

Title: NGOs / states' tools or humanitarian power?

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Table of Contents

Introduction.....	3
Methodology.....	3
Explanation of the interview.....	8
Data Triangulation	9
Advantages of Qualitative interviews	11
Limitation.....	13
Theory	13
NGOs as states' soft power.....	15
NGOs Panopticism and discipline	20
Analysis.....	28
NGOs / states' hegemony without Borders	28
Human Rights industry Facade.....	37
NGOs' effectiveness and humanitarian power	42
Bringing relief	46
Influence of NGOs	48
Conclusion	52
Bibliography	55

Introduction

Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs) have become very influential actors in world politics through the geopolitical corporation with the hegemon powers in the world. Although the connection between NGOs and governments' foreign policies can be easily observed and recognized in the real world, but, still the connection between them is blur and sceptic. This sceptic atmosphere of the interaction between humanitarian organizations and the government, policies is due to the conflict of powers and interests of these governments.

The main purpose of this research project is to understand the relationship between states and NGOs on the light of the increasing human rights violation and genocides on our planet.

While we have observed that big western powers are trying to influence NGOs' using many ways. Funding, strong and spreading international relations etc. All these are ways to effect the way NGOs interact in the conflict areas all over the world.

In this study, I argue that the theoretical relationship between states' foreign policy behavior and the behavior of NGOs is dynamic and conditional. I argue that NGOs influence states' foreign policy behavior toward other states both directly and indirectly.

In order to answer the research question of how NGOs influence states' behaviors, and vice versa, this study suggests that NGOs function as a connecting bridge between developed and developing countries by influencing the foreign policy decisions of developed countries.

“However, NGOs might support a government's use of soft power because it enables NGOs to provide aid and relief through humanitarian services.”(Humanitarian Frames and Humanitarian Soft Power in Darfur. Stephen Matthew Wisniew. P, 75).

Nevertheless, Humanitarian organization role is potential in our world, as they are the first witness of the human rights violation or genocide and other acts against humanity. Their task is to remain vigilant and report the situation of human rights and violation of international law.

“These organizations are some of the first to witness indicators of genocide and other acts against humanity, such as those witnessed and reported in Darfur. Humanitarian organizations are required to remain vigilant and report developing situations that violate international law”. .”(Humanitarian Frames and Humanitarian Soft Power in Darfur. Stephen Matthew Wisniew. P, 76-77).

Methodology

The subject of my thesis is the Non-governmental organizations in general and that ones working in the places where human right violations are on high level, and I will

take one organization working on the ground in Syria, which works in monitoring and evaluation projects as a small example as well. For this project, I am going to study the goals of NGOs and what kind of power they use to fulfil their strategies of implementing their humanitarian projects which bring prosperity and development to the vulnerable and affected societies, and what strategy they have to protect the human rights law. TRUST is one of the NGOs working in the field of monitoring and evaluation for another NGOs working on the ground in Syria and in Turkey while it will be my example of the humanitarian action occurred on the ground in Syria plus some another humanitarian organizations working in conflict areas in general. This organization is working on monitoring the projects which bringing lifesaving supplies to many people who are in need due the war in Syria. Because of this particular case study approach, my choice in research method veered naturally to qualitative research. This type of methodology focuses on complete and detailed description of the event, while the quantitative methods creates statistic models in order to explain the event.

Through the qualitative research I can investigate a facts through my research, and any researcher or me will be able to understand the perceptions of the research we are working on through all kinds of investigations, observations, or even interviews.

The need to see my research from different aspects and from different views was a strong reason behind my choice of the qualitative research method, as this kind of research methodology helps discovering the new thoughts and individual views of the case, which the research focuses on. Researcher could use many ways to collect his data while using qualitative research, and which at the same time helps him to involve in the heart of the research, such as Individual interviews, observations ETC.

“Qualitative Research refers to investigative research. This method is generally used for understanding views and perceptions” Thomas Carol.JUSTpasit.it, 28/12/2015)

” With analysis to look deeper into problems, the qualitative approach helps to discover new thoughts and individual views. This method uses various kinds of unstructured or semi-structured practices for data collection such as group discussions, individual interviews, diary and journal exercises and participation of others. It involves observing gestures, postures and body languages and studying them to

identify problems and providing solutions to them.” ” Thomas Carol.JUSTpasit.it, 28/12/2015)

On the other side, Quantitative research will not be applicable for my research as quantitative research is used to enumerate the problem through creating numerical data or data which can be converted into useable statistics, where it will be impossible to be useful for my research as I am intending to uncover audience behaviour and analyse theories during this research.

Beside that, Quantitative research depends on different ways of collecting data from that used in the qualitative research, such as surveys, online poll ETC, while these ways will not be useful for my research as my case obliges the researcher to involve the respondents in the case study through face to face interviews or group discussion interviews.

” Quantitative approach is used to enumerate the problem through creating numerical data or data which can be converted into useable statistics. The method studies attitudes, opinions, behaviors, and other defined variables in larger sample population to determine the results. However, it makes use of measurable data to conclude facts and reveal different research patterns.”(Thomas Carol.JUSTpasit.it, 28/12/2015).

This is an explorative study whose purpose is to gain quantifiable data as a result, but insight and understanding, which can be used to answer the what, why and how in our problem formulation while we are dealing with causes and consequences. The purpose is oriented towards the discovery of knowledge. In order to be relevant, the inquiry must be holistic and textual, the result must be interpreted in context, the investigation has to be focused on the whole, the analyses of phenomena has to be in depth, the information used is subjective, and finally, in this research method there is no space for rigidity. (Bryman 2012, 407,409).

“Qualitative methods examine not just what, where, when or who, but why and how things happened. Its aim is to produce information based on a specific study, and any general conclusions are only hypotheses. Qualitative methods can be used to verify which of such hypotheses are true. (Silverman 2015, 4-9).

Qualitative data is usually gathered by observing, interviews, or focus groups, but may also be gathered from written documents and through case studies. In qualitative there is a small importance to rely on the numbers of people who

think and behave in certain ways, but much more emphasis is on explaining why people think and behave in those certain ways. Participants in qualitative studies often involve smaller numbers of tools, which include and utilize open – ended questionnaires interview guides (Bryman 2015,481). This type of research is best used to answer how and why questions and is not well suited to generalize what, when and who questions (Bryman 2015, 379-394).

The most popular procedure to constitute data in qualitative approach is through interviews, which can have various forms such: structured, semi-structured, and, finally, unstructured or conversational. Another possibility when collecting data would be through group discussions or focus groups, observations, reflective fields notes, texts, pictures, ETC. During this analysis, the purpose of the research is to pursue the meaning from all the data will be categorized in patterns as an important move for the organization and report of the study findings (Bryman 2015, 416 - 420).

I used semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions, which enable the interviewee to interact with the interviewer in a fluid conversation, which make the information more credible and real (Bryman 2015, 471-480). This type of interview open processes, which encourages the sprouting of new ideas during the interview in reaction to what the interviewee, says. In this type of interview, the interviewer is prepared with an outline of the topic and ideas that are going to be discussed in the interview, but it allows for a natural flow of discussion (Bryman 2015, 468-482).

These types of interviews helped us to explain and understand the peculiar relationship between NGOs and refugees or IDPs either in Turkey or in Syria as these interviews provide me with new information of different aspects I should consider. These types of interviews allow for the natural flow of any possible information from interviewee to interviewer (Currie 2005, 100); At the end of conducting the interviews, I decided to transcribe all reports in order to give opportunity to the reader to look at the interviews and also to have a perfect view of all points that have been covered on the interview.

The interviewee participates in the semi-structure interview could give a big load of information and his participation maybe wider than that participating in the focus group discussion. Coenen emphasizes and justify that person in the individual interview can speak freely and respond more to the open –ended questions without

being provided with additional hints and he can jump to report on many points regarding the case study.

“ Person who participate in the semi-structure interviews and cognitive interviews produced a larger number of items than persons participating in the focus group. “One could reason that, in individual interviews, the participant felt free to talk when responding to open –ended questions without being provided with additional hints. They jumped at the chance to report on many issues related to their everyday functioning.”(Michaela Coenen. Individual interviews and focus group in patients with rheumatoid arthritis: a comparison of two qualitative methods.2011).

I used as well an organizational document data of a focused group discussion where the organization team made it with a group of beneficiaries on the ground in Syria during monitoring the “Winter Agricultural Inputs project / in Alshikh Ahmad” village. A focus group discussion is an organized discussion between 6 to 8 people. Focus group discussions provide participants with a space to discuss a particular topic, in a context where people are allowed to agree or disagree with each other.

Focus group discussions allow you to explore how a group thinks about an issue, the range of opinions and ideas, and the inconsistencies and variations that exist in a particular community in terms of beliefs and their experiences and practices, the thing which allow the researcher to get the aim of qualitative research through the discovery process of this qualitative research method and gain the needed information to be analyzed and sorted at the end.

“Focus group generates a rich understanding of people’s experience and beliefs. Caret emphasizes the advantages of the focus/group techniques by pointing out that they are especially well suited for problems.”

“ The Idea behind the focus – group methodology is that group processes can help people explore and clarify their views in ways that would be less easily accessible in a one to one interview. It is commonly believed that focus group discussion reveal more ideas and more information is collected than individual interviews.”(Michaela Coenen. Individual interviews and focus group in patients with rheumatoid arthritis: a comparison of two qualitative methods.2011).

Beside what mentioned above about the group discussion, I selected the data of focus group discussion as the team on the ground finds its also useful to use focus group

discussion as its less time consuming than the individual interviews and researcher can hear several individuals at the same time while covering and discussing many topics in a short time.

“We first want to discuss the time needed to perform the two methods and approaches. The focus group was more time consuming than the individual interviews. Some authors point out that focus groups are relatively inexpensive and less time consuming than other qualitative approaches. Other emphasize that one can hear several individuals in a single session and cover many topics in a relatively short time.”(Michaela Coenen. Individual interviews and focus group in patients with rheumatoid arthritis: a comparison of two qualitative methods.2011).

Explanation of the interview

For my research I selected many resources and theorists, beside data collected from Trust Consultancy and development Organization, which is based in turkey and working with Syrian refugees in Syria and in turkey, while I gained an approval to use their data during my internship in this organization. I chose Trust Organization because I know that I would have access to ample information and data from interviews with current staff members and refugees who are beneficiaries at the same time. I believed that I would be able to get answers to any question I might have about the humanitarian organizations project working in Syria or in turkey. I could have these answers or information because Trust has a big staff working with refugees and IDPs on the ground in Syria and in turkey. This is important to understand why to pick Trust as my subject of research.

For this project, two interviews conducted, in order to have an ample acknowledge about the projects, these Humanitarian organizations implementing in Syria and turkey to help the Syrian refugees, and how these organizations used their strategies to deal with crisis there. The first interview conducted with a group of Syrian IDPs via SKYPE. This interview conducted by the organization staff, and I use it here as secondary data, due to the fact that it was not plausible to go to Syria and meet with the interviewees. IN this interview the focus was on the “winter agriculture input project” by Global Communities Humanitarian organization, and how this agricultural project is addressing the crises and effecting in a good way the life of those IDPs who escaped their origin areas due of the war. The questions were posed to check how this

project makes the life of those IDPs better in their host society by making them self-dependent and productive member in their new society.

The second interview conducted with the TRUST organization director and co founder Yousef Almoustafa who has a massive experience at monitoring and evaluating the projects conducted by the humanitarian organization on the ground in Syria or working on supporting Syrian refugees in Turkey. Yousef has answered my questions about how do they make assessment for humanitarian projects in a vulnerable community where refugees needs support and basic humanitarian aids in order to be able to survive and not be only heavy burden in their host community.

Data Triangulation

For optimal and applicable data, interviews were the chosen method of data collection in the investigation. I used semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions, which enabled the interviewee to interact with the interviewer in a fluid conversation, which makes the information more credible and real (Bryman 2015, 471-480).

This type of interview opens processes, which encourages the sprouting of new ideas during the interview in reaction to what the interviewee says.

The fact that Trust Organization has such large and infiltrated operation in both Syria and turkey is a vital asset for my research, as it makes all information and data provided to me by Trust organization is more credible and reliable for my research.

In order to add value and depth to my research, I used a combination of different data triangulation, which is the utilization of more than one source of data to explain a specific phenomenon. In my project case, I used a combination of qualitative interviews along with official documents from Trust organization, beside other main resources dealing with NGOs theories and its effectiveness in a crises area . When using triangulation, its often favored to endeavor a convergent validation and therefore only assume the findings made by all methods are valid findings (Brinkmann & Tanggaard 2015, 200).

TRUST official documents enriched my project as a secondary data. Its really helpful how this secondary data which is already gathered by the team working on the ground can give the researcher a wide base of ready information and gives him access to select the most relative to his case study. Beside that, it's free of coast, as any researcher can reach this secondary data easily, while we can find load of available

secondary data in any domain of research. The usage of secondary data is adequate to the starter researchers, as it could avoid them of new research using primarily data analysis.

“In academic institutions where many of secondary data analysis studies are performed, secondary data analysis can be a way for fellows or junior faculty to create a foundation on which to build a research career.” (Bruce J. Sschlomer Nad Hillary L Coop. Secondary Data Analysis of Large Data Sets in Urology: Successes and Errors to Avoid.2014).

Using secondary data is always easier for the researcher, as it is already investigated, corrected and become applicable to be used in a research.

“There are also important errors to avoid when planning and performing a secondary data analysis study “. (Bruce J. Sschlomer Nad Hillary L Coop. Secondary Data Analysis of Large Data Sets in Urology: Successes and Errors to Avoid.2014).

Plus, this data is available in wide sets.

Researchers are appealing to use secondary data for the vary and different information he/she can get through this data, where many researchers did the same focus of the research he is implementing. While for the primary data, it is always harder to use, as it needs more efforts to fine and generate through research and experiences.

“Secondary data analysis is appealing because of the generally large size and availability of many of the data sets. (Bruce J. Sschlomer Nad Hillary L Coop. Secondary Data Analysis of Large Data Sets in Urology: Successes and Errors to Avoid.2014).

One advantage of secondary data analysis is that the data is already collected, which greatly increases the efficiency with which a researcher can perform a study. The use of secondary data analysis as an initial approach to a research question is also appealing for junior investigators without significant research funding because several large data sets are available free of cost from institutions or for a limited expense.

Another advantage is the large size of many data sets, which allows for more precise estimates of trends or effects, especially for rare diagnoses. (Bruce J. Sschlomer Nad Hillary L Coop. Secondary Data Analysis of Large Data Sets in Urology: Successes and Errors to Avoid.2014).

The primary reason to use triangulation is that no method is perfect. By combining the use of interviews, and official TRUST documents, any findings confirmed by all methods can be considered more valid than if only using one method (Brinkmann &

Tanggaard 2015, 200). Conclusion made by only one method and not the remaining methods may end up being considered a false conclusion due to the missing convergent validation.

I used TRUST official documents which are interviews made by the team on the ground in Syria with the beneficiaries of “Winter Agricultural Input project “ which has been implemented by Global Communities organization, where TRUST organization monitored and evaluated this project and TRUST team implemented these Focus group discussions in order to evaluate this “winter agricultural input” project, where the aim of this project was to support farming in Kafernaboda village and supply farmers with the needed seeds and instruments with the help of the local councils in this village. In addition to that, it was clear that this project was targeting the most vulnerable class in this community and the poor big families, as there were a specific criteria the beneficiaries should be legible to in order to be registered.

Question: “What were the eligibility/selection criteria to receive winter agricultural inputs?”

Probes: Did you agree with the criteria?

Why do you think your family was eligible *to receive* agricultural inputs?

Was the selection process fair and transparent??”

Answer: “They informed us that anyone owns a land has the right to register and after registration there will be a selection of beneficiaries who are the **neediest** families, poor and big families, widows and families who take care of disabled and so on.

Yes, these criteria are good and we agree with them because they targeted **the** neediest families but all people now became poor because of there are no job opportunities and unemployment and war which stopped all life aspects, therefore, we want to make the eligibility criteria include anyone who owns a land whatever its space because having a big space of the land doesn’t mean being rich

The selection process was just and fair.” (Winter Agricultural input project, p 1,2).

Advantages of Qualitative interviews

There are many advantages of using qualitative interviews as data resources, especially in this kind of research. This type of research that was conducted for this project is qualitative and was based on finding understanding about TRUST projects

and plans. One of the best ways to gain this understanding is to talk to the people who became beneficiaries getting support in their daily life.

Qualitative interviews rely on verbal behaviour, which means that they are a result of the observer's proximity and because of the competence of the interviewer, who can rely on other data than what is said, like body language for example (Bryman 2012, 493 – 497). However, the loose structure of the interview ensures that unexpected topics, ideas, and thoughts could be discussed. The flexibility that is present at the interview is due to the disposition of the researcher to implant an object of the comparison in their questioning of different people (Bryman 2012, 493 – 497).

On the other hand, the limitations of this method is related with the shorter capacity of amenability on the observation, which means that asking questions to people is the most effective way to know something about them, within qualitative research (Bryman 2012, 493 – 497).

The same applies to the resemble of the fact when the reporter asks to his audience to think back over how a fixed set of events unwrapped regarding to a common circumstances which means that they can't be reproduced by observation on her own. (Bryman 2012, 493 – 497). This is a technical procedure that sometimes could be very instructive in people's lives which is not the case with the interview in qualitative research, which occasionally could be exceptionally long, but in this case, the effect on people's lives would be insignificant comparatively with the possibility of taking observers for a long period of time, which can be disturbing to their lives (Bryman 2012, 493 – 497).

Participant observation method is frequently associated as being part of ethnographic research, and as such interviewing as well as other methods usually follows it. So in other words, participant observers regularly support their interpretations with methods of data collected which allow them to gain access to significant areas that are not accessible observation. However, the purpose of the assessment was offering a variety of constancy sheet in taking into account the strengths and restrictions of a dependence on either participant observation or qualitative interview alone. Its aim is to emphasize some of the factors that might be taken into consideration how to settle on a plan of study and even how to appraise existing research (Bryman 2012, 493 – 497).

Limitation

Another form of data collection the project could have made use of that would have made a significant impact on the data collected is Observations. Observation focuses on observing how humans act in a given situation in order to gain a deeper understanding. This means that the focus of the observations is on how the observed act naturally (Brinkmann & Tanggaard, 2015, 98). In the participation observation method, the researcher is in better place to acquire an understanding of a particular social reality (Bryman 2012, 493 – 497). In this case, we can assume that the researcher has the same view as the rest of observers, he sees as others see. The participant observer has a closer contact with the people for a longer period of time (Bryman 2012, 493 – 497).

The researcher takes a more proactive attitude, since he participates and interact in most every kind of activity and in possible roles with the other members of the social setting that is being studied and shall form an integral part of the data (Bryman 2012, 493 – 497).

This type of method could have been useful to the project in order to observe how the life of Syrian refugees has been changed or affected by the projects of NGOs in turkey or on the ground in Syria. However, it was not used due to the resources it would demand and the threat to observe safety it imposed. It would have taken a lot of time and money to travel to Syria and stay long enough in order to have accurate observations of the situation. Also, the situation is far to dangerous and would seriously threaten the observer safety because of the intense situation, in addition to the restrictions by the Turkish government about making these kinds of observations on NGOs working in Turkey.

Also, quantitative research methods were not used, as our problem formulation focuses on a series of incidents on the ground and the effects that they have. For this reason, quantitative research was not used because it focuses more on data statistics for numerical analysis. In this case, numerical analysis isn't useful to our research and problem investigation.

Theory

There are many theoretical explanations and introductions about the importance of the role of the humanitarian organizations in our world order, and why the international leading power finds its interest in supporting these humanitarian organizations

activities and humanitarian activities discipline? The Liberals regimes argue and justify their support for the humanitarian organizations, surveillance and discipline as, the humanitarian monitoring projects highlight and record the injustice, human right abuse and actions can't be tolerated in the tension areas or in the place where there are human rights violations. Thus, these records and monitoring projects by these humanitarian organizations work on shaming hegemonic powers to take actions and provoke them to recognize the wrongness of these acts and do what needed to stop all kinds of human rights abuses which already have been monitored and covered by the humanitarian organizations working in the area of tension or crises.

“There are three clear explanations for why hegemons find it in their interests to support NGO surveillance. The ‘universalist-liberal’ explanation argues that NGO monitoring activities bring to the forefront that which cannot be tolerated by liberal regimes. These hegemons not only are most capable of recognizing the ‘wrongness’ of these acts, they also are the ones who feel most compelled to act in some fashion to stop these abuses.” (Brent J. Steele, Jacque L. Amoureux. *NGOs and Monitoring Genocide: The Benefits and Limits to Human Rights Panopticism*.P.415).

Michael Ignatieff went further to explain the Liberals agenda and their view of the states responsibility to protect the victims of human rights abuses, as the state first priority is to protect its people and employs its power to recognize the human rights abuses. Ignatieff added that, the worst human right abuse in this case is not only when a state fails to secure its individuals, but the absence of state structure is exactly bound up with the massive human right abuse, as the worst abuse now occurs not where there is too much states power, but too little.

“Michael Ignatieff exemplifies this liberal agenda.⁴¹ Ignatieff not only questions the legitimacy of a state when it fails to secure the human rights of its individuals, he also sees the absence of state structures bound up with massive human rights abuses: ‘the worst abuse now occurs not where there is too much state power, but too little’.⁴² Liberal hegemons support monitoring problem areas because HR abuses challenge the grounds of their identity: belief in human rights” (Brent J. Steele ,Jacque L. Amoureux. *NGOs and Monitoring Genocide: The Benefits and Limits to Human Rights Panopticism*.P.416).

The power dynamics at play in conflict situations can be complex and numerous. In general, power is described as the “ability to affect others to get the outcomes one wants” (Nye, 2009, p. 61).

A prominent expert and political theorist Joseph S. Nye, Jr., who served as Undersecretary of State for Security Assistance, Science, and Technology; chairman of the National Intelligence Council; and Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, was the first to highlight two distinguishable types of power, hard power and soft power. “Hard power” is usually represented by military intervention, coercive diplomacy or economic sanctions while in contrast, “soft power is the capacity to persuade others to do what one wants” (Wilson, 2008, p. 114). Research has suggested that soft power is the more sustainable, efficient and effective concept in the 21st century. One of the most important strategies that International Aid organisations employ in order to become advantageous in their competition with each other, and which has become a necessity in today’s world, is the use of “soft power.

NGOs as states’ soft power

Having a complete understanding of soft power, understanding how organizations frame soft power and understanding why soft power is effective in gaining action for humanitarian support, are very important steps in assessing how the power dynamics may have long term implications.

The definition of "soft power" was first put forward by prominent expert and political theorist Joseph S. Nye, Jr., he described it as “the ability to affect others through the co-optive means of framing the agenda, persuading, and eliciting positive attraction in order to obtain preferred outcomes”(Stephen Mathew Wisniew, 2012 Nye, 2.011).

As Nye elaborates on this, he highlights the soft power of humanitarian organizations is formulating a strategy to provide aid services and relief to gain access to act on the ground. In order to find a humanitarian solution in a complex environment of rules, international law at the same time helps to provide assistance to bring stability into the area of activity.

Nye and other developed the soft-power theory for states and not for NGOs. Their argument was focused that the states not just use coercion (direct military power- but also soft power (indirect aid, culture etc.) to gain support or acceptance with military power. Maybe you should look at research that has used soft-power theory for what

NGOs are doing. (Stephen Mathew Wisniew, 2012 Nye, 2.011).

Soft power derives its strength from what Nye calls “structural milieu goals or general value objectives,” such as promoting democracy, human rights, and freedom.

It is very important to remember soft power is completely dependent on context, what is effective in one situation may be completely in-effective in another.

NGOS for sure have the soft power, which is able to alleviate the suffering of the harmed people due of any catastrophe or in a conflict area. But, this at the same time and in covered way, we may find that this soft power of NGOs could be used for political or hegemonies goals, and even the big states or lobbies may help at presenting some new NGOs or supporting others to be in an effective positions, while the example of the American Congress political reactions of the Kissinger-influenced Nixon and ford administration. The American legislature held some NGOs against some policies in the Congress.

“We should of course place these hearings within their historical context. The American legislature held them not only to discuss and propose strategies to alleviate the many humanitarian tragedies of the time, but also to lend institutional legitimacy to their protests against the real politic policies of the Kissinger-influenced Nixon and Ford administrations. That said, we should also recognize that these Congressional reactions coincided with a recognition and proliferation of NGOs. (Brent J. Steele, Jacque L. Amoureux. *NGOs and Monitoring Genocide: The Benefits and Limits to Human Rights Panopticism*.P.415).

Even more, the NGOs role increased crucially at seventies when NGOs turned to be part of the system that structures the power in the U.S government. Of course this new role of NGOs shaped and used by allies inside the government. So, the source of NGOs power is being an ally with one group or another in the political mechanism in order to be active and sustainable.

“The mid-seventies was a crucial time for these organizations; a time in which they allied with governmental agents within the US. This was especially true following the presidential election of Jimmy Carter, when, as one author notes, ‘human rights NGOs now would occupy a totally different place in the Washington power structure’” (Brent J. Steele, Jacque L. Amoureux. *NGOs and Monitoring Genocide: The Benefits and Limits to Human Rights Panopticism*.P.415).

While NGOs are supposed to have as much as can of autonomy, some of these NGOs

are trying to connect its role and function with another policies and government, relying on the power of these policies and governmental support in order to make a big name in the humanitarian field and take a preeminent leading position in the realm of humanitarian organization. The thing which Helsinki Accord organization takes pride in its connection to the U.S connections, while this organization that has been developed to be HRW later, became a preeminent global human rights organization. The head position in this organization Aryeh Neier made it clear how the is the policy of HRW will be focusing on the U.S policy which has the most powerful connection around the world, thinking that the impact of HRW organization will be derived from the relation with U.S policy.

“While others take pride in their close connections to the US. HRW, an organization that developed out of the Helsinki Accords (it was originally named ‘Helsinki Watch’), takes pride in its connections to the US, connections which have made it the preeminent global human rights organization.

Generalizing about his tenure as head of HRW, Aryeh Neier noted that ‘as an American organization, we could focus significantly on US policy, and US policy was so significant on a world wide basis, that our impact would derive from our relationship to US policy’” (Brent J. Steele, Jacque L. Amoureux. NGOs and Monitoring Genocide: The Benefits and Limits to Human Rights Panopticism.P.415-416).

While, some countries continue to choose hard power to solve conflicts or act in complex environments, as highlighted above, these countries could use the soft power of their humanitarian organizations to help in these complex environments.

Additionally bringing aid and relief while also working on reduce the level of vulnerability among those targeted people. Michel Thieren, a Belgian physician specializing in humanitarian affairs and human rights, emphasizes the moral duty of “soft power” used by organizations in these types of humanitarian actions.

Thieren compares this to foreign policy, which is hard power and has only one goal, pursuing the national interest, which can be against the humanitarian morals and values.

”Thieren (2007) elucidates the theory of soft power by comparing humanitarian action and foreign policy as a mixture of both hard and soft power interests. His soft power definition emphasizes altruistic values: “the precedence of the humanitarian altruistic

imperative over self-serving politics keeps humanitarian action within the framework of soft-power foreign policy” (Thieren, 2007, p. 219-220). Thieren concludes, “soft power is or should be a moral duty, not just an exercise in pursuing national interests”(Stephen Mathew wisniew, 2012).

Many states used Humanitarian organizations as a soft power to accomplish their goals and projects on the ground. These NGOs are developing the way they work, prepare their projects and the way they act, and all of this, is a way to attract others to support their humanitarian missions such as donors and governments.

” Humanitarian organizations operating around the world may use frames and soft power to accomplish their goals. Creating a soft power frame means developing a continuing narrative resonating in time, space, culture, attitudes, words, deeds, images, and motivations that appeal and attract others to support humanitarian efforts.”(Stephen Mathew wisniew, 2012 Nye, 2.011).

The use of the soft power by the humanitarian organizations can make a big difference in the area of conflict. Soft power could attract the international community or even the government to support its humanitarian goals and projects, and at the same time, this soft power can effect the decision taken to solve problems in conflicts. As these humanitarian organizations work on selecting non – military solutions in conflicts, which means, the soft power wins and the hard power is taken off the decisions table.

Wisiew asserts ”Humanitarian organizations meet the soft power frame of the U.S. government to volunteer to be selected to provide a non-military solution to the conflict in Darfur, so they create the salient meaning that answers the job offering and application required to receive government funding for humanitarian support to Darfur. This keeps the hard power option off the table for the U.S. something from the literature review that assumes it is not currently a U.S. policy option; but can at the same time communicate U.S. involvement and interest into the conflict. It is a soft power solution of win-win for the humanitarian organization that receives the grant and the U.S. to exercise another option aside from hard power. NGOs are applying for a job with the U.S. government to be an implementing partner and they are meeting a requirement to offer a soft power solution because the context of the grants is not requiring hard power solutions or offerings. Therefore, NGOs are meeting a soft power requirement of the U.S.’s national interest.” ”(Stephen Mathew wisniew, 2012

Nye, 2011).

Humanitarian organizations are an essential player on the ground in the area of conflict, so these humanitarian organizations gain the trust and credibility by all parts, governmental, civil and even the international political ones. This credibility of humanitarian organization shaped and formed through the humanitarian projects, improving vulnerable societies, providing relief and aid to the vulnerable groups, beside acting as the protector of the humanitarian values in a place where these values have been broken and violated. Using soft power to impose the diplomatic solutions instead of giving the chance to another players to impose the hard power solutions is truly gives these humanitarian organizations the international credibility and legitimacy.

”An NGO’s ability to perform actions as their values in action, demonstrates a soft power quality from their stakeholders. Because NGOs are considered and framed as credible, they have the soft power quality of “legitimacy” do not coerce donors, and align themselves with their messages of “attraction, trust, and persuasion their messages ultimately reinforce their soft power. Because NGOs are able in their messages to have a “quiet diplomacy” generate a uniting agenda with both humanitarian and political actions, and use moral and ethical convincing messages they create soft power.” (Stephen Mathew wisniew, 2012 Nye, 2011).

As Nye, there is a strong connection between the humanitarian organizations, soft power and the credibility and legitimacy. It will be so hard for any humanitarian organization to keep its credibility in a complex area of conflict in case this humanitarian organization loses its legitimacy and transparency. For humanitarian organization, its very hard to go on with its humanitarian projects, providing aid and improving any civil society unless it gains the trust and credibility of this civil society. So, when a humanitarian organization loses the credibility and trust of the environment it is working in, it will lose the soft power. As a sequence this will prevent this organization from being the human rights voice to impose its humanitarian solutions on the ground.

The destruction of the credibility for any humanitarian organization means the destruction of the soft power of this organization. As Nye ”Maintaining soft power credibility (a measure of soft power success) means to be perceived as legitimate

without appearing to manipulate or propagandize. According to Nye, lack of credibility will destroy soft power (Nye, 2011, p. 83). And in this way, the NGO can continue working by gaining the trust of the milieu they are working in and doing their helping and supporting actions.””(Stephen Mathew wisniew, 2012 Nye, 2.011)

NGOs Panopticism and discipline

As Foucault, Discipline is a positive power. Its function is not limited for increasing power for the sake of power. Discipline can produce a particular subjectivity, it makes individuals and its aim is to strengthen the social forces, to increase productivity, to develop the economy, spread education, rise the level of public morality.

For any reader to read Foucault’s illustration of discipline, he will find that these are the same characters and goals of humanitarian organizations that are trying to be the voice of human rights all over the world and prevent injustice, genocide and the abuse of humanitarian rights in conflict areas.

Many theorists gave their illustrations about disciplining to respect and keep the human rights, and using Panopticism as a ingenious mean in adhering the respect and protection of human right in a good social society. In other words, working on protecting the human rights by NGOs will lead to reduce the massive abuse of human rights, massacres, genocides ETC, which is considered as a form of social discipline. Foucault goes to consider Panopticism as a mean of imprisonment and coercion, while Bentham sees Panopticism as totally benevolence and serves the community. While Gill presented his critics to the Utilitarianism of Bentham, considering Panopticism as a form of power, which seeks, to discipline and control the community or society.

“This disciplining to respect human rights may seem to some a peculiar way to employ Panopticism. The argument here is that the promotion of human rights is a form of discipline, that the monitoring of crises leads to a reduction in human rights abuses like genocide, torture and political imprisonment. Foucault’s work highlights the point that panopticism was historically intended as a means of imprisonment and coercion. While Bentham probably saw pure benevolence in his Panopticon, Foucault and others ‘depict the panopticon as a cruel contraption ingeniously designed to subjugate the human spirit’.²⁸ Stephen Gill

echoes this when he takes a critical view of Benthamite utilitarianism as ‘discourses of power [which] seek to discipline and to legitimate the new competitive struggles in the streets, in the villages, and in the cities.’ (Brent J. Steele, Jacques L. Amoureux. *NGOs and Monitoring Genocide: The Benefits and Limits to Human Rights Panopticism*.P.411).

Panopticism of human rights definitely passes through individuals’ discipline and manipulating people’s activity, the thing will lead to an clear area or society of human right abuse and at the end results a stable community or cite, that will be ripe for political, or economical exploitation by the hegