$34,083 in 2025
- **Switzerland:** \$150,044 as follows:
 - \$50,010 in 2023
 - \$50,000 in 2024
 - \$50,034 in 2025
- **China:** \$150,000 in 2024

Switzerland and Spain should not be funding a UN position that has been politicized and weaponized to attack the West.

Pattern of One-Sided Criticism of Western Powers

Saul has repeatedly articulated ideological hostility toward America, the West, and Western institutions. He believes that “decolonization—not western liberals—established human rights on the global agenda.”⁴¹¹ He describes the United States as a “dystopia” conditioned to “dehumanization.”⁴¹² In 2020, he issued a “message to the western world” declaring that “your civilisation is killing life on Earth.”⁴¹³ He wrote that “the West weaponises international law in pursuit of its own political ends,”⁴¹⁴ characterizing Western enforcement of international law as “imperialism cloaked in law.”⁴¹⁵

Saul has also repeatedly condemned U.S. counterterrorism efforts. He published an article denouncing the “unlawful” killing of a senior Al-Qaeda leader,⁴¹⁶ asserting that such “vigilante justice discredits the U.S.”⁴¹⁷ and places it in an “awkward club” with Russia, Saudi Arabia, and Israel.⁴¹⁸ He deemed the U.S. drone strike on Qasem Soleimani illegal⁴¹⁹ and criticized America’s January 2021 designation of the Houthis as a Foreign Terrorist Organization.⁴²⁰

410 *Annual reports on Special Procedures*, OHCHR (Last visited March 18, 2026), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures-human-rights-council/annual-reports-special-procedures>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/MkDG5>.

411 @profbensaul, X (September 30, 2016, 5:06 PM), <https://x.com/profbensaul/status/781963519805665280>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/gNg95>.

412 @profbensaul, X (June 1, 2020, 9:17 AM), <https://x.com/profbensaul/status/1267445180522614786>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/la54x>.

413 @profbensaul, X (October 12, 2020, 8:01 AM), <https://x.com/profbensaul/status/1315623522199166977>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/RToVl>.

414 @profbensaul, X (May 11, 2022, 6:02 PM), <https://x.com/profbensaul/status/1524510363496054784>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/pjFlr>.

415 @profbensaul, X (May 11, 2022, 6:02 PM), <https://x.com/profbensaul/status/1524510369712001024>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/ocTWv>.

416 @profbensaul, X (August 17, 2022, 7:01 PM), <https://x.com/profbensaul/status/1560039112077623296>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/4Y7Eq>.

417 @profbensaul, X (August 17, 2022, 7:01 PM), <https://x.com/profbensaul/status/1560039126891917313>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/pAeqn>.

418 @profbensaul, X (August 17, 2022, 7:01 PM), <https://x.com/profbensaul/status/1560039124454686725>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/pAeqn>.

419 @profbensaul, X (July 6, 2020, 6:38 PM), <https://x.com/profbensaul/status/1280270005343358976>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/nfhlh>.

420 @profbensaul, X (January 11, 2021, 6:01 PM), <https://x.com/profbensaul/status/1348766968543735810>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/B5tH3>.

This pattern carried directly into his official UN work. In his report to the Human Rights Council’s March 2024 session, Saul accused the United States of “grave violations of international law following the attacks of 11 September 2001,” casting it as a perpetrator of “excessive and unlawful counter-terrorism measures.”⁴²¹

He has likewise joined other UN experts in condemning U.S. policies. In July 2025, he criticized the U.S. for its deportation policies toward “irregular migrants.”⁴²² In a September article for *Just Security*, Saul labeled the U.S. a “gangster-State” employing “vigilante justice” for targeting drug traffickers at sea.⁴²³ And in October 2025, he joined UN experts in condemning U.S. threats against Venezuela.⁴²⁴

On December 2, 2025, Saul tweeted a call to arrest President Trump and Defense Secretary Hegseth for “mass murder” due to the administration’s targeting of drug traffickers.⁴²⁵

Ironically, while speaking at the 61st Session of the UN Human Rights Council in March 2026, Saul accused the United States of “naked aggression and renewed imperialism against Iran and Venezuela” while simultaneously praising Somalia as a “responsible state” that “is committed to strengthening human rights.”⁴²⁶

Saul has also attacked U.S. support for Israel. In May 2024, he denounced “political attacks in some western countries” on the International Criminal Court, ignoring the court’s politicization and biased approach to Israel.⁴²⁷ And when the United States targeted Iran’s nuclear facilities in June 2025, Saul rushed to defend a terror-exporting regime on the brink of acquiring nuclear weapons, portraying Washington—not Tehran—as the violator. He condemned the strike as “illegal aggression against Iran,” branded it “gunboat diplomacy,” and insisted that “nuclear facilities must never be attacked.”⁴²⁸

Across both his official statements and social media activity, Saul has consistently singled out Western countries—particularly the United States, Israel, the United Kingdom, and Germany.⁴²⁹ Saul’s one-sided pattern is underscored by the \$150,000 he received from China in 2024—an authoritarian government with which he maintains warm relations and almost never criticizes.⁴³⁰

Whitewashes Antisemitism and Defends Extremists

Saul rejects the IHRA definition of antisemitism—the most widely accepted contemporary definition, adopted by 47 countries including the United States, United Kingdom, Canada, Germany, and France⁴³¹ and widely used by governments and institutions to identify and combat antisemitism—dismissing it as a “weaponization” of the term.⁴³²

421 *Report of the Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms while countering terrorism, Ben Saul*, UN Doc. A/HRC/55/48, **Human Rights Council** (January 17, 2024), <https://docs.un.org/en/A/HRC/55/48>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/8AePJ>.

422 *UN experts alarmed by resumption of US deportations to third countries, warn authorities to assess risks of torture, OHCHR* (July 8, 2025), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2025/07/un-experts-alarmed-resumption-us-deportations-third-countries-warn>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/Shu56>. @profbensaul, **X** (July 9, 2025, 2:00 AM), <https://x.com/profbensaul/status/1942826143083815087>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/qeUms>.

423 *The United States’ Dirty War on “Narco Terrorism,” Just Security* (September 22, 2025), <https://www.justsecurity.org/121115/united-states-dirty-war-narcoterrorism/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/UGa40>.

424 @profbensaul, **X** (October 21, 2025, 5:42 PM), <https://x.com/profbensaul/status/1980751499459199195>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/1buRK>.

425 @profbensaul, **X** (December 1, 2025, 9:13 PM), <https://x.com/profbensaul/status/1995677768047333451>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/txXlm>.

426 @UNWatch, **X** (March 17, 2026, 4:49 PM), <https://x.com/UNWatch/status/2033918733693997279>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/BiAhV>.

427 @profbensaul, **X** (May 21, 2024, 9:06 PM), <https://x.com/profbensaul/status/1793085899733147847>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/VzhP0>.

428 @profbensaul, **X** (June 26, 2025, 6:13 PM), <https://x.com/profbensaul/status/1938359888054521971>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/QgpZ5>.

429 @profbensaul, **X** (Last visited January 14, 2026), https://x.com/search?q=from%3Aprofbensaul%20Germany%20OR%20United%20States%20OR%20United%20Kingdom%20OR%20Israel%20&src=typed_query&f=top; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/l5Fwd>.

430 *Facts and figures with regard to the Special Procedures in 2024*, UN Doc. A/HRC/58/70/Add.1, **Human Rights Council** (March 20, 2025), <https://docs.un.org/en/A/HRC/58/70/Add.1>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/vZQBC>.

431 *Adoptions and Endorsements of the IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism, Combat Antisemitism Movement* (Last visited January 9, 2025), <https://ihra.combatantisemitism.org/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/9jpKy>.

432 *OHCHR (Special Procedures) - Press Conference: The situation in occupied Palestinian territory, UN Web TV* (March 12, 2025), <https://webtv.un.org/en/asset/k19/k19byyb6ss>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/dPHHO>.

He promoted his *ABC News Australia* interview opposing IHRA⁴³³ and, in a July 2025 *Guardian* op-ed, urged the Australian government not to adopt the definition. In that article, he endorsed a “one-state solution”—which would necessarily end Israel as a Jewish state—and defended the genocidal chant “from the river to the sea.”⁴³⁴

He denounced U.S. sanctions on the UN’s antisemitic rapporteur Francesca Albanese as “reprisals”⁴³⁵ and demanded they be lifted.⁴³⁶ He also attacked the Gaza Humanitarian Foundation, describing it as Israel’s “privatised, militarized aid delivery model that has killed Palestinians,”⁴³⁷ while praising UNRWA as “impartial”⁴³⁸ despite its well-documented ties to Hamas.⁴³⁹

In March 2025, Saul joined other UN experts in defending non-U.S. citizen Mahmoud Khalil—who lied on his green card application and instigated violent anti-Israel protests at Columbia University—against U.S. deportation proceedings.⁴⁴⁰ In October, he joined a UN statement criticizing Germany for restricting pro-Palestinian protests, again defending the genocidal chant “from the river to the sea,” and ignoring violence by demonstrators.⁴⁴¹ He has also defended organizations such as the PFLP-linked Addameer⁴⁴² and Palestine Action,⁴⁴³ a proscribed terror organization in the UK.

Record of One-Sided, Anti-Israel Rhetoric

In 2014, nearly a decade prior to his UN appointment, Saul authored an op-ed for *ABC News Australia* attacking Australia’s diplomatic relationship with Israel.⁴⁴⁴ In February 2015, after touring a Hamas terror tunnel, Saul belittled the security threat by placing the term “attack” tunnel in sarcastic quotation marks.⁴⁴⁵

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- 433 @profbensaul, X (July 10, 2025, 11:50 PM), <https://x.com/profbensaul/status/1943518256196915540>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/1nE8b>.
- 434 *Australia must combat antisemitism, but not simply defer to demands of some voices*, **The Guardian** (July 11, 2025), <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2025/jul/11/australia-must-combat-antisemitism-but-not-simply-defer-to-demands-of-some-voices-ntwnfb>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/hJUBN>.
- 435 @profbensaul, X (July 9, 2025, 7:52 PM), <https://x.com/profbensaul/status/1943096046676250821>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/m7CkO>.
- 436 @profbensaul, X (August 8, 2025, 6:07 AM), <https://x.com/profbensaul/status/1953760023739547744>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/pf5aw>.
- 437 @profbensaul, X (August 5, 2025, 7:48 PM), <https://x.com/profbensaul/status/1952879424107577658>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/diuts>.
- 438 *Gaza: Israel must restore UN humanitarian system to stave off starvation, say UN experts*, **OHCHR** (August 7, 2025), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2025/08/gaza-israel-must-restore-un-humanitarian-system-stave-starvation-say-un>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/aysDF>. @profbensaul, X (August 7, 2025, 9:47 PM), <https://x.com/profbensaul/status/1953634019046035949>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/7zPp8>.
- 439 *The Case Against UNRWA*, **UN Watch** (Last visited January 13, 2026), <https://unwatch.org/the-case-against-unrwa/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/HCHdD>.
- 440 *U.S. must immediately release Palestinian rights-activist Mahmoud Khalil and stop threats of deportation against foreign residents, say UN experts*, **OHCHR** (March 20, 2025), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2025/03/us-must-immediately-release-palestinian-rights-activist-mahmoud-khalil-and>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/Gkngf>. @profbensaul, X (March 20, 2025, 4:33 PM), <https://x.com/profbensaul/status/1902820773020258364>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/wSmsl>.
- 441 *UN experts urge Germany to halt criminalisation and police violence against Palestinian solidarity activism*, **OHCHR** (October 16, 2025), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2025/10/un-experts-urge-germany-halt-criminalisation-and-police-violence-against>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/9vgCg>. @profbensaul, X (November 2, 2025, 5:58 PM), <https://x.com/profbensaul/status/1985119339369177134>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/ShmoE>.
- 442 @profbensaul, X (November 10, 2025, 5:20 AM), <https://x.com/profbensaul/status/1987827766616846389>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/3VkrS>.
- 443 @profbensaul, X (July 1, 2025, 8:28 AM), <https://x.com/profbensaul/status/1940024679894585721>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/T6dRs>.
- 444 *It’s about time Australia put pressure on Israel*, **ABC News** (July 25, 2014), <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2014-07-25/saul-its-about-time-australia-put-pressure-on-israel/5623530>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/gBFY7>.
- 445 @profbensaul, X (February 18, 2015, 3:52 PM), <https://x.com/profbensaul/status/568151146348433408>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/hhfar>.

In a December 2024 interview with the *Harvard International Review*, he criticized Israel’s response to Hamas attacks as a “massive overreaction” and prejudged Israel’s conduct, stating that it was evident from the outset that “Israel wasn’t going to play by the rules.” He also justified Palestinian rejectionism by claiming Israel has never offered a two-state solution “that respects international law.”⁴⁴⁶

On social media, Saul has repeatedly condemned both Israel⁴⁴⁷ and its allies.⁴⁴⁸ In April 2024, for instance, he cited a *New York Times* claim that U.S. selectivity in applying a “rules-based order” is a primary reason international law remains weak.⁴⁴⁹ In October 2022, he lamented that the “Coalition,” referring to Australia’s ruling government, continued to favor Israel and “[dismiss] the equal rights of Palestinians”⁴⁵⁰ in debates over recognizing Jerusalem as Israel’s capital. The government ultimately reversed its 2018 policy recognizing West Jerusalem and declined to recognize Jerusalem as Israel’s capital.⁴⁵¹

In February 2024, Saul blamed Israel alone for Palestinian deaths linked to the search for food, asserting that “its failure to facilitate & secure humanitarian relief has induced widespread starvation,”⁴⁵² while entirely ignoring Hamas’s theft and resale of humanitarian aid at exorbitant prices.

At a December 2024 UN press conference, Saul described Israel’s military campaign in Gaza as “unprecedented in the history of warfare in recent years,” accusing Israel of intentionally targeting civilians, using starvation as a weapon, and obstructing humanitarian relief.⁴⁵³

Denies Israel’s Security

At another UN press conference in March 2025, Saul condemned what he called “Israel’s continuing illegal military provocations in the wider region,” specifically citing supposed “threats of force in Lebanon and Iran over the last year.”⁴⁵⁴ In doing so, he erased the aggression of Hezbollah, Iran, Syria, and the Houthis and dismissed Israel’s right to self-defense. He also advocated for the “return of refugees”—a formulation widely understood as a call to dismantle Israel as a Jewish state—and accused Israel of employing “scorched-earth tactics of the colonial counterinsurgency era.”⁴⁵⁵

Likewise, in a March 2025 UN session, Saul condemned what he called “relentless attacks on international norms,” attributing them to illegal annexations, arms suppliers, and political shielding of Israel, all while ignoring the escalating terrorist threats in the region backed by Iran. He went on to describe “apocalyptic violence in Palestine” as a consequence of international impunity and the world’s failure to confront Israel, once again disregarding the central role of Hamas and other Iranian-sponsored terror groups.⁴⁵⁶

446 *The Legal Fallout of Gaza: An Interview with UN Special Rapporteur Ben Saul*, **Harvard International Review** (December 2, 2024), <https://hir.harvard.edu/the-legal-fallout-of-gaza-an-interview-with-un-special-rapporteur-ben-saul/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/UAbV4>.

447 @profbensaul, X (Last visited January 14, 2026), https://x.com/search?q=from%3Aprofbensaul%20israel&src=typed_query; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/QRzWj>.

448 @profbensaul, X (Last visited January 14, 2026), https://x.com/search?q=from%3Aprofbensaul%20united%20states%20&src=typed_query&f=top; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/pge3r>.

449 @profbensaul, X (April 10, 2024, 5:55 AM), <https://x.com/profbensaul/status/1777998719746748749>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/ZFnIO>.

450 @profbensaul, X (October 18, 2022, 3:26 AM), <https://x.com/profbensaul/status/1582271895344324608>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/ZInel>.

451 *Reversal of recognition of West Jerusalem*, **Australia Minister of Foreign Affairs** (October 18, 2022), <https://www.foreignminister.gov.au/minister/penny-wong/media-release/reversal-recognition-west-jerusalem>.

452 @profbensaul, X (February 29, 2024, 4:49 PM), <https://x.com/profbensaul/status/1763320585827066264>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/Ffz96>.

453 *OHCHR Press Conference: Human Rights in Gaza and OPT - 11 December 2024*, **UNOG Multimedia Newsroom** (December 11, 2024), <https://www.unognewsroom.org/story/en/2459/opt-press-conference-11-december-2024/7387>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/0MYd0>.

454 *OHCHR (Special Procedures) - Press Conference: The situation in occupied Palestinian territory*, **UN Web TV** (March 12, 2025), <https://webtv.un.org/en/asset/k19/k19byyb6ss>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/dPHHO>.

455 *Id.*

456 *25th Meeting - 58th Session of Human Rights Council*, **UN Web TV** (March 11, 2025), <https://webtv.un.org/en/asset/k1r/k1rzbldvrdt>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/16APX>.



7 Gina Romero

Special Rapporteur on Peaceful Assembly

Gina Romero was appointed in April 2024 as Special Rapporteur on the Rights to Freedom of Assembly and Association.⁴⁵⁷ Romero is a Colombian civil society activist and one of the co-founders of the Latin American and Caribbean Network for Democracy, where she served as executive director for 10 years.⁴⁵⁸ She has also held various managerial and advisory positions at other Latin American organizations, such as Democracy International and the Colombia-based OCASA.⁴⁵⁹

Under the founding October 2010 resolution, the mandate is to monitor global trends relating to the rights to freedom of assembly and association, make recommendations, and report on violations.⁴⁶⁰

Over the course of her UN term, however, Romero has consistently displayed open disdain for the United States, while advancing an aggressively anti-Israel agenda. Her rhetoric is inflammatory and partisan, routinely framing Israel as a uniquely malevolent actor while minimizing or ignoring the violence and repression perpetrated by its adversaries.

457 *Gina Romero: Special Rapporteur on freedom of peaceful assembly and of association*, **OHCHR** (Last visited January 9, 2026), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures/sr-freedom-of-assembly-and-association/gina-romero>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/7vZaj>.

458 *Gina Romero's UN application form*, **OHCHR** (October 10, 2023), https://unwatch.org/wp-content/uploads/2026/01/ROMERO_RODRIGUEZ_Gina_form.pdf; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/hfFeT>.

459 *Id.*

460 *Special Rapporteur on freedom of peaceful assembly and of association*, **OHCHR** (Last visited January 9, 2026), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures/sr-freedom-of-assembly-and-association>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/5HCKB>.

Known Funders (Excludes In-Kind Support)⁴⁶¹

- **Ford Foundation:** \$200,000 in 2024
- **Czech Republic**
 - \$17,096 in 2024
 - \$9,569 in 2025
- **Solidarity Center:** \$25,000 in 2024 for funding production of human rights stories

The Ford Foundation openly advances defined policy agendas, and describes its mission as promoting “social justice,” including initiatives on gender, racial, and economic equity.⁴⁶² Ford has funded organizations that seek to boycott and delegitimize the State of Israel, including the Palestinian NGO Network, the Palestinian Society for the Protection of Human Rights, Breaking the Silence, and Adalah.⁴⁶³

In 2003, the Ford Foundation acknowledged that its grants had funded NGOs involved in antisemitic activity at the 2001 Durban Conference.⁴⁶⁴ Yet its conduct has remained unchanged. The Ford Foundation’s recent grantees include “Jews for Racial and Economic Justice,” which defended violent and antisemitic pro-Palestinian protests on college campuses, and the Arab Renaissance for Democracy and Development (ARDD), where antisemitic rapporteur Francesca Albanese served as Senior Advisor, and continues to list herself as such on X.⁴⁶⁵ ARDD employed Albanese to create a “Global Network on the Question of Palestine,” an anti-Israel lobbying network. In 2024, ARDD’s Global Network orchestrated an international lobbying effort to pressure Western countries to reinstate funding for UNRWA, whose senior staff have included Hamas terror chiefs.⁴⁶⁶

The Ford Foundation has also donated millions to the Tides Network, which funnels money from progressive billionaires such as George Soros and Peter Buffett to anti-Israel NGOs including IfNotNow and Jewish Voice for Peace.⁴⁶⁷ Until the October 7, 2023 Hamas attack, the Ford Foundation had funded the PFLP-linked Alliance for Global Justice.⁴⁶⁸ Most recently, in October 2025, the Ford Foundation came under investigation by the Senate Judiciary Committee for providing more than \$10 million to the Chinese government in support of its Belt and Road Initiative.⁴⁶⁹

461 *Annual reports on Special Procedures*, **OHCHR** (Last visited March 18, 2026), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures-human-rights-council/annual-reports-special-procedures>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/wlQHj>.

462 *The Financing of UN Experts in the Special Procedures of the Human Rights Council*, at p. 49, **European Center for Law and Justice** (September 2021), <https://static.eclj.org/pdf/ECLJ%20Report%20-%20THE%20FINANCING%20OF%20UN%20EXPERTS.pdf>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/rYABI>.

463 *See Nadler urges Ford Foundation to stop funding anti-semitic organizations*, **Congressman Jerry Nadler** (October 21, 2003), <https://nadler.house.gov/news/documentsingle.aspx?DocumentID=390565>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/qL58L>; *Ford Foundation, NGO Monitor* (April 2, 2025), https://ngo-monitor.org/funder/ford_foundation/; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/do48K>.

464 *See Nadler Receives Ford Foundation’s Response*, **Congressman Jerry Nadler** (November 17, 2003), <https://nadler.house.gov/news/documentsingle.aspx?DocumentID=392164>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/HvMFe>.

465 *Ford Foundation, NGO Monitor* (April 2, 2025), https://ngo-monitor.org/funder/ford_foundation/; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/do48K>.

466 *Exposed: Francesca Albanese’s Global Influence Network Targeting Israel*, **UN Watch** (June 11, 2024), <https://unwatch.org/exposed-francesca-albaneses-global-influence-network-targeting-israel/>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/g8eLG>.

467 *Tides Network*, **NGO Monitor** (March 6, 20205), <https://ngo-monitor.org/funder/tides-network/>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/wWTFa>. *The Ford Foundation Carries on the Legacy of its Namesake*, **Tablet** (October 23, 2023), <https://www.tabletmag.com/sections/news/articles/ford-foundation-antisemitism>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/aYCLF>.

468 *See Liberal Ford Foundation to stop funding Palestinian terror-tied group: ‘Years of warnings,’* **The Washington Examiner** (October 31, 2023), <https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/news/2579782/liberal-ford-foundation-to-stop-funding-palestinian-terror-tied-group-years-of-warnings>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/aFcDh>.

469 *See Grassley Probes Gates Foundation and Others for 501(c)(3) Compliance*, **Senate Judiciary Committee** (October 28, 2025), <https://www.judiciary.senate.gov/press/rep/releases/grassley-probes-gates-foundation-and-others-for-501c3-compliance>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/mzGCT>.

Solidarity Center is a workers' rights organization that, before 2025, stated that it practices "equality, radical inclusion and intersectionality that is explicitly feminist, anti-racist, pro-equality, pro-worker, pro-migrant and class conscious." It was heavily funded by the U.S. government until March 2025.⁴⁷⁰ Critics have described the Solidarity Center as a group that champions "radical agendas in support of DEI and 'climate justice.'"⁴⁷¹ The Solidarity Center has referred to Hamas on its website as a "political party" and promoted anti-Israel advocacy, including publishing an article by the Palestinian General Federation of Trade Unions (PGFTU) that refers to Israel as the "Zionist entity."⁴⁷²

As noted in the Key Findings, earmarked funding from private foundations with overt political agendas, like the Ford Foundation and the Solidarity Center, whether routed through OHCHR or provided directly to mandate-holders, unduly influences mandate implementation and undermines the independence required of Special Procedures.

Record of Anti-Western and Anti-American Rhetoric

Romero's anti-American views are well-documented and long-standing. In 2011, she tweeted that "The United States is a developing country"⁴⁷³—a claim that is factually incorrect under established economic classifications and that minimizes the role of the United States as a leading advanced economy and central actor in the global system, reflecting a broader anti-U.S. framing rather than a serious economic assessment.

A month later, she openly admitted her disdain for the West, tweeting "Nooo noooo nooo... I'm seriously lacking tolerance to be in the West!!"⁴⁷⁴ In 2012, this was her comment on the U.S. Guantanamo Bay detention facility: "The United States cannot keep its concentration camp open in the eyes of all humanity and continue to declare itself a state of law."⁴⁷⁵

In July 2025, she dedicated her entire UN report—ostensibly about freedom of assembly—to criticizing cuts in foreign aid, and to calling for more aid to reach "sustainable development goals." The issue of aid is at best tenuously connected to her mandate on freedom of assembly. Romero's report criticized Cuba once, Germany, the UK, and the Netherlands twice each, and the U.S. no less than 15 times. She never once mentioned China, Russia, Iran, Venezuela, Qatar, or most of the world's worst dictatorships.

Romero claims the U.S. worsened the "global aid crisis" by "arbitrarily" cutting foreign assistance, referring to the dissolution of USAID.⁴⁷⁶ The charge is misleading,⁴⁷⁷ and Romero ignores the substantial, well-documented mismanagement within USAID.⁴⁷⁸

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- 470 See, e.g., *U.S. Dep't of Labor awards grant to support safe, quality jobs in Indonesia, Philippines*, **U.S. Dep't of Labor** (November 21, 2023), <https://www.dol.gov/newsroom/releases/ilab/ilab20231121>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/ujwzj>; *Ending ILAB Funding: Workers Say What They Gained—& Now Lost*, **Solidarity Center** (October 6, 2025), <https://www.solidaritycenter.org/ending-ilab-funding-workers-say-what-they-gained-now-lost/>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/DB6dI>.
- 471 *Written Testimony of Scott Walter of the Capital Research Center*, **House Oversight and Government Reform Subcommittee Delivering on Government Efficiency** (June 4, 2025), <https://oversight.house.gov/wp-content/uploads/2025/06/Walter-Written-Testimony-1.pdf>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/aO1jb>.
- 472 *American Center for International Labor Solidarity (Solidarity Center)*, **Influence Watch** (Last visited March 5, 2026), <https://www.influencewatch.org/labor-union/american-center-for-international-labor-solidarity-solidarity-center/>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/eZFLX>.
- 473 @Ginitastar, X (October 24, 2011, 5:20 AM), <https://x.com/Ginitastar/status/128430564935077888>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/Wku7o>.
- 474 @Ginitastar, X (November 27, 2011, 3:22 PM), <https://x.com/Ginitastar/status/14090332297701888>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/mR0jn>.
- 475 @Ginitastar, X (January 15, 2012, 7:33 AM), <https://x.com/Ginitastar/status/158542321762308096>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/FuAwV>.
- 476 *Rights to freedom of peaceful assembly and of association*, UN Doc. A/80/219, **UN General Assembly** (July 22, 2025), <https://docs.un.org/en/A/80/219>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/52h07>.
- 477 *A Good Start: Congress Cuts Funding for USAID and Other Foreign Aid Programs*, **CATO Institute** (July 31, 2025), <https://www.cato.org/blog/good-start-congress-cuts-funding-usaid-other-foreign-aid-programs>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/cnVxC>.
- 478 *At USAID, Waste and Abuse Runs Deep*, **The White House** (February 3, 2025), <https://www.whitehouse.gov/articles/2025/02/at-usaid-waste-and-abuse-runs-deep/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/jL6YR>.

In her report, Romero extends this blame to hold the U.S. accountable for repression abroad, arguing that U.S. “stigmatization of aid” has “empowered” abusive governments and that scrutiny of terrorism financing has “triggered” surveillance of NGOs. She omits long-documented links between aid and terror financing (including in Syria,⁴⁷⁹ Pakistan,⁴⁸⁰ Afghanistan,⁴⁸¹ and in the Palestinian⁴⁸² context), and ends up portraying the U.S. as responsible for repression in countries ranging from Hungary to Nigeria and Paraguay.

The report also criticizes countries for shifting resources to defense and “narrow national interests,” ignoring the impact of Russia’s war in Ukraine on global security priorities. Likewise, she dismisses sanctions and counterterrorism as harmful to civil society—raising the question of what she believes countries should do in response to aggression.

Finally, Romero blames the United States for both UN budget shortfalls and the lack of NGO funding, even asserting that the U.S. “owed NGOs millions in reimbursement.” Her reporting reveals not principled oversight, but an entrenched sense of entitlement—demanding American funding while attacking the very country she insists must keep writing the checks.

Defends Antisemitic Abuse Under the Guise of “Human Rights”

In a letter to Columbia University, co-signed with other UN experts,⁴⁸³ Romero defended pro-Palestine protesters⁴⁸⁴ who harassed Jewish students, incited violence, and vandalized university property. Rather than condemning the antisemitic targeting of students, Romero criticized the U.S. government’s efforts to hold universities accountable. In her words, “Universities need to be places of resistance to authoritarianism, and not be complicit with curtailing [human rights],”⁴⁸⁵ suggesting that protecting the rights of Jewish students somehow “curtails” human rights. Nowhere in her reports or statements does she affirm the rights of Jewish or pro-Israel students, despite their increasing vulnerability on college campuses.

The same disregard for Jewish students’ rights is evident in her official UN reporting. Her July 2024 report to the General Assembly rejected the notion that the chant “From the river to the sea” is genocidal, absurdly claiming that it “advocates for freedom, human rights and dignity for all in Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territory”—a claim belied by the phrase’s consistent use by groups like Hamas to call for Israel’s elimination.⁴⁸⁶ Romero distorted the issue of antisemitism by portraying pro-Palestinian protesters chanting a genocidal slogan as victims who were “vilified and criminalized,” claiming that criticism of the chant “created a hostile environment for pro-Palestinian expressions.” In fact, it is these protesters who fostered a hostile environment for Jewish and pro-Israel students on campuses and beyond.

In October 2024, Romero issued a statement titled “*Safeguarding the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association on campuses...*” which similarly portrayed pro-Palestinian activism as wholly virtuous while omitting any mention of intimidation, harassment, or violence directed at Jewish students. She

479 *Syrian National Charged with Diverting \$9 Million in U.S.-funded Humanitarian Assistance to a Terrorist Organization Affiliated with Al-Qaida*, **USAID** (November 19, 2024), <https://oig.usaid.gov/node/7283>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/tM8CD>.

480 *ICYMI - Issa to USAID: Come Clean About Funding Groups with Terror Ties*, **Rep. Darrell Issa** (March 4, 2024), <https://issa.house.gov/media/press-releases/icymi-issa-usaid-come-clean-about-funding-groups-terror-ties>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/kkhPL>.

481 *McCaul Gravely Concerned About U.S. Taxpayer Dollars Benefiting Taliban-controlled Entities*, **House Committee on Foreign Affairs** (March 17, 2023), <https://foreignaffairs.house.gov/news/press-releases/mccaul-gravely-concerned-about-u-s-taxpayer-dollars-benefitting-taliban-controlled-entities>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/ii6LU>.

482 *Better Late than Never: Keeping USAID Funds out of Terrorist Hands*, **The Washington Institute for Near East Policy** (August 24, 2007), <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/better-late-never-keeping-usaid-funds-out-terrorist-hands>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/y6XOE>.

483 *Letter to President Minouche Shafik*, **UN Special Procedures** (May 10, 2024), <https://spcommreports.ohchr.org/TMResultsBase/DownloadPublicCommunicationFile?gId=29011>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/PGjiQ>.

484 @Ginitastar, X (July 9, 2024, 10:45 AM), <https://x.com/Ginitastar/status/1810716990467723682>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/kHqwb>.

485 @Ginitastar, X (March 14, 2025, 1:51 PM), <https://x.com/Ginitastar/status/1900635903837520063>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/SRcXO>.

486 *Protecting the rights to freedom of peaceful assembly and of association from stigmatization*, UN Doc. A/79/263, **UN General Assembly** (July 31, 2024), <https://docs.un.org/en/A/79/263>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/4ubqy>.

dismissed allegations of antisemitism among pro-Palestinian protesters as “racism against Palestinians” and “unfounded.”⁴⁸⁷ She then doubled down in her July 2025 report, arguing that the use of immigration enforcement powers to arrest pro-Palestinian activists marked “another aggravated development.”⁴⁸⁸ Yet again, she ignored the violent and criminal behavior that prompted those arrests in the first place.

Denies Israel’s Legitimacy

In May 2025, speaking on an issue that has no connection to her UN mandate on freedom of assembly, Romero claimed that Israel had been “ethnically cleansing the Palestinians for 77 years,”⁴⁸⁹ dating back to its establishment in 1948, and thus implicitly rejecting the legitimacy of the Jewish state. Earlier, she had accused Israel of committing “genocide in Palestine” while endorsing continued demonstrations against Israel under the guise of “peaceful assembly and association,” despite the protests’ well-documented record of violence.⁴⁹⁰ At the same time, she refuses to acknowledge, let alone support, the bravery of anti-Hamas protesters in Gaza—those who risk their lives opposing the region’s actual genocidal regime. Instead, she routinely reserves her moral outrage for the Jewish state alone.

Romero has also signed and promoted numerous one-sided statements led by UN rapporteur Francesca Albanese, many of which bear no relation to her mandate on freedom of assembly.⁴⁹¹ Rather than limiting herself to issues within her portfolio, she has joined statements on matters such as the implementation of the ICJ’s July 2024 advisory opinion,⁴⁹² the lawfulness of specific Israeli military operations,⁴⁹³ calls for a military ceasefire,⁴⁹⁴ and broad allegations of famine and genocide in Gaza.⁴⁹⁵ These interventions go well beyond the scope of her mandate and reinforce a pattern of political advocacy targeting Israel.

487 *Recommendations for universities worldwide for the second semester of 2024: Safeguarding the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association on campuses in the context of international solidarity with the Palestinian people and victims*, **United Nations Human Rights Special Procedures** (October 2, 2024), <https://www.un.org/unispal/wp-content/uploads/2024/10/20241004-stm-sr-association.pdf>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/Q335a>.

488 *Report of the Special Rapporteur on the rights to freedom of peaceful assembly and of association, Gina Romero*, UN Doc. A/80/219, **UN General Assembly** (July 22, 2025), <https://docs.un.org/en/A/80/219>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/52h07>.

489 @Ginitastar, X (May 14, 2025, 1:22 PM), <https://x.com/Ginitastar/status/1922734262895173972>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/cfq8r>.

490 @Ginitastar, X (March 24, 2025, 10:16 AM), <https://x.com/Ginitastar/status/1904205783178334418>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/hJ5hd>.

491 *See, e.g., UN experts stand in solidarity with the Global Sumud Flotilla, demand full protection of all passengers*, **OHCHR** (September 9, 2025), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2025/09/un-experts-stand-solidarity-global-sumud-flotilla-demand-full-protection-all>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/y9lcb>. @Ginitastar, X (January 17, 2025, 2:27 PM), <https://x.com/Ginitastar/status/1880351245971648613>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/XbR4h>.

492 *One year after ICJ ruling, UN experts urge States to confront inaction over Israel’s unlawful occupation*, **OHCHR** (September 19, 2025), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/statements/2025/09/one-year-after-icj-ruling-un-experts-urge-states-confront-inaction-over-israels>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/RyIuE>.

493 *Israel’s Rafah invasion must stop now, say UN experts*, **OHCHR** (May 10, 2024), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2024/05/israels-rafah-invasion-must-stop-now-say-un-experts>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/MYTWs>.

494 *UN experts urge States to act as Israeli violations threaten fragile Gaza ceasefire*, **OHCHR** (November 24, 2025), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2025/11/un-experts-urge-states-act-israeli-violations-threaten-fragile-gaza>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/Xitu3>.

495 *Gaza: UN experts urge General Assembly to respond to famine and genocide*, **OHCHR** (September 5, 2025), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2025/09/gaza-un-experts-urge-general-assembly-respond-famine-and-genocide>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/Cuqsa>.



8

Alena Douhan

Special Rapporteur on Unilateral Coercive Measures

In March 2020, Alena Douhan was named Special Rapporteur “on the negative impact of unilateral coercive measures on the enjoyment of human rights.”⁴⁹⁶ A Belarusian lawyer, Douhan is a professor of international Law, and founding director of the Peace Research Center at the Belarusian State University. She previously worked as a consultant in the UN office in Belarus and testified before UN bodies as an expert on unilateral coercive measures.⁴⁹⁷

The mandate was created in 2014 through a resolution initiated by Iran on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement, over the opposition of all Western democracies, and has since been consistently sponsored by non-democratic states.⁴⁹⁸

It targets so-called “unilateral coercive measures”—a term used to describe sanctions imposed by democracies on authoritarian or human rights-abusing regimes. The Special Rapporteur is tasked with studying the negative impact of these measures and working to minimize their effects on the targeted countries.⁴⁹⁹ Western democracies have repeatedly opposed the mandate, arguing that sanctions are not inherently unlawful and can serve as an important accountability tool under international law.⁵⁰⁰

496 Professor Alena Douhan, *Special Rapporteur on the negative impact of the unilateral coercive measures*, **OHCHR** (Last visited January 14, 2026), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures/sr-unilateral-coercive-measures/professor-alena-douhan-special-rapporteur-negative-impact-unilateral-coercive-measures>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/Gg3Eq>.

497 Alena Douhan’s UN application form, **OHCHR** (January 8, 2020), https://unwatch.org/wp-content/uploads/2026/01/DOUHAN_Alena_form.pdf; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/gOzkc>.

498 *Human rights and unilateral coercive measures*, UN Doc. A/HRC/27/L.2, **HRC Meetings** (September 18, 2014), <https://hrcmeetings.ohchr.org/HRCSessions/RegularSessions/27thSession>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/vQ2IT>.

499 *Mandate of the Special Rapporteur*, **OHCHR** (Last visited January 14, 2026), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures/sr-unilateral-coercive-measures/mandate-special-rapporteur>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/advUb>.

500 See, e.g., *Statement at the General Assembly Informal Meeting on the International Day Against Unilateral Coercive Measures (UCMs)*, **USUN** (December 4, 2025), <https://usun.usmission.gov/statement-at-the-general-assembly-informal-meeting-on-the-international-day-against-unilateral-coercive-measures-ucms/>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/amAwd>. *EU Statement - HRC60 - Interactive Dialogue with the Special Rapporteur on the negative impact of unilateral coercive measures and human rights*, **EU Delegation to the UN** (September 15, 2025), https://www.eeas.europa.eu/delegations/un-geneva/eu-statement-hrc60-interactive-dialogue-special-rapporteur-negative-impact-unilateral-coercive_en; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/jS1p5>.

The previous mandate-holder, Idriss Jazairy, used the position to defend dictatorships and criticize the West. In 2017, he notably published a report portraying Putin’s Russia as a victim of human rights violations, shortly after his office received \$50,000 from the Russian government.⁵⁰¹ As Algeria’s ambassador to the UN, he had asserted that “antisemitism targets Arabs,”⁵⁰² and he led a major effort to muzzle UN human rights experts⁵⁰³—before becoming one himself.

Douhan similarly champions anti-Western narratives while exonerating human rights violators.

Known Funders (Excludes In-Kind Support)⁵⁰⁴

- **China:** \$979,997 as follows:

- \$160,000 in 2020
- \$200,000 in 2021
- \$199,997 in 2022
- \$200,000 in 2023
- \$220,000 in 2024

- **Russia:** \$265,000 as follows:

- \$115,000 in 2020
- \$150,000 in 2021

- **Qatar:** \$50,000 as follows:

- \$25,000 in 2021
- \$25,000 in 2022

In total, Alena Douhan’s office received \$1.3 million from China, Russia, and Qatar.⁵⁰⁵ She has never disclosed how this money was used, despite numerous requests and articles on the subject.⁵⁰⁶

501 *Russia gave \$50,000 to UN expert who wrote report calling Russia a victim*, **UN Watch** (September 14, 2017), <https://unwatch.org/russia-gave-50000-un-expert-wrote-report-calling-russia-victim/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/LtBYU>.

502 *The End of Human Rights at the U.N. — Panel was “Mother of All Rogues’ Galleries”*, **UN Watch** (September 14, 2017), <https://unwatch.org/end-human-rights-u-n-panel-mother-rogues-galleries/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/gc7Xn>.

503 *How Idriss Jazairy tried to muzzle UN rights monitors*, **UN Watch** (December 30, 2015), <https://unwatch.org/how-idriss-jazairy-tried-to-muzzle-un-rights-monitors/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/oIBL5>.

504 *Annual reports on Special Procedures*, **OHCHR** (Last visited March 18, 2026), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures-human-rights-council/annual-reports-special-procedures>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/s7TUu>.

505 *Hillel Neuer Confronts the U.N.’s Chief Propagandist for Dictators, Alena Douhan*, **UN Watch** (September 18, 2024), <https://unwatch.org/hillel-neuer-confronts-the-u-n-s-chief-propagandist-for-dictators-alena-douhan/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/VWTqA>. *Hillel Neuer Exposes the UN’s Alena Douhan and the \$1.3 Million Scandal Funding Dictator Propaganda*, **UN Watch** (December 1, 2025), <https://unwatch.org/hillel-neuer-exposes-the-uns-alena-douhan-and-the-1-3-million-scandal-funding-dictator-propaganda/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/MjIJU>.

506 *Search Results for: Douhan*, **UN Watch** (Last visited January 14, 2026), <https://unwatch.org/?s=douhan>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/q7fry>. *UN expert slammed over \$275,900 contribution from China*, **The Straits Times** (May 19, 2022), <https://www.straitstimes.com/world/europe/un-expert-slammed-over-275939-contribution-from-china>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/5pjGz>.

Anti-Western Narratives and Defense of Authoritarian Regimes

Douhan has consistently portrayed countries such as China, Iran, Syria, Cuba, Venezuela, and Zimbabwe as innocent victims of Western oppression. Her impartiality has come under serious scrutiny: after her office received \$200,000 from China, she whitewashed Beijing's grave human rights violations against its Uyghur population.⁵⁰⁷ As of February 2025, Douhan's office had accepted close to \$1 million from China.⁵⁰⁸

Douhan's 2020 visit to Qatar led her to lobby Gulf states to lift sanctions on the country—despite Qatar's well-documented support for terrorism—on the grounds that the measures infringed upon Qataris' rights related to family life, education, health, property, religion, and expression.⁵⁰⁹ In the next two years, Douhan's office received \$50,000 from Qatar for her mandate.⁵¹⁰

Douhan has repeatedly defended Russia against U.S. sanctions, including in her official reports to the Human Rights Council. In her July 2020 report, she described U.S. "sectoral sanctions" on Russian industries as "ominous."⁵¹¹ In her July 2022 report—published less than six months after Russia's invasion of Ukraine—she went so far as to thank Russia for submitting complaints about U.S. sanctions.⁵¹² By September 2024, she argued that U.S. sanctions on Russia were having an "extreme extraterritorial effect" on countries in the global South.⁵¹³ It is no surprise that, during her tenure as Special Rapporteur, Douhan has accepted more than \$250,000 from the Russian government.⁵¹⁴

In 2021, she visited Zimbabwe⁵¹⁵ and Venezuela,⁵¹⁶ attributing both nations' economic crises to Western sanctions rather than to internal mismanagement and authoritarian rule.

In 2022, after a propaganda-style visit to Iran, Douhan claimed that the country's "humanitarian and economic challenges" stemmed from Western sanctions, omitting the regime's systemic corruption and repression.⁵¹⁷ That same year, following a visit to Syria, she "commended" the Assad regime for coordinating her visit in a "transparent and constructive manner" and for its "responsiveness" and "support."⁵¹⁸ She went so far as to declare that Western sanctions might amount to "a crime against humanity" against the entire Syrian population.⁵¹⁹

507 *China: UN expert says unilateral sanctions must not be used as foreign policy tool and means of economic coercion*, **OHCHR** (May 17, 2024), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2024/05/china-un-expert-says-unilateral-sanctions-must-not-be-used-foreign-policy>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/fPRsA>. *Hillel Neuer Confronts the U.N.'s Chief Propagandist for Dictators, Alena Douhan*, **UN Watch** (September 18, 2024), <https://unwatch.org/hillel-neuer-confronts-the-u-n-s-chief-propagandist-for-dictators-alena-douhan/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/VWTqA>.

508 *Id.*; *See also Hillel Neuer Exposes the UN's Alena Douhan and the \$1.3 Million Scandal Funding Dictator Propaganda*, **UN Watch** (December 1, 2025), <https://unwatch.org/hillel-neuer-exposes-the-uns-alena-douhan-and-the-1-3-million-scandal-funding-dictator-propaganda/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/MjJjU>.

509 *UN human rights expert urges four Gulf states to lift unilateral sanctions against Qatar*, **OHCHR** (November 12, 2020), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2020/11/un-human-rights-expert-urges-four-gulf-states-lift-unilateral-sanctions>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/s7TUi>.

510 *Annual reports on Special Procedures*, **OHCHR** (Last visited January 14, 2026), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures-human-rights-council/annual-reports-special-procedures>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/4Ob6T>.

511 *Negative impact of unilateral coercive measures: priorities and road map*, UN Doc. A/HRC/45/7, **Human Rights Council** (July 21, 2020), <https://docs.un.org/en/A/HRC/45/7>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/nHpsj>.

512 *Secondary sanctions, civil and criminal penalties for circumvention of sanctions regimes and overcompliance with sanctions*, UN Doc. A/HRC/51/33, **Human Rights Council** (July 15, 2022), <https://docs.un.org/en/A/HRC/51/33>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/zUCwh>.

513 *Monitoring and assessment of the impact of unilateral sanctions and overcompliance on human rights*, UN Doc. A/HRC/57/55, **UN General Assembly** (August 9, 2024), <https://docs.un.org/en/A/HRC/57/55>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/9m6TR>.

514 *Annual reports on Special Procedures*, **OHCHR** (Last visited January 14, 2026), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures-human-rights-council/annual-reports-special-procedures>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/WiEKC>.

515 *Zimbabwe: Expert calls for lifting of unilateral sanctions, urges talks*, **OHCHR** (October 28, 2021), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2021/10/zimbabwe-expert-calls-lifting-unilateral-sanctions-urges-talks>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/PG0DL>.

516 *UN human rights expert urges to lift unilateral sanctions against Venezuela*, **OHCHR** (February 12, 2021), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2021/02/un-human-rights-expert-urges-lift-unilateral-sanctions-against-venezuela>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/5Xzr7>.

517 *Iran: Unilateral sanctions and overcompliance constitute serious threat to human rights and dignity – UN expert*, **OHCHR** (May 19, 2022), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2022/05/iran-unilateral-sanctions-and-overcompliance-constitute-serious-threat-human>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/lrflN>.

518 *UN expert calls for lifting of long-lasting unilateral sanctions 'suffocating' Syrian people*, **OHCHR** (November 10, 2022), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/node/104160>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/JqsBK>.

519 *Visit to the Syrian Arab Republic*, UN Doc. A/HRC/54/23/Add.1, **Human Rights Council** (July 3, 2023), <https://docs.un.org/en/A/HRC/54/23/Add.1>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/QvjtG/image>.

Likewise, Douhan has worked to exonerate the Cuban police state. In February 2025, she condemned the United States for reinstating Cuba as a State Sponsor of Terrorism,⁵²⁰ and in November 2025 she followed up with a propaganda trip to the island. The visit's main purpose was to attack U.S. sanctions, which she blamed for everything from food shortages to migration. In her preliminary findings, she offered no criticism of Cuba's authoritarian policies.⁵²¹

Similar anti-Western themes are evident in her thematic reporting. In her March 2024 report to the Human Rights Council, she even blamed Western sanctions for the lack of access to hormone therapy and antiretroviral treatment for LGBT people in repressive states such as Iran, Syria, Sudan, and Zimbabwe.⁵²² In her July 2025 report to the Human Rights Council, she claimed that Western sanctions were responsible for food insecurity in Cuba, Syria, Venezuela, and North Korea—entirely ignoring other critical factors such as government policies, institutional corruption, and conflict.⁵²³

Drives Anti-Western Narratives in the UN System

She has also taken a leading role in advancing anti-Western advocacy at the UN. For example, she spoke on a UN panel chaired by Iran criticizing Western sanctions on regimes such as Russia, Syria, Iran, Cuba, and Venezuela, where the Cuban president delivered the keynote address.⁵²⁴ She also gave opening remarks at a two-hour UNHRC session condemning similar sanctions.⁵²⁵ In December 2022—while much of the world condemned Iran for its brutal crackdown on protesters following the death of Mahsa Amini—Douhan absurdly chose to issue a letter blaming U.S. sanctions for Iranian air pollution.⁵²⁶

520 *United States: Experts dismayed by decision to reinstate Cuba as State Sponsor of Terrorism, call for lifting of unilateral coercive measure*, **OHCHR** (February 7, 2025), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2025/02/united-states-experts-dismayed-decision-reinstate-cuba-state-sponsor>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/E5zif>.

521 *Preliminary findings of the visit to Cuba by the Special Rapporteur on the negative impact of unilateral coercive measures on the enjoyment of human rights Alena Douhan*, **OHCHR** (November 21, 2025), <https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/statements/20251121-eom-stm-cuba-sr-negative-impact-unilateral-en.pdf>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/BcIVG>.

522 *Impact of unilateral coercive measures on the right to health*, UN Doc. A/HRC/54/23, **Human Rights Council** (March 28, 2024), <https://docs.un.org/en/A/HRC/54/23>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/5Qvzj/image>.

523 *Impact of unilateral coercive measures on economic, labour and social rights*, UN Doc. A/HRC/60/36, **Human Rights Council** (July 16, 2025), <https://docs.un.org/en/A/HRC/60/36>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/YHcns/image>.

524 @HillelNeuer, X (November 1, 2023, 8:27 PM), <https://x.com/HillelNeuer/status/1719783205450953215>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/ZSNRw>.

525 *UN Holds Panel Slamming Western Sanctions, Empowering Russia, Iran, Syria*, **UN Watch** (September 14, 2023), <https://unwatch.org/un-panel-backs-regimes-slamming-western-sanctions/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/Fw0js>.

526 *US sanctions violate Iranian people's rights to clean environment, health and life: UN experts*, **OHCHR** (December 20, 2022), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2022/12/us-sanctions-violate-iranian-peoples-rights-clean-environment-health-and>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/6URKd>.



9

Mary Lawlor

Special Rapporteur on Human Rights Defenders

In May 2020, Mary Lawlor was appointed Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights defenders.⁵²⁷ Lawlor is an adjunct professor at Trinity College London's School of Business where she focuses on business and human rights. From 1988 to 2000, she headed Amnesty International in Ireland. From 2001 to 2016, she was founder and Executive Director of Front Line Defenders, an NGO focused on protecting human rights activists.⁵²⁸

Under its founding resolution from 2000, the mandate is to promote implementation of the UN declaration on human rights defenders, monitor and report on their situation, and recommend strategies to protect them.⁵²⁹ Lawlor has exhibited a persistent and deeply partisan hostility toward the United States. She also consistently aligns herself with anti-Israel activists while turning a blind eye to Israeli suffering and the broader context of terrorism.

527 *Ms Mary Lawlor: Special Rapporteur on human rights defenders*, OHCHR (Last visited January 12, 2026), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures/sr-human-rights-defenders/ms-mary-lawlor>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/CkvCB>.

528 *Mary Lawlor' UN application form*, OHCHR (October 15, 2019), https://unwatch.org/wp-content/uploads/2026/01/LAWLOR_Mary_Form.pdf; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/SvQGI>.

529 *Mandate: Special Rapporteur on human rights defenders*, OHCHR (Last visited January 12, 2026), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures/sr-human-rights-defenders/mandate>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/q8b6e>.

Known Funders (Excludes In-Kind Support)⁵³⁰

- **Ireland:** €53,250 in 2020
- **Facebook and Trinity Business School:** €42,963.97 in 2020 used to research companies' compliance with the the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights
- **Spain:** \$163,575 as follows:
 - \$33,784 in 2021
 - \$31,983 in 2022
 - \$31,646 in 2023
 - \$31,480 in 2024
 - \$34,682 in 2025
- **American Bar Association:**
 - €6,049 in 2021 for website
 - \$8,385 in 2023 for disability audit of website
- **Norwegian Human Rights Fund:** \$190,000. It is unclear if this amount was received as a one-time contribution, or annually. It is listed as a multi-year grant in 2021, 2022, 2023, and 2024.
- **Ford Foundation:**⁵³¹ \$200,000. It is unclear if this amount was received as a one-time contribution, or annually. It is listed as a multi-year grant in 2021, 2022, 2023, and 2024.
- **Austria:**
 - €80,000 in 2023 for the Vienna Youth and Child Human Rights Defenders Conference
 - \$23,392 in 2025

The Norwegian Human Rights Fund (NHRF) is primarily funded by the Norwegian government.⁵³² NHRF's support for Palestinian "human rights defenders" focuses on criticism of Israeli policies rather than abuses by the Palestinian Authority or Hamas. Its website praises activists who "work to reverse the destructive effect that the longstanding occupation" has on "democratic principles and human rights."⁵³³ NHRF co-founders include Jan Egeland, a participant in lawfare campaigns against Israel.⁵³⁴ In 2019, NHRF's Executive Director, Ingeborg Moa, lobbied for a boycott of Israel's Eurovision song contest.⁵³⁵ Notably, Mary Lawlor herself serves on the Advisory Board of NHRF—the organization funding her work—which raises questions of a potential conflict of interest.⁵³⁶

530 *Annual reports on Special Procedures*, **OHCHR** (Last visited March 18, 2026), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures-human-rights-council/annual-reports-special-procedures>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/FzcZd>.

531 See discussion in Section 7: Gina Romero.

532 *Our finances*, **Norwegian Human Rights Fund** (Last visited March 5, 2026), <https://nhrf.no/who-we-are/our-finances>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/V1KpE>.

533 *Human Rights Defenders in Israel and OPT*, **NHRF** (Last visited March 5, 2026), <https://nhrf.no/article/2017/fortifying-human-rights-defenders-in-israel-and-opt>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/2hItO>.

534 *Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC)*, **NGO Monitor** (February 11, 2024), https://ngo-monitor.org/funder/norwegian_refugee_council/; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/DwNOq>.

535 Less than a month after the October 7 Hamas attack, Ingeborg Moa posted "#fritt palestina" and "#stoppbombingen" on Instagram, later shared a "free my Palestine" image in a pink heart for Valentine's Day 2024, and called to boycott the Eurovision Song Contest in Israel in May 2019. *Ingiemoa*, **Instagram** (November 2, 2023), <https://www.instagram.com/p/CzJ-dONOF4G/?igsh=MWVvkdM2dnVmd3B1dA==>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/z2yLN>. *Ingiemoa*, **Instagram** (February 14, 2024), <https://www.instagram.com/p/C3Vpnc4KvNf/?igsh=ZzVYMTVrdDZjMmNh>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/D6ut2>. *Ingiemoa*, **Instagram** (May 14, 2019), <https://www.instagram.com/p/BxdDXubCA99/?igsh=NnVkdWgxZG4xZjZk>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/CAQ8g>.

536 See *The NHRF Organizational Structure*, **NHRF** (Last visited January 29, 2026), <https://nhrf.no/who-we-are/structure>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/D24kD>.

As noted in the Key Findings, earmarked funding from governments or foundations that have a particular social or political agenda, whether routed through the UN human rights office (OHCHR) or provided directly to mandate-holders, unduly influences mandate implementation and undermines the independence required of Special Procedures.

Austria, Ireland, Norway, and Spain should not be funding a UN position that has been politicized and weaponized to attack the West.

Strong Anti-American Bias

In a November 2025 tweet, Lawlor criticized the United States for withdrawing from the Universal Periodic Review process, despite the UN's well-documented anti-American bias.⁵³⁷ In the same X thread, she attacked the U.S. for dispersing pro-Palestinian protests⁵³⁸—without acknowledging the often violent nature of some demonstrations—and for authorizing weapons transfers to Israel.⁵³⁹ In 2019, she advocated sending Donald Trump on a “one-way ticket” to the moon.⁵⁴⁰

In an October 2023 human rights lecture at the University of Minnesota, Lawlor equated the United States with Russia and China, accusing all three governments of “challenging” the “language used to articulate human rights.”⁵⁴¹ During the same lecture, she mischaracterized two NYPD arrests of climate activists as deliberate efforts to chill protest, when in fact the activists were knowingly defying a restraining order.⁵⁴²

A July 2022 report on human rights defenders in migration similarly portrayed individuals who facilitate illegal immigration in the United States as victims, lamenting that those who assist in breaking immigration laws “go unrecognized and unprotected” and face the “threat” of legal consequences.⁵⁴³ The report did not address the security and public-safety implications of illegal immigration. It further accused the United States of engaging in a “pattern of...harassment,” citing three immigration lawyers the government had “flagged,” all of whom publicly oppose immigration enforcement. Nicole Ramos has advocated “open borders,” arguing that “you can’t draw lines on stolen land,”⁵⁴⁴ while Erika Pinheiro⁵⁴⁵ and Nora Phillips⁵⁴⁶ describe themselves as immigration “abolitionists,” rejecting enforcement as inherently violent and opposing policing, detention, and deportation of illegal immigrants.

537 @MaryLawlorhrds, X (November 7, 2025, 8:00 AM), <https://x.com/MaryLawlorhrds/status/1986780697307013339>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/ph00u>.

538 @MaryLawlorhrds, X (November 7, 2025, 8:00 AM), <https://x.com/MaryLawlorhrds/status/1986780703766483164>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/pWtwl>.

539 @MaryLawlorhrds, X (November 7, 2025, 8:00 AM), <https://x.com/MaryLawlorhrds/status/1986780709667631479>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/uM3Us>.

540 @MaryLawlorhrds, X (May 10, 2019, 4:18 PM), <https://x.com/MaryLawlorhrds/status/1126944723632103424>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/4BNYa>.

541 *2025 Scallen Lecture in Human Rights: UN Special Rapporteur Mary Lawlor, Human Rights Program-University of Minnesota* (October 23, 2025), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O9baD7HjWsk&t=1130s>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/lx7Jp>.

542 *An Activist Will Defy a Restraining Order to Play a Cello Protest at Citibank's NYC Headquarters Thursday, Inside Climate News* (August 7, 2024), <https://insideclimatenews.org/news/07082024/new-york-citibank-cello-protest/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/oFIY4>.

543 *Refusing to turn away: human rights defenders working on the rights of refugees, migrants, and asylum-seekers*, UN Doc. A/77/178, **UN General Assembly** (July 18, 2022), <https://docs.un.org/en/A/77/178>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/vQf2I>.

544 @luzenlafrontera, X (Last visited January 12, 2026), <https://x.com/luzenlafrontera?lang=en>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/ydchQ>.

545 @eeerox, X (Last visited January 12, 2026), <https://x.com/eeerox>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/Pv3xv>.

546 @Noraistired, X (Last visited January 12, 2026), <https://x.com/Noraistired>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/WSNJO>.

Endorses BDS and Delegitimizes Israel

Lawlor endorses Omar Barghouti, leader of the BDS movement to boycott, sanction and divest from Israel, who has openly stated that the movement’s ultimate goal is to dismantle Israel—“the Zionist regime.”⁵⁴⁷ In a May 2025 tweet, she defended his appearance at a Dublin festival, praising him as “a leading voice speaking against “Israeli “crimes” targeting Palestinians, which she claimed are “only possible with international complicity.”⁵⁴⁸

She likewise defended Mohannad Karajah, a Palestinian lawyer detained by the Palestinian Authority amidst what Lawlor termed an “ongoing intimidation & smear campaign.”⁵⁴⁹ Karajah was accused of supporting public executions by Hamas following the October 2025 ceasefire.⁵⁵⁰ Formerly a lawyer for the PFLP-linked Addameer, Karajah has a long history of endorsing the PFLP and inciting terrorism online, including advocating against Egypt’s designation of Hamas as a terrorist organization and calling the October 2015 terrorist attack that murdered Eitam and Na’ama Henkin in front of their four young children a “heroic operation.”⁵⁵¹

Advocacy for an Arms Embargo and Rejection of Israel’s Self-Defense

In March 2024, Lawlor published an op-ed in *The Guardian* calling for an arms embargo on Israel and condemning countries that “profess support for a rules-based order” yet continue to supply weapons to Israel. She rejected Israel’s right to self-defense, claiming it had been “invalidated by the disproportionality of the response,” while conveniently ignoring ongoing Hamas violations, such as holding hostages and operating from civilian areas.⁵⁵² Likewise, in an interview with Turkey’s *Andalou Agency*, she dismissed the legality of Israel’s military actions against Hamas, calling it “sheer barbarism” and “a massacre of civilians”⁵⁵³—even as military experts have described Israel’s civilian-to-combatant casualty ratio as *historically low*.⁵⁵⁴ In an August 2025 op-ed in the *Irish Examiner*, Lawlor once again delegitimized Israel as a “settler-colonial project” guilty of “genocide” and condemned the ongoing provision of weapons to the country.⁵⁵⁵

547 ‘Zionist regime’ downfall is BDS endgame: movement founder, **i24** (June 2, 2020), <https://www.i24news.tv/en/news/israel/diplomacy-defense/1591087456-zionist-regime-downfall-is-bds-endgame-movement-founder>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/JbUXp>.

548 @MaryLawlorhrds, **X** (May 2, 2025, 1:30 PM), <https://x.com/MaryLawlorhrds/status/1918357485989314861>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/NsptT>.

549 @MaryLawlorhrds, **X** (November 28, 2025, 12:16 PM), <https://x.com/MaryLawlorhrds/status/1994455458917048649>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/rn4jW>.

550 Lawyer Karaja, a political activist defending political detainees in the West Bank, was arrested, **The Palestinian Information Center** (October 30, 2025), <https://palinfo.com/news/2025/10/30/980211/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/tagox>.

551 Addameer Employees’ Violent Social Media Accounts, **NGO Monitor** (May 1, 2021), <https://ngo-monitor.org/reports/addameer-employees-violent-social-media/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/H7pye>.

552 There is no moral argument that justifies the sale of weapons to Israel, **The Guardian** (March 21, 2024), <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2024/mar/21/sale-weapons-israel-palestinian-human-rights>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/ILbGw>.

553 UN special rapporteur highlights what Israel’s war in Gaza is having on human rights, **Andalou Agency** (March 16, 2024), <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/middle-east/un-special-rapporteur-highlights-what-israel-s-war-in-gaza-is-having-on-human-rights/3165997>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/5gT8A>.

554 John Spencer on Israel’s Urban War in Gaza: A Technical Analysis, **Middle East Forum** (January 24, 2025), <https://www.meforum.org/podcasts/john-spencer-on-israels-urban-war-in-gaza-a-technical-analysis>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/zYsIT>.

555 If states can be shamed into action, Israel will be forced to change, **Irish Examiner** (August 7, 2025), <https://www.irishexaminer.com/opinion/commentanalysis/arid-41682392.html>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/x2iNN>.

Defends Antisemitic UN Officials and Whitewashes Terror Links

Lawlor has also gone out of her way to defend fellow special rapporteur Francesca Albanese, dismissing credible allegations of antisemitism without addressing the substance of the claims.⁵⁵⁶ She has accused the governments of Israel⁵⁵⁷ and the United States⁵⁵⁸ of wrongfully designating certain NGOs as terrorist organizations, deeming the sanctions “completely baseless,”⁵⁵⁹ while ignoring the NGOs’ documented ties to the PFLP, a proscribed terrorist group. She selectively highlighted⁵⁶⁰ the case of a Hamas-linked Gazan doctor⁵⁶¹ detained by Israel but ignored the plight of Israeli hostages tortured by Hamas. Similarly, she condemned the killing of Anas Al-Sharif,⁵⁶² the so-called *Al Jazeera* journalist who was in fact a Hamas militant receiving a Hamas salary.⁵⁶³

Excuses Campus Antisemitism

This pattern of selective outrage is further reflected in Lawlor’s handling of campus antisemitism. In April 2024, she defended anti-Israel protesters at Columbia University, tweeting that disciplinary measures against students refusing to end their encampments were a “clear violation of their right to peaceful assembly,” despite widespread antisemitic harassment, intimidation, and disruption on campus.⁵⁶⁴

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- 556 @MaryLawlorhrds, X (March 30, 2024, 10:41 AM), <https://x.com/MaryLawlorhrds/status/1774077622114279806>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/9JFxo>.
- 557 @MaryLawlorhrds, X (October 22, 2021, 10:03 AM), <https://x.com/MaryLawlorhrds/status/1451549710184026127>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/aBuLS>.
- 558 @MaryLawlorhrds, X (October 12, 2025, 9:22 AM), <https://x.com/MaryLawlorhrds/status/1955258614098047159>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/yexBP>.
- 559 OHCHR *Special Procedures - Press conference: Human rights situation in Gaza and OPT*, UN Web TV (September 15, 2025), <https://webtv.un.org/en/asset/k18/k18iky4lpf>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/2gWAh>.
- 560 @MaryLawlorhrds, X (April 1, 2025, 6:05 PM), <https://x.com/MaryLawlorhrds/status/1907086833504198872>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/xLPvB>.
- 561 *Who is ‘Hamas doctor’ Hussam Abu Safiya*, Ynet (January 2, 2025), <https://www.ynetnews.com/article/hkcnqjqlj>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/Bsb81>.
- 562 @MaryLawlorhrds, X (August 11, 2025, 12:30 PM), <https://x.com/MaryLawlorhrds/status/1954943636308623787>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/UeSzh>.
- 563 *Amid global outcry, IDF says Al Jazeera reporter it killed was receiving Hamas salary*, Times of Israel (August 12, 2025), <https://www.timesofisrael.com/amid-global-outcry-idf-says-al-jazeera-reporter-it-killed-was-receiving-hamas-salary/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/UeSzh>.
- 564 @MaryLawlorhrds, X (April 29, 2024, 2:58 PM), <https://x.com/MaryLawlorhrds/status/1785020792197038101>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/H2bvV>.



10 Margaret Satterthwaite

Special Rapporteur on Independence of Judges

In October 2022, Margaret Satterthwaite was appointed Special Rapporteur on the independence of judges and lawyers.⁵⁶⁵ She is a law professor at NYU where she founded the Global Justice Clinic to train law students to become ethical human rights lawyers. She is also the faculty director of NYU's Robert and Helen Bernstein Institute for Human Rights and has taught law courses in Australia, Britain, and Italy.⁵⁶⁶

Under its founding resolution from 1994, the mandate is to record attacks on the independence of judges and lawyers, identify ways to improve their independence, monitor progress in that regard, and make recommendations to states.⁵⁶⁷ Satterthwaite has disproportionately criticized the United States for violations related to the independence of judges while giving a free pass to authoritarian regimes, denied Israel's right to self-defense, and defended antisemitic rapporteur Francesca Albanese.

565 *Ms. Margaret Satterthwaite: Special Rapporteur on the independence of judges and lawyers*, OHCHR (Last visited January 12, 2026), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures/sr-independence-of-judges-and-lawyers/ms-margaret-satterthwaite>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/E6eD8>.

566 *Margaret Satterthwaite's UN application form*, OHCHR (June 8, 2022), https://unwatch.org/wp-content/uploads/2026/01/SATTERTHWAITE_Margaret_Form.pdf; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/ytvGc>.

567 *About the mandate: Special Rapporteur on the independence of judges and lawyers*, OHCHR (Last visited January 12, 2026), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures/sr-independence-of-judges-and-lawyers/about-mandate>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/PmBul>.

Known Funders (Excludes In-Kind Support)⁵⁶⁸

- **Ford Foundation:**⁵⁶⁹ \$450,000 in 2023
- **Charles Stewart Mott Foundation:** \$300,000 in 2023
- **IPRI/Luce Foundation:** \$60,000 in 2024 to support preparation of thematic report on the right of indigenous peoples to maintain and develop justice systems

Though she is obliged to be impartial, Margaret Satterthwaite's UN mandate is being funded by organizations with a very particular social and political agenda. The Charles Stewart Mott Foundation funds numerous organizations engaged in biased anti-Israel advocacy.⁵⁷⁰ For example, since 2006, it has provided more than \$2 million to CIVICUS,⁵⁷¹ whose Secretary-General, Mandeep Tiwana, once tried to stop Israel's prime minister from addressing the UN General Assembly.⁵⁷² The Mott Foundation has also given more than \$1 million since 2019 to Access Now,⁵⁷³ which accuses Israel of the "digital occupation of Palestine."⁵⁷⁴ The foundation has also provided nearly \$3 million since 2014 to ActionAid,⁵⁷⁵ an organization that came under criticism in 2025 for falsely claiming that more women and children had been killed in Gaza than in "any other conflict in the last two decades."⁵⁷⁶

In addition, Satterthwaite reported receiving a \$60,000 grant from the Henry Luce Foundation,⁵⁷⁷ through Indigenous Peoples Rights International (IPRI).⁵⁷⁸ IPRI has advanced controversial positions including expansive interpretations of self-determination and collective land rights that undermine state sovereignty. IPRI co-founder Victoria Tauli-Corpuz has argued that there should be "no borders" for indigenous peoples.⁵⁷⁹

As noted in the Key Findings, investigators jeopardize the appearance of impartiality when they are receiving earmarked funding from entities with a distinct interest or agenda. Whether the money is routed through the UN human rights office (OHCHR) or provided directly to mandate-holders, such funding unduly influences mandate implementation and undermines the independence required of Special Procedures.

568 *Annual reports on Special Procedures*, **OHCHR** (Last visited March 18, 2026), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures-human-rights-council/annual-reports-special-procedures>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/89peq>.

569 See discussion in Section 7: Gina Romero.

570 *See What We Fund*, **Mott Foundation** (Last visited January 29, 2026), <https://www.mott.org/what-we-fund/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/eMLt8>.

571 *Grants Database CIVICUS search*, **Mott Foundation** (Last visited March 5, 2026), <https://www.mott.org/grants/?query=CIVICUS&pg=3>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/d48A2>.

572 *Benjamin Netanyahu, Found Guilty of Genocide by UN Commission, to Address the UN*, CIVICUS (September 24, 2025), <https://www.civicus.org/index.php/fr/component/tags/tag/israel>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/HS63a>. The head of Civicus accused Netanyahu of "genocide," "bloody revenge," and "trashing every basic principle of humanity and decency," claiming that "no leader responsible for mass atrocities" enjoys greater impunity. Notably, he has made no comparable criticism when the Iranian regime addressed the UN, failing to join other groups that protested against Deputy Foreign Minister Kazem Gharibabadi addressing the UN Human Rights Council in February 2026.

573 *Grants Database Access Now search*, **Mott Foundation** (Last visited March 5, 2026), <https://www.mott.org/grants/?query=%22access+now%22>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/p76oh>.

574 *Israel's Digital Occupation of Palestine*, **Access Now** (Last visited March 5, 2026), <https://www.accessnow.org/palestine-israel/?tzc=1>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/NF6Mf>. Its one-sided advocacy portrays Israel's Gaza war in isolation, ignoring the Hamas October 7 attack that sparked the conflict, while charging Israel with "genocide" and waging "one of the deadliest and most destructive wars in recent memory.

575 *Grants Database ActionAid search*, **Mott Foundation** (Last visited March 5, 2026), <https://www.mott.org/grants/?query=%22actionaid%22>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/167Fe>.

576 *ActionAid removes false claim that more women and children killed in Gaza than 'any other conflict in the last two decades'*, **The JC** (August 14, 2025), <https://www.thejc.com/news/israel/actionaid-false-claim-women-children-killed-gaza-nbr4528e>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/0fsNI>.

577 The Henry Luce Foundation describes itself as seeking "to deepen knowledge and understanding in pursuit of a more democratic and just world." *Mission Statement, The Henry Luce Foundation* (Last visited March 8, 2026), <https://hluce.org/about/mission-vision-and-values/>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/3rQ4n>.

578 IPRI refers to Indigenous People's Rights International, an organization focused on defending the rights of indigenous people, *Who We Are*, **IPRI** (Last visited January 29, 2026), <https://www.iprights.org/about-ipri/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/CPqVL>. The Henry Luce Foundation focuses on funding education and cultural projects. See *The Luce Perspective*, **Henry Luce Foundation** (Last visited January 29, 2026), <https://hluce.org/our-approach/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/bc8tF>.

579 *There Should Be No Borders for Indigenous Peoples: Victoria Tauli-Corpuz*, **Cultural Survival** (March 3, 2020), <https://www.culturalsurvival.org/publications/cultural-survival-quarterly/there-should-be-no-borders-indigenous-peoples-victoria>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/mGJBW>.

Opposes U.S. Policy and Accountability Measures

Her record reveals a stark imbalance: she has issued only 13 condemnations on China, Russia, and Iran combined,⁵⁸⁰ while criticizing the United States directly at least 40 times during her tenure.⁵⁸¹ She has also issued zero tweets on repressive regimes such as Cuba, Eritrea, Nicaragua, Syria, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and Zimbabwe.⁵⁸²

Her commentary on U.S. policy is consistently critical, often reflecting a reflexive impulse to condemn actions associated with the current administration. In April 2025, she denounced as “alarming” the arrest of a Wisconsin judge suspected of shielding immigrants from law enforcement.⁵⁸³ Her criticism extended to U.S. sanctions on Brazilian Supreme Court Justice Alexandre de Moraes,⁵⁸⁴ whom the administration accused of political persecutions against U.S. and Brazilian citizens and companies, and of suppressing free expression.⁵⁸⁵

She repeatedly condemned U.S. sanctions on ICC judges, framing them as an assault on international justice⁵⁸⁶ and an attack on “independent justice operators seeking accountability for the world’s worst crimes,”⁵⁸⁷ while ignoring legitimate concerns about the ICC’s increasing politicization. She also opposed a U.S. bill authorizing the Treasury Secretary to designate certain NGOs as “terrorist-supporting.”⁵⁸⁸

Selectivity in Thematic Reporting Exonerates Dictatorships

Satterthwaite’s thematic reports further underscore her bias. Her June 2024 report to the Human Rights Council titled *Safeguarding the independence of judicial systems in the face of contemporary challenges to democracy* singles out Israel and the United States while ignoring comparable or more serious abuses in authoritarian states.⁵⁸⁹ It criticizes proposed Israeli regulations allowing the Bar Association to suspend lawyers for political speech and condemns officials for calling a judge an “enemy from within,” yet says nothing about systemic judicial repression in countries like Iran or Cuba.⁵⁹⁰ The report also faults the United States—highlighting an investigation of a judge who spoke about racial inequality and criticizing President Trump’s past attacks on judges—while largely excusing far more severe conduct elsewhere.⁵⁹¹

580 “China,” “Hong Kong,” “Russia,” “Iran” word searches of @SRjudgeslawyers, X (Last visited January 12, 2026), [https://x.com/search?q=\(china%20OR%20russia%20OR%20iran%20OR%20%22hong%20kong%22\)%20\(from%3ASRjudgeslawyers\)%20until%3A2025-11-24%20since%3A2025-01-01&src=typed_query&f=to](https://x.com/search?q=(china%20OR%20russia%20OR%20iran%20OR%20%22hong%20kong%22)%20(from%3ASRjudgeslawyers)%20until%3A2025-11-24%20since%3A2025-01-01&src=typed_query&f=to); Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/kIZLA>.

581 “US,” “U.S.,” “USA,” “United States” word searches of @SRjudgeslawyers, X (Last visited January 12, 2026), https://x.com/search?q=%28US%20or%20U.S.%20or%20USA%20or%20%22United%20States%22%29%20from%3ASRjudgeslawyers%29&src=typed_query&f=to; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/NDkqm>.

582 “Cuba,” “Eritrea,” “Nicaragua,” “Syria,” “Qatar,” “Saudi Arabia,” “Zimbabwe” word search of @SRjudgeslawyers, X (Last visited February 28, 2026), [https://x.com/search?q=\(Cuba%20OR%20Eritrea%20OR%20Nicaragua%20OR%20Syria%20OR%20Qatar%20OR%20Saudi%20Arabia%20OR%20Zimbabwe\)%20\(from%3ASRjudgeslawyers\)%20until%3A2025-11-24%20since%3A2025-01-01&src=typed_query&f=top](https://x.com/search?q=(Cuba%20OR%20Eritrea%20OR%20Nicaragua%20OR%20Syria%20OR%20Qatar%20OR%20Saudi%20Arabia%20OR%20Zimbabwe)%20(from%3ASRjudgeslawyers)%20until%3A2025-11-24%20since%3A2025-01-01&src=typed_query&f=top); Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/nMzIW>.

583 @SRjudgeslawyers, X (April 25, 2025, 12:35 PM), <https://x.com/SRjudgeslawyers/status/1915806765930647722>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/TH4d5>.

584 @SRjudgeslawyers, X (July 30, 2025, 5:41 PM), <https://x.com/SRjudgeslawyers/status/1950673198493622310>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/zG15F>.

585 *Treasury Sanctions Alexandre de Moraes, U.S. Department of the Treasury* (July 30, 2025), <https://home.treasury.gov/news/press-releases/sb0211>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/0IyKM>.

586 @SRjudgeslawyers, X (February 10, 2025, 1:00 PM), <https://x.com/SRjudgeslawyers/status/1889011528721948930>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/MBm5i>.

587 @SRjudgeslawyers, X (August 20, 2025, 1:04 PM), <https://x.com/srjudgeslawyers/status/1958213609324253485>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/Z5nSZ>.

588 @SRjudgeslawyers, X (February 24, 2025, 2:02 PM), <https://x.com/SRjudgeslawyers/status/1894100583809741054>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/iVeeH>.

589 *Safeguarding the independence of judicial systems in the face of contemporary challenges to democracy*, UN Doc. A/HRC/56/62, **Human Rights Council** (June 21, 2024), <https://docs.un.org/en/A/HRC/56/62>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/jYXrr>.

590 *Safeguarding the independence of judicial systems in the face of contemporary challenges to democracy*, UN Doc. A/HRC/56/62, **Human Rights Council** (June 21, 2024), <https://docs.un.org/en/A/HRC/56/62>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/jYXrr>.

591 *Id.*

For example, the report does not address the prosecution by Saudi Arabia’s Specialized Criminal Court of ten judges for allegedly being “too lenient,”⁵⁹² the stripping of citizenship and disbarment of 25 government critics in Nicaragua,⁵⁹³ or the arrest and prosecution of human rights lawyers in Iran in the wake of the Mahsa Amini protests.⁵⁹⁴

The pattern continues in Satterthwaite’s May 2025 report to the Human Rights Council on the rights of indigenous peoples to maintain and develop their own justice systems. The report is sharply critical of the United States, accusing it of perpetrating “waves of ethnic cleansing and dispossession,” while remaining neutral—and at times even favorable—toward other states with significant indigenous populations, such as Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Mexico, and Bolivia. The charge of “ethnic cleansing” is reserved exclusively for the United States.⁵⁹⁵

Her July 2025 report to the General Assembly on the use of artificial intelligence in judicial systems reinforces this selective approach. It praises countries such as Pakistan and Saudi Arabia but extensively condemns the use by the United States of AI tools in racial profiling.⁵⁹⁶

Undermines Israel’s Self-Defense

Satterthwaite’s first public response to October 7 was a joint statement issued on October 23, 2023 with then-Special Rapporteur on countering terrorism and human rights Fionnuala Ní Aoláin, warning of Israel’s impending ground operation in Gaza. The statement preemptively addressed lawyers advising the Israeli military, urging them to “identify and seek to prevent actions that may amount to war crimes” and reminding them of their “professional duty to deny legal authorisation for criminal acts.”⁵⁹⁷ No comparable statement was issued in any other conflict directing the legal advisers of the attacked party on how to advise their military.

Though her mandate is limited to the independence of judges and lawyers, Satterthwaite has repeatedly veered outside her jurisdiction and called for arms embargoes against Israel, effectively denying its right to self-defense. In one November 2024 tweet, she declared, “I recall that any transfer of weapons or ammunition to #Israel that would be used in Gaza is likely to violate int’l law and must cease *immediately*.”⁵⁹⁸ This has been true for some time, and is manifestly clear following #ICC arrest warrants.” In January 2025, she criticized the U.S. for continuing its military aid: “#USA: As we @UN_SPExperts have reiterated, any transfer of weapons or ammunition to Israel that would be used in Gaza is likely to violate international humanitarian law and must cease immediately.”⁵⁹⁹

592 *10 Saudi judges are charged with treason. They were too ‘lenient.’* **Washington Post** (March 15, 2023), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2023/03/15/mbs-saudi-arabia-judges-lenient/>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/W44ln>.

593 *Supreme Court “permanently” suspends 25 lawyers Ortega had already stripped of their nationality,* **Confidential** (May 17, 2023), <https://confidential.digital/english/supreme-court-permanently-suspends-25-lawyers-ortega-had-already-stripped-of-their-nationality/>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/LZztQ>.

594 *Mahsa Amini’s Lawyer Charged With ‘Propaganda Against State,’* **Iran International** (March 14, 2023), <https://www.iranintl.com/en/202303149835>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/vSFYm>. *Iran Protests: Human Rights Lawyers Arrested, Teargassed,* **Center for Human Rights in Iran** (October 12, 2022), <https://iranhumanrights.org/2022/10/iran-protests-human-rights-lawyers-arrested-teargassed/>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/ke9z0>.

595 *The right of Indigenous Peoples to maintain and develop justice systems,* UN Doc. A/HRC/59/52, **Human Rights Council** (May 5, 2025), <https://documents.un.org/doc/undoc/gen/g25/064/37/pdf/g2506437.pdf>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/jYXrr>.

596 *Artificial intelligence in judicial systems: promises and pitfalls,* UN Doc. A/80/169, **UN General Assembly** (July 16, 2025), <https://documents.un.org/doc/undoc/gen/n25/190/54/pdf/n2519054.pdf>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/ptd6a>.

597 *Israel/Gaza: UN experts urge lawyers advising Israeli military to refuse legal authorisation of actions that could amount to war crimes,* **OHCHR** (October 23, 2023), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2023/10/israelgaza-un-experts-urge-lawyers-advising-israeli-military-refuse-legal>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/5GVET>.

598 @SRjudgeslawyers, **X** (November 27, 2024, 11:56 AM), <https://x.com/SRjudgeslawyers/status/1861816503357632646>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/Nc9yj>.

599 @SRjudgeslawyers, **X** (January 6, 2025, 1:43 PM), <https://x.com/SRjudgeslawyers/status/1876338771207053634>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/w228B>.

She promoted misinformation by misrepresenting the ICJ’s January 28 provisional order in the *South Africa v. Israel* genocide case, falsely tweeting that the Court found “what #Israel is doing in #Gaza plausibly amounts to #genocide.”⁶⁰⁰ In reality, former ICJ President Joan Donoghue clarified that this was not what the Court concluded: “The shorthand that often appears—that there’s a plausible case of genocide—isn’t what the Court decided.”⁶⁰¹ Such a distortion is indefensible coming from a lawyer, law professor, and UN official.

Defends Antisemitic UN Figures

In March 2025, Satterthwaite spoke at a press conference on the Occupied Palestinian Territories, where she defended fellow special rapporteurs Francesca Albanese and Michael Fakhri, claiming they had been “mercilessly smeared and attacked” for their work.⁶⁰² On X, she accused the U.S. government of having “slandered” Albanese, whom she described as someone who “bravely and rigorously fulfills [her] UN mandate to protect the human rights of Palestinians,” and reiterated her call for the U.S. to “halt arms transfers.”⁶⁰³ She later doubled down, denouncing U.S. sanctions on Albanese as “a shocking reprisal”⁶⁰⁴ and demanding they be “immediately withdrawn”⁶⁰⁵—even though Albanese has been formally condemned for antisemitism and Holocaust distortion by leading democracies, including the United States, France, Germany, Canada, and the Netherlands.⁶⁰⁶

600 @SRjudgeslawyers, X (January 27, 2024, 5:53 PM), <https://x.com/SRjudgeslawyers/status/1751377876048400808>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/Iwnww>.

601 @HillelNeuer, X (April 25, 2024, 7:09 PM), <https://x.com/HillelNeuer/status/1783634475122827271>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/CCipK>.

602 OHCHR (Special Procedures) - Press Conference: The situation in occupied Palestinian territory, UN Web TV (March 12, 2025), <https://webtv.un.org/en/asset/k19/k19byyb6ss>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/dPHHO>.

603 @SRjudgeslawyers, X (March 30, 2024, 11:12 AM), <https://x.com/SRjudgeslawyers/status/1774092349326413864>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/8yrbi>.

604 @SRjudgeslawyers, X (July 10, 2025, 11:44 AM), <https://x.com/SRjudgeslawyers/status/1943335464125239645>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/bYrGN>.

605 @SRjudgeslawyers, X (August 8, 2025, 8:42 AM), <https://x.com/srjudgeslawyers/status/1953798972134342698?s=61>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/NImnn>.

606 *Condemnations Against Antisemitic UN Rapporteur Francesca Albanese*, UN Watch (July 1, 2025), <https://unwatch.org/condemnations-against-antisemitic-un-rapporteur-francesca-albanese/>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/dlzRz>.

**11**

Reem Alsalem

Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women

In August 2021, Reem Alsalem was appointed Special Rapporteur on violence against women and girls.⁶⁰⁷ A Jordanian consultant on gender issues, migrants, and transitional justice, Alsalem spent 17 years working for UNHCR. She has also consulted extensively for UN bodies, including OHCHR, UNHCR, IOM, UNICEF, and UN Women.⁶⁰⁸ In 2009, she spent three months as a visiting professional at the ICC's Office of the Prosecutor.⁶⁰⁹

Under the 1994 founding resolution, the mandate is to communicate with various state and international actors and make recommendations for eliminating all forms of violence against women.⁶¹⁰ The post was previously held by Dubravka Šimonović, who controversially claimed that when Palestinian men beat their wives, Israel was to blame.⁶¹¹ Since October 7, 2023, Alsalem has refused to acknowledge the October 7 massacre, denied Hamas sexual crimes against Israeli women, and amplified Hamas-aligned propaganda. Like her predecessor, she refuses to hold Palestinians accountable for violations against women.

607 *Reem Alsalem: Special Rapporteur on violence against women and girls, its causes and consequences*, OHCHR (Last visited January 14, 2026), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures/sr-violence-against-women/reem-alsalem>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/wXF7W>.

608 *Reem Alsalem's UN application form*, OHCHR (April 13, 2021), https://unwatch.org/wp-content/uploads/2026/01/ALSALEM_Reem_form.pdf; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/C5roQ>.

609 *Reem Alsalem: Special Rapporteur on violence against women and girls, its causes and consequences*, OHCHR (Last visited January 14, 2026), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures/sr-violence-against-women/reem-alsalem>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/lj9JA>.

610 *About the mandate: Special Rapporteur on violence against women and girls, its causes and consequences*, OHCHR (Last visited January 14, 2026), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/about-mandate>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/xeDJc>.

611 *UN expert: When Palestinian men beat their wives, it's Israel's fault*, UN Watch (September 26, 2016), <https://unwatch.org/un-expert-palestinian-men-beat-wives-israels-fault/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/wvWKg>.

Known Funders (Excludes In-Kind Support)⁶¹²

- **South Korea:** \$50,000 in 2021
- **Spain:** \$33,784 in 2021
- **Switzerland:** \$180,000 as follows:
 - \$50,000 in 2021
 - \$90,000 in 2022
 - \$40,000 in 2023
- **Finland:** \$19,370 in 2022
- **Saudi Arabia:** \$70,000 in 2024
- **South Korea:** \$50,000 in 2025
- **Cooperation Council for Arab States of the Gulf (GCC):** \$100,000 in 2025

Ironically, although Reem Alsalem’s mandate is to protect the rights of women, she agreed to accept a \$70,000 donation from Saudi Arabia, which continues to subject women to a misogynistic and repressive system of male guardianship.⁶¹³ In doing so, Alsalem granted a public relations coup to the Saudi regime, allowing it to receive plaudits from the UN human rights system as a champion of women’s rights, and enabling the whitewashing of its abusive record towards women.

The governments of Finland, Switzerland, Spain, and South Korea should not be funding a UN position that has been politicized and weaponized to attack the West.

Double Standards on Israeli Women

Since October 7, 2023, Alsalem has consistently dismissed or minimized the Hamas atrocities committed that day. Her first tweet after the massacre amplified Francesca Albanese’s denial of Hamas’s crimes, while adding her own warning about supposed “misinformation and disinformation.”⁶¹⁴ She has never expressed solidarity with Israeli women or acknowledged the rape and sexual assaults committed by Hamas on and after October 7, 2023.

Most recently, on November 14, 2025, Alsalem shamefully asserted that “No independent investigation found that rape took place on October 7,”⁶¹⁵ despite a March 4, 2024 UN report documenting the sexual violence.⁶¹⁶ Her remarks prompted over 300 prominent Jewish leaders to demand her dismissal.⁶¹⁷ In an interview with Israel’s *Channel 13* shortly after the release of the March 2024 UN report, Alsalem categorically refused to acknowledge Hamas’s sexual crimes, claiming she could not rely on Hamas’s own video recordings

612 *Annual reports on Special Procedures*, **OHCHR** (Last visited March 18, 2026), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures-human-rights-council/annual-reports-special-procedures>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/Hu0zp>.

613 *Facts and figures with regard to the Special Procedures in 2024*, UN Doc. A/HRC/58/70/Add.1, **Human Rights Council** (March 20, 2025), <https://docs.un.org/en/A/HRC/58/70/Add.1>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/vZQBC>.

614 @UNSRVAW, X (October 11, 2023, 8:05 AM), <https://x.com/UNSRVAW/status/1712076899046859059>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/FgeAv>.

615 *UN rapporteur claims no independent probe found evidence of Oct. 7 sexual assault despite UN report*, **The Jerusalem Post** (November 15, 2025), <https://www.jpost.com/israel-news/article-873910>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/998sO>.

616 *Mission report: Official visit of the Office of the SRSG-SVC to Israel and the occupied West Bank, 29 January – 14 February 2024*, **Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict** (March 4, 2024), <https://www.un.org/sexualviolenceinconflict/wp-content/uploads/2024/03/report/mission-report-official-visit-of-the-office-of-the-srsg-svc-to-israel-and-the-occupied-west-bank-29-january-14-february-2024/20240304-Israel-oWB-CRSV-report.pdf>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/m9G5u>.

617 *Over 300 rabbis, Jewish leaders call for removal of UN official who denied October 7 rapes*, **The Jerusalem Post** (December 3, 2025), <https://www.jpost.com/diaspora/article-879015>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/E7Bfh>.

because she is “not a technical expert on videos.”⁶¹⁸ Astonishingly, in a March 2024 interview with *Ynet*, she also claimed to have no knowledge of Israel being repeatedly bombarded by rockets from Hamas and Hezbollah: “I have not seen that, no.”⁶¹⁹

At the same time, in February 2024, she issued a joint statement with Francesca Albanese accusing Israeli soldiers of sexually abusing Palestinian women,⁶²⁰ relying on unsubstantiated claims from Euro-Med Human Rights Monitor⁶²¹—an NGO known for promoting extreme, unverified allegations and headed by former Palestine Rapporteur Richard Falk.⁶²² Falk has hailed Hamas’s “spirit of resistance,” justified Palestinian violence, and claimed Hamas seeks “long-term peaceful co-existence.”⁶²³ His own tenure as Special Rapporteur was marred by controversies, including antisemitic blog posts⁶²⁴ and promotion of 9/11 conspiracy theories,⁶²⁵ prompting repeated calls for his resignation from the U.S., UK, Canada, Australia, and others. Even Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon publicly rebuked him multiple times.⁶²⁶

Alsalem’s double standards were further evident in her July 2025 report to the Human Rights Council on sexual violence against women and girls. In a section on “femi-genocide,” she accused Israel of various violations against Palestinian women based on unverified information, while ignoring violence committed by Palestinian actors—as well as Hamas’s sexual crimes against Israeli women on October 7.⁶²⁷ The report also cited a widely debunked claim, published in *The Lancet*, predicting up to 186,000 war casualties based on speculative, activist-driven calculations that have never been substantiated.⁶²⁸ Notably, the only two actors highlighted in this section were Israel and the Taliban.

Previously, Alsalem had also equated Israel with the Taliban,⁶²⁹ grouping them together in her August 2024 report to the General Assembly as “countries involved in committing grave atrocities.”⁶³⁰ She likewise promoted the false claim that the International Court of Justice had found it “plausible” that Israel had “committed genocidal acts,”⁶³¹ even though ICJ President Joan Donoghue clarified that this was not the Court’s conclusion.⁶³²

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- 618 *UN official won't say who accused IDF of rape, sexual abuse*, **JNS** (March 6, 2024), <https://www.jns.org/u-n-official-wont-say-who-accused-idf-of-rape-sexual-abuse/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/bXNcn>.
- 619 *UN Special Rapporteur 'unaware' of rocket attacks on Israel*, **The Jerusalem Post** (March 6, 2024), <https://www.jpost.com/israel-hamas-war/article-790390>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/PCOCF>.
- 620 *Israel/oPt: UN experts appalled by reported human rights violations against Palestinian women and girls*, **OHCHR** (February 19, 2024), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2024/02/israelopt-un-experts-appalled-reported-human-rights-violations-against>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/hAoar>.
- 621 *UN rapporteur claims no independent probe found evidence of Oct. 7 sexual assault despite UN report*, **The Jerusalem Post** (November 15, 2025), <https://www.jpost.com/israel-news/article-873910>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/998sO>.
- 622 *UN Human Rights Office Amplifies Blood Libel by Terrorist Sympathizers*, **UN Watch** (December 24, 2023), <https://unwatch.org/un-human-rights-office-amplifies-blood-libel-by-terrorist-sympathizers/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/1P3iE>.
- 623 *Richard Falk defends Palestinian resort to violence, praises Hamas for pursuing “peaceful co-existence,” attacks UN Watch for “defamatory campaign”*, **UN Watch** (April 24, 2015), <https://unwatch.org/richard-falk-defends-palestinian-resort-to-violence-praises-hamas-for-pursuing-peaceful-co-existence-attacks-un-watch-for-defamatory-campaign/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/4dbLO>.
- 624 *The Open Anti-Semitism on Richard Falk's Blog*, **UN Watch** (May 19, 2014), <https://unwatch.org/the-open-anti-semitism-on-richard-falks-blog/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/2k0z0>.
- 625 *UN Chief Again Slams Richard Falk, “Vehemently Disagrees” with 9/11 Conspiracy Theory*, **UN Watch** (July 5, 2013), <https://unwatch.org/un-chief-slams-richard-falk-vehemently-disagrees-911-conspiracy-theory/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/QpixQ>.
- 626 *UN chief “rejects” Falk remarks, which “undermine credibility and work” of UN*, **UN Watch** (April 24, 2013), <https://unwatch.org/3673-2/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/CnEee>.
- 627 *Sex-based violence against women and girls: new frontiers and emerging issues*, UN Doc. A/HRC/59/47, **Human Rights Council** (June 16, 2025), <https://docs.un.org/en/A/HRC/59/47>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/T3erK>.
- 628 *Id.* @HillelNeuer, **X**, (July 8, 2024, 6:00 AM), <https://x.com/HillelNeuer/status/1810252562920096094>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/xyzDa>.
- 629 @UNSRVAW, **X** (December 30, 2024, 5:31 AM), <https://x.com/UNSRVAW/status/1873678188326306162>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/6tjRu>.
- 630 *Violence against women and girls in sports*, UN Doc. A/79/325, **UN General Assembly** (August 27, 2024), <https://docs.un.org/en/A/79/325>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/LMAMt>.
- 631 @UNSRVAW, **X** (December 30, 2024, 5:31 AM), <https://x.com/UNSRVAW/status/1873678188326306162>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/6tjRu>.
- 632 @HillelNeuer, **X**, (April 25, 2024, 7:09 PM), <https://x.com/HillelNeuer/status/1783634475122827271>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/CCipK>.

Extremist Rhetoric on Israel

On social media, Alsalem accuses Israel of genocide⁶³³ and of deliberately targeting and killing Palestinian women for over seventy years⁶³⁴—essentially since the state’s creation—implicitly undermining Israel’s legitimacy. In a widely circulated April 2025 tweet, she went further, declaring that even the gravest terms in human rights discourse—“genocide,” “Holocaust,” “war crime,” and “forced starvation”—are inadequate to capture the “sheer depravity and heinousness” of Israel’s actions, stating that these words “recoil in shame... in recognition of their unworthiness.”⁶³⁵ Such hyperbolic language not only trivializes historical atrocities like the Holocaust but perversely casts the Israeli victims of Hamas’s October 7 genocide as perpetrators, while simultaneously denying Israel’s right to self-defense.

Amplifies Antisemitic and Pro-Terror Voices

Alsalem has aligned herself closely with the UN’s antisemitic rapporteur Francesca Albanese, collaborating with her on official statements, as noted above. She also defended Albanese against antisemitism allegations by the United States.⁶³⁶ Notably, Canada, France, Germany, and others, have also accused her of antisemitism.⁶³⁷

In November 2024, Alsalem cited Anas Al-Sharif,⁶³⁸ a known Hamas terrorist who masqueraded as an *Al-Jazeera* journalist during the war.⁶³⁹ In April 2025, she quote-tweeted Wesam Afifa,⁶⁴⁰ a senior Hamas propagandist.⁶⁴¹ The following month, she denounced Israel’s alleged cruelty as leaving one “repeatedly speechless,”⁶⁴² while linking to a piece by Motasem Ahmed Dalloul, a known Holocaust denier and mouthpiece for the Qatari regime.⁶⁴³

633 @UNSRVAW, X (May 17, 2025, 4:52 AM), <https://x.com/UNSRVAW/status/1923662934686744837>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/oofhK>.

634 @UNSRVAW, X (May 12, 2024, 4:41 AM), <https://x.com/UNSRVAW/status/1789576717750702452>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/XGN1v>.

635 @UNSRVAW, X (April 6, 2025, 3:38 AM), <https://x.com/UNSRVAW/status/1908786443880653155>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/c5wx4>.

636 @UNSRVAW, X (March 30, 2024, 11:47 AM), <https://x.com/UNSRVAW/status/1774101108790534156>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/o88AA>.

637 *Condemnations Against Antisemitic UN Rapporteur Francesca Albanese*, **UN Watch** (July 1, 2025), <https://unwatch.org/condemnations-against-antisemitic-un-rapporteur-francesca-albanese/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/RAKf7>.

638 @UNSRVAW, X (November 7, 2024, 3:52 PM), <https://x.com/UNSRVAW/status/1854627919219638415>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/NTFdO>.

639 *Documents Expose 6 Al Jazeera Journalists as Terrorists in the Hamas and Islamic Jihad Terror Organizations*, **IDF** (Last visited January 14, 2026), <https://www.idf.il/en/mini-sites/al-jazeera-hamas-connection/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/An62l>.

640 @UNSRVAW, X (April 6, 2025, 3:38 AM), <https://x.com/UNSRVAW/status/1908786443880653155>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/c5wx4>.

641 *Senior Hamas Propagandist Reported for BBC Arabic While Leading Hamas Media Outlets*, **CAMERA** (May 16, 2025), <https://www.camera.org/article/senior-hamas-propagandist-reported-for-bbc-arabic-while-leading-hamas-media-outlets/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/4yQLj>.

642 @UNSRVAW, X (May 6, 2025, 3:08 PM), <https://x.com/UNSRVAW/status/1919831555494584424>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/YYgE0>.

643 *Journalist who allegedly called Holocaust a “myth” mentored students at University of Westminster*, **Campaign Against Antisemitism** (January 16, 2023), <https://antisemitism.org/journalist-who-called-holocaust-a-myth-reportedly-mentored-students-at-university-of-westminster/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/ajDX5>.



12 Paula Gaviria Betancur

Special Rapporteur on Internally Displaced People

In September 2022, Paula Gaviria Betancur was appointed Special Rapporteur on the human rights of internally displaced persons.⁶⁴⁴ Gaviria is a Colombian lawyer who serves as Chief Executive Director for the Compaz Foundation, an organization that promotes peace-building in Colombia. She was the human rights adviser to the President of Colombia during its peace negotiations with FARC, and has served on the UN Secretary-General’s High-Level Panel on Internal Displacement.⁶⁴⁵

Under its 2010 founding resolution, the mandate focuses on internal displacement and working with governments and other relevant actors to strengthen the international response.⁶⁴⁶ Gaviria’s record includes sharp anti-American bias, whitewashing Hamas terrorism, and ignoring Israeli victims.

644 *Paula Gaviria Betancur: Special Rapporteur on the human rights of internally displaced persons*, **OHCHR** (Last visited January 12, 2026), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures/sr-internally-displaced-persons/paula-gaviria-betancur>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/qnUB2>.

645 *Paula Gaviria Betancur’s UN application form*, **OHCHR** (June 8, 2022), https://unwatch.org/wp-content/uploads/2026/01/GAVIRIA_Paula_Form.pdf; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/BEFG2>.

646 *About the mandate: Special Rapporteur on the human rights of internally displaced persons*, **OHCHR** (Last visited January 12, 2026), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures/sr-internally-displaced-persons/about-mandate>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/hzEbp>.

Known Funders (Excludes In-Kind Support)⁶⁴⁷

- **USAID:** \$65,000 as multi-year contribution towards working and academic visits as follows:
 - \$40,000 in 2022
 - \$25,000 in 2023
 - \$40,000 in 2024
- **UNHCR & NORCAP:**⁶⁴⁸ \$150,000 in 2024 for policy advisor
- **International Organization for Migration (IOM):** \$8,400 in 2024 for policy advisor
- **Austria:** \$35,088 in 2025
- **Switzerland:** \$225,282 in 2025

NORCAP is part of the Norwegian Refugee Council,⁶⁴⁹ an organization that aggressively promotes international lawfare campaigns against Israel.⁶⁵⁰ It has pushed the libels that Israel uses starvation as a method of warfare and is committing genocide in Gaza.⁶⁵¹ Its Secretary-General, Jan Egeland, summarily rejected claims that Israel acted in self-defense,⁶⁵² and lobbied against Israeli counterterrorism measures designed to prevent Hamas from diverting aid.⁶⁵³

As noted in the Key Findings, earmarked funding from private organizations with overt political agendas, like NORCAP, whether routed through OHCHR or provided directly to mandate-holders, unduly influences mandate implementation and undermines the independence required of Special Procedures.

The governments of Austria and Switzerland should not be funding a UN position that has been politicized and weaponized to attack the West.

Clear Bias against the United States

Through her social media, Gaviria displays a consistent anti-American mindset, attacking the U.S. government, including on matters far outside her mandate on internally displaced persons (IDPs). She retweeted the June 2025 condemnation by Antonio Guterres of U.S. strikes against Iran without acknowledging Iran's nuclear escalation,⁶⁵⁴ the very trigger for those strikes, effectively blaming the U.S. while giving a free pass to a dictatorial regime. Gaviria criticized U.S. government reductions to USAID,⁶⁵⁵ the biggest

647 *Annual reports on Special Procedures, OHCHR* (Last visited March 18, 2026), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures-human-rights-council/annual-reports-special-procedures>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/dYGOof>.

648 NORCAP is hosted by the Norwegian Refugee Council and funded primarily through long-standing partnerships with the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Norad, alongside UN agencies, the EU, and other bilateral donors. *NORCAP Partners and Donors, Norwegian Refugee Council* (Last visited January 29, 2026), <https://www.nrc.no/expert-deployment/norcap-partners-donors>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/NP7hU>.

649 *Who We Are NORCAP, Norwegian Refugee Council* (Last visited March 8, 2026), <https://www.nrc.no/expert-deployment/norcap-who-we-are>.

650 *Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC), NGO Monitor* (February 11, 2024), https://ngo-monitor.org/funder/norwegian_refugee_council_/; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/DwNOq>.

651 *As mass starvation spreads across Gaza, our colleagues and those we serve are wasting away, Norwegian Refugee Council* (July 23, 2025), <https://www.nrc.no/news/2025/july/as-mass-starvation-spreads-across-gaza-our-colleagues-and-those-we-serve-are-wasting-away>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/QB44v>. *Gaza: Leaders of major aid groups call on world leaders to intervene following UN genocide conclusion, Norwegian Refugee Council* (September 17, 2025), <https://www.nrc.no/news/2025/september/gaza-leaders-of-major-aid-groups-call-on-world-leaders-to-intervene-following-un-genocide-conclusion>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/kp3wD>.

652 *Egeland: This is not self-defense – Gaza is devastated, Sweden Herald* (November 16, 2024), <https://swedenherald.com/article/egeland-this-is-not-selfdefense-gaza-is-devastated>.

653 Gerald Steinberg, *Why Israel is right to review NGO visas, Jerusalem Post* (March 6, 2024), <https://www.jpost.com/opinion/article-790364>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/l2pcW>.

654 *Retweeting @antonioguterres, X* (June 21, 2025, 9:54 PM), <https://x.com/antonioguterres/status/1936603735330898368>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/GFyXg>.

655 *@PaulaGaviriaB, X* (February 4, 2025, 1:14 PM), <https://x.com/PaulaGaviriaB/status/1886840883070320887>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/N8oWT>.

donor to her mandate, and amplified a *New York Times* article condemning the aid cuts.⁶⁵⁶ Yet she omits the extensive record of waste, fraud, and even illegality within USAID⁶⁵⁷ that the administration highlighted.⁶⁵⁸ By omitting this rationale entirely, she reduces the issue to a distorted and partisan attack.

Ignores Israeli Victims and Undermines Israel's Sovereignty

In the aftermath of the October 7, 2023 terrorist attacks, Special Rapporteur Paula Gaviria Betancur completely ignored the mass displacement of Israeli civilians fleeing Hamas's assault and ongoing rocket fire from Hamas and Hezbollah.⁶⁵⁹ Rather than condemning the terrorist atrocities, her first substantive tweet singled out Israel for criticism over Palestinian displacement during military operations in Gaza—demonstrating a stark and troubling double standard.⁶⁶⁰ She has also advocated for the “right of return” of Palestinians displaced in 1948, a position that implicitly challenges Israel's right to exist as a Jewish state.⁶⁶¹

Gaviria has publicly aligned herself with Francesca Albanese, the UN's antisemitic Special Rapporteur on the Palestinian territories, defending her against U.S. sanctions⁶⁶² and repeatedly endorsing her one-sided statements and narratives that delegitimize Israel while excusing Hamas.⁶⁶³ In September 2025, she went a step further by joining Albanese⁶⁶⁴ at the so-called Gaza Tribunal—an anti-Israel initiative spearheaded by Jeremy Corbyn to accuse the UK government of “complicity” in “Israeli war crimes in Gaza.”⁶⁶⁵ Gaviria further engaged in Holocaust distortion when she described proposals for a humanitarian zone to protect civilians in Gaza as “an attempt to create a concentration camp.”⁶⁶⁶

656 Retweeting @NickKristof, X (September 27, 2025, 7:20 AM), <https://x.com/NickKristof/status/1971897770262089942>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/Lv5Pq>.

657 See, e.g., *Syrian National Charged with Diverting \$9 Million in U.S.-funded Humanitarian Assistance to a Terrorist Organization Affiliated with Al-Qaida*, **USAID** (November 19, 2024), <https://oig.usaid.gov/node/7283>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/tM8CD>.

658 *At USAID, Waste and Abuse Runs Deep*, **The White House** (February 3, 2025), <https://www.whitehouse.gov/articles/2025/02/at-usaid-waste-and-abuse-runs-deep/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/jL6YR>.

659 *Updated Report: UN Silent on Displaced Israelis*, **UN Watch** (July 2, 2024), <https://unwatch.org/report-un-silent-on-israeli-idps/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/vdVaQ>.

660 @PaulaGaviriaB, X (October 12, 2023, 12:03 PM), <https://x.com/PaulaGaviriaB/status/1712499177068871980>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/zgMCd>.

661 @PaulaGaviriaB, X (January 17, 2025, 2:06 PM), <https://x.com/PaulaGaviriaB/status/1880330975131095522>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/uxeba>.

662 @PaulaGaviriaB, X (July 10, 2025, 8:42 AM), <https://x.com/paulagaviriab/status/1943289767044468775>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/l4ZlR>.

663 *UN experts stand in solidarity with the Global Sumud Flotilla, demand full protection of all passengers*, **OHCHR** (September 9, 2025), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2025/09/un-experts-stand-solidarity-global-sumud-flotilla-demand-full-protection-all>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/12rlx>. *Gaza: UN experts urge General Assembly to respond to famine and genocide*, **OHCHR** (September 5, 2025), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2025/09/gaza-un-experts-urge-general-assembly-respond-famine-and-genocide>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/Cuqsa>. *Amid escalating horror, UN experts urge States to take concrete action to end impunity for Israel*, **OHCHR** (April 3, 2025), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2025/04/amid-escalating-horror-un-experts-urge-states-take-concrete-action-end>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/3Y3Mj>.

664 @PaulaGaviriaB, X (September 4, 2025, 1:23 PM), <https://x.com/paulagaviriab/status/1963654125192638621>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/qGLNz>.

665 *The Gaza Tribunal: Inquiry into British Complicity*, **The Gaza Tribunal** (Last visited January 12, 2026), <https://thegazatribunal.uk/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/qPBJG>.

666 @PaulaGaviriaB, X (September 6, 2025, 4:09 PM), <https://x.com/paulagaviriab/status/1964420815887233279>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/JDcEm>.

One-Sided Narratives and Disinformation

In March 2024, Gaviria issued a stand-alone statement condemning Israel for issuing “evacuation orders” intended to protect Palestinian civilians in the battle zone.⁶⁶⁷ The statement also repeated Hamas’s unproven claim of a “flour massacre,” alleging that Gazan civilians were killed while queuing for food⁶⁶⁸—a claim Israel has consistently denied.⁶⁶⁹ It made no mention of Hamas’s role, the October 7 terrorist attacks, Israeli hostages, or the mass displacement of Israeli civilians.

In May 2024, Gaviria accused Israel of deliberately targeting civilians in Rafah,⁶⁷⁰ while ignoring evidence that deadly explosions were caused by Hamas storing weapons near civilian shelters in blatant violation of international law, effectively absolving Hamas of responsibility.⁶⁷¹ In other words, when Hamas was endangering displaced persons living in shelters, she was silent.

In January 2025, Gaviria publicly praised Al Jazeera’s pro-Hamas reporter Hind Khoudary⁶⁷²—known for her role in the 2020 arrest of Gazan peace activist Rami Aman⁶⁷³—for “professionalism and courage” in her Gaza war reporting, further highlighting Gaviria’s pattern of one-sided reporting and selective condemnation.

Amplifies a Pro-Hamas Narrative on Humanitarian Aid

When Israel offered an alternative to UNRWA’s politicized aid system—long exploited by Hamas—Gaviria immediately defended the UN agency and attacked Israel, amplifying unverified pro-Hamas claims. On July 5, 2025, she accused Israel of forcing “mass displacement under fire,”⁶⁷⁴ parroting Hamas when she declared “This is not aid. It’s organized cruelty.”⁶⁷⁵ On July 21, she escalated the rhetoric, claiming Israel was using hunger as “a weapon,” forcing “two million people into open-air kill zones to access food.”⁶⁷⁶ On August 5, she joined other Special Procedures in calling to dismantle the Gaza Humanitarian Foundation and revert to the previous system that had consistently enabled Hamas.⁶⁷⁷ Sharing the statement on X, Gaviria falsely disparaged the new aid mechanism as “a system designed to dehumanize, control, and displace.”⁶⁷⁸ Through these statements, Gaviria lent international credibility to unsubstantiated Hamas propaganda, while ignoring the broader context of Israel’s efforts to deliver humanitarian aid.

667 *Gaza: Israel’s dehumanisation of displaced persons must end, says UN expert*, **OHCHR** (March 6, 2024), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2024/03/gaza-israels-dehumanisation-displaced-persons-must-end-says-un-expert>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/V2UAF>.

668 *Id.*

669 *IDF probe: Palestinian gunmen killed Gazans waiting for aid, army did not fire*, **Times of Israel** (March 15, 2024), <https://www.timesofisrael.com/idf-probe-palestinian-gunmen-killed-gazans-waiting-for-aid-army-did-not-fire/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/fsv7y>.

670 @PaulaGaviriaB, **X** (May 27, 2024, 12:05 PM), <https://x.com/PaulaGaviriaB/status/1795124090665042370>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/S3V1I>.

671 *IDF suspects Hamas artillery caused deadly fire in Rafah, investigation ongoing*, **i24** (May 28, 2024), <https://www.i24news.tv/en/news/israel-at-war/artc-idf-suspects-hamas-artillery-caused-deadly-fire-in-rafah-investigation-ongoing>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/XVyVv>.

672 @PaulaGaviriaB, **X** (January 15, 2025, 10:50 PM), <https://x.com/PaulaGaviriaB/status/1879737958334714104>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/RDNYQ>.

673 *Amnesty International official gets Hamas to arrest peace activist*, **UN Watch** (April 12, 2020), <https://unwatch.org/amnesty4hamas/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/32sL8>.

674 *Security warning: “Gaza foundation” is an Israeli front for recruitment and data theft*, **PALPS** (May 27, 2025), <https://palps.net/?p=7223>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/XN5hr>.

675 @PaulaGaviriaB, **X** (July 5, 2025, 10:04 AM), <https://x.com/paulagaviriab/status/1941498372327878882>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/ikRB0>.

676 @PaulaGaviriaB, **X** (July 21, 2025, 11:09 AM), <https://x.com/paulagaviriab/status/1947312897786331249>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/hPM5G>.

677 *UN experts call for immediate dismantling of Gaza Humanitarian Foundation*, **OHCHR** (August 5, 2025), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2025/08/un-experts-call-immediate-dismantling-gaza-humanitarian-foundation>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/1UrtL>.

678 @PaulaGaviriaB, **X** (August 6, 2025, 9:01 AM), <https://x.com/paulagaviriab/status/1953078886176104825?s=61>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/isVg8>.



13 Ashwini K.P. Special Rapporteur on Racism

In October 2022, Ashwini K.P. was appointed Special Rapporteur on racism.⁶⁷⁹ Ashwini K.P. is an Indian political scientist who has worked as an assistant professor at St. Joseph's University in Bangalore and co-founded the non-profit Zariya, focused on marginalized women. She advocates for marginalized and indigenous communities. In 2014, Ashwini K.P. participated in a delegation to the UN representing Indian Dalits (“Untouchables”). She is a former senior campaigner at Amnesty International India.⁶⁸⁰

Under the 1993 founding resolution, the mandate focuses on government action to combat racism, including through communications to states and country visits.⁶⁸¹ Ashwini K.P. is staunchly anti-American, shields human-rights abusers, and consistently ignores racism against Jews and Israelis.

679 Ms. Ashwini K.P.: *Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of racism*, **OHCHR** (Last visited January 13, 2026), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures/sr-racism/ms-ashwini-kp>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/R6duV>.

680 Ashwini K.P.'s *UN application form*, **OHCHR** (August 18, 2022), https://unwatch.org/wp-content/uploads/2026/01/HRC51-KP_Ashwini_form.pdf; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/VxaRU>.

681 *About the mandate: Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of racism*, **OHCHR** (Last visited January 13, 2026), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures/sr-racism/about-mandate>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/CJfVM>.

Known Funders (Excludes In-Kind Support)⁶⁸²

- **Race and Equality CSO:**⁶⁸³ \$5,000 in 2024 for flights and accommodation for academic visit to the Dominican Republic
- **UNESCO:** \$5,000 in 2024 for flights and accommodation to attend the 2024 Forum against Racial Discrimination in Barcelona, Spain

Double Standards: Condemns the U.S. While Praising Qatar

Following her November 2023 visit to the United States, Ashwini K.P. issued a scathing report accusing the country of “systemic racism” and “white supremacy” rooted in “settler-colonialism” and the “slave trade.” She even attributed gun violence to racism, claiming that “the root causes of the gun violence impacting marginalized racial and ethnic groups are grounded in systemic racism”—a framing that appears to excuse perpetrators while ignoring victims.⁶⁸⁴

Ashwini K.P.’s report is especially hostile to U.S. immigration enforcement, at one point likening migration governance to “chattel slavery.” She faults the United States for “aggressively externalizing and militarizing its borders,” suggesting that states have no legitimate authority to police entry at all. Reflecting a broader rejection of the notion of state sovereignty, she asserts that migration policies are “grounded upon systemic racism” and should instead be interpreted through a “reparatory justice lens.”⁶⁸⁵

Yet while castigating the United States, Ashwini K.P. appears to adopt a positive approach to racist dictatorships. For example, on social media she shared a photo of her meeting with Qatar’s representative to the UNHRC, Hend Al-Muftah—known as the “Ambassador of Hate” on account of her virulent incitement against Jews, gays, and others⁶⁸⁶—saying it was a “pleasure” to meet Al-Muftah and welcoming Qatar’s “support” for her mandate.⁶⁸⁷ In fact, Qatar’s abysmal record merits an entirely different approach. That is why Ashwini K.P.’s predecessor, Tendayi Achiume, urged Doha in 2020 to dismantle what she described as a “quasi-caste system based on national origin,” a reference to Qatar’s entrenched discrimination against migrant workers.⁶⁸⁸

682 *Annual reports on Special Procedures, OHCHR* (Last visited March 18, 2026), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures-human-rights-council/annual-reports-special-procedures>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/vgnAc>.

683 *Homepage, Institute of Race, Equality, and Human Rights* (Last visited February 1, 2026), <https://raceandequality.org/>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/G5z3I>.

684 *Report of the Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance on her visit to the United States of America*, UN Doc. A/HRC/56/68/Add.1, **Human Rights Council** (May 16, 2024), <https://docs.un.org/en/A/HRC/56/68/Add.1>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/SYSvr>.

685 *Id.*

686 *Report: Qatar U.N. Ambassador Hend Al-Muftah is Rabid Antisemite, Homophobe, Anti-Western Conspiracist, UN Watch* (September 12, 2022), <https://unwatch.org/report-qatar-u-n-ambassador-hend-al-muftah-is-rabid-antisemite-homophobe-anti-western-conspiracist/>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/xcXgd>.

687 @Ashwini_KP, X (July 16, 2025, 9:45 AM), https://x.com/Ashwini_KP/status/1945479952234840100; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/pm0kl>.

688 *Report of the Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance on her mission to Qatar*, UN Doc. A/HRC/44/57/Add.1, **Human Rights Council** (April 27, 2020), <https://docs.un.org/en/A/HRC/44/57/Add.1>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/Tyza3>.

Shields Human-Rights Abusers and Obsessively Singles Out Israel

Ashwini K.P.'s June 2024 report to the Human Rights Council—focused on AI and racial discrimination—disproportionately targeted democracies and conspicuously omitted any mention of facial recognition abuses by authoritarian regimes.⁶⁸⁹ Notably, Ashwini K.P. made no reference to well-documented privacy violations by Russia⁶⁹⁰ or China,⁶⁹¹ both of which employ facial recognition for surveillance and crime prevention at the expense of civilian privacy. She likewise ignored abuses in Latin American dictatorships like Venezuela⁶⁹² and Cuba,⁶⁹³ where such technologies have been deployed in racially discriminatory ways. At the same time, she accused Israel of perpetrating apartheid against the Palestinian people, specifically highlighting the use of facial recognition technology by Israeli soldiers to identify Palestinians.

In her October 2025 report to the General Assembly on conflict and racism, Ashwini K.P. offered only passing references to severe and protracted conflicts such as those in Sudan, Myanmar, Yemen, Afghanistan, and the Democratic Republic of Congo.⁶⁹⁴ The report again fixated on Israel, criticizing it multiple times, while failing to address the disturbing rise in racism against Jews and Israelis worldwide amid the Gaza conflict, with businesses from Utah⁶⁹⁵ to Italy⁶⁹⁶ and Ireland⁶⁹⁷ posting signs reading “No Israelis/Zionists allowed.”

Notably, while Ashwini K.P. praised the International Olympic Committee in 2023 for considering allowing individual athletes from Russia and Belarus to compete as “neutral athletes,”⁶⁹⁸ in 2025, she advocated that international football associations exclude the Israeli team over Israel’s alleged “genocide” in Gaza. She sought to justify this disparate treatment by asserting that the boycott call targeted the State of Israel rather than individual athletes.⁶⁹⁹ In practice, however, her advocacy aimed at the exclusion of Israeli athletes from international competition.

689 *Contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance*, UN Doc. A/HRC/56/68, **Human Rights Council** (June 3, 2024), <https://docs.un.org/en/A/HRC/56/68>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/t3Izk>.

690 *The cyber gulag: How Russia tracks, censors and controls its citizens*, **Associated Press** (May 23, 2023), <https://apnews.com/article/russia-crackdown-surveillance-censorship-war-ukraine-internet-dab3663774feb666d6d0025bcd082fba>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/RfYIL>.

691 *How China uses facial recognition to control human behavior*, **CNET** (August 11, 2020), <https://www.cnet.com/news/politics/in-china-facial-recognition-public-shaming-and-control-go-hand-in-hand/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/KlcKn>.

692 *Venezuela: Digital ID As a Tool of Oppression*, **Tech Policy Press** (September 10, 2024), <https://www.techpolicy.press/venezuela-digital-id-as-a-tool-of-oppression/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/PynXM>.

693 *Under A Watchful Eye: Cyber Surveillance in Cuba*, **Institute for War and Peace Reporting** (August 20, 2019), <https://iwpr.net/global-voices/under-watchful-eye-cyber-surveillance-cuba>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/ByIE>.

694 *Report of the Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance*, UN Doc. A/80/496, **UN General Assembly** (October 21, 2025), <https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/documents/issues/racism/sr/a-80-496-auv-1-en.pdf>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/jBkZi>.

695 *Utah is investigating a cidery that declared ‘No Zionists Allowed’*, **JTA** (March 7, 2024), <https://www.jta.org/2024/03/07/united-states/utah-is-investigating-a-cidery-that-declared-no-zionists-allowed>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/BzzZ7>.

696 *‘Israelis not welcome’: Milan Jews rattled by surge in antisemitic incidents*, **Times of Israel** (July 4, 2025), <https://www.timesofisrael.com/israelis-not-welcome-milan-jews-rattled-by-surge-in-antisemitic-incidents/>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/vCZQ4>.

697 *Irish pub bans ‘Zionists’ – and is doing ‘loads of business’*, **The JC** (November 19, 2024), <https://www.thejc.com/news/world/irish-pub-bans-zionists-and-is-doing-loads-of-business-t1dwaskb>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/LWBnL>.

698 *UN experts commend IOC for considering admission of Russian and Belarusian athletes as neutral contestants*, **OHCHR** (February 1, 2023), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2023/02/un-experts-commend-ioc-considering-admission-russian-and-belarusian-athletes>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/r23Sq>.

699 *UN experts call for suspension of Israel from international football amid unfolding genocide in occupied Palestine*, **OHCHR** (September 23, 2025), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2025/09/un-experts-call-suspension-israel-international-football-amid-unfolding>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/ST4Rx>.

Selective Solidarity and Whitewashing of Terrorism

Ashwini K.P.'s partiality is further evident in her public endorsements of the antisemitic UN rapporteur Francesca Albanese. She tweeted her “complete solidarity” with Albanese⁷⁰⁰ and condemned criticism of her, asserting that such attacks must be “condemned in the strongest possible terms.”⁷⁰¹ She also retweeted a post by Albanese that perversely equated innocent Israelis kidnapped by Hamas with Palestinian security prisoners convicted of criminal offenses—referring to both groups as “hostages.”⁷⁰²

Ashwini K.P. did not condemn the antisemitic Hamas-led October 7 attack when it occurred. Her first public statement—a joint UN press release on October 12, 2023—focused on criticizing both sides with a greater emphasis on the Israeli response.⁷⁰³ During a UN press briefing in November 2024, she offered only a single perfunctory line condemning the Hamas massacre, ignoring the antisemitic ideology driving it and immediately pivoting to allegations of Israeli racism against Palestinians. She claimed such racism “perpetuates a cycle of violence, exclusion, and elimination,” arguing that it “not only dehumanizes Palestinians but also justifies and perpetuates the continued occupation and violence they are subjected to.” While urging that a ceasefire should be States’ “core demand,” she made no reference to the hostages held by Hamas or to Israel’s right to security and self-defense.⁷⁰⁴

700 @Ashwini__KP, X (July 3, 2024, 5:17 AM), <https://x.com/dalitwomenrock/status/180842986322886897>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/ST4Rx>.

701 @Ashwini__KP, X (June 6, 2024, 9:12 AM), https://x.com/Ashwini__KP/status/1798704564021154153; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/FKuFT>.

702 Retweeting @FranceskAlbs, X (July 14, 2025, 8:14 AM), <https://x.com/FranceskAlbs/status/1944732293752348897>; Archive Link: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/9E3tt>.

703 *Israel/occupied Palestinian territory: UN experts deplore attacks on civilians, call for truce and urge international community to address root causes of violence*, OHCHR (October 12, 2023), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2023/10/israeloccupied-palestinian-territory-un-experts-deplore-attacks-civilians>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/cA25N>.

704 *United Nations, States Must Combat ‘Deep-Rooted’ Racism against Palestinians, Neo-Nazism, Hate Speech Targeting Minorities, Experts Tell Third Committee*, UN Meetings Coverage and Press Releases (November 5, 2024), <https://press.un.org/en/2024/gashc4425.doc.htm>; Archive Link: <https://archive.ph/4ZJhJ>.

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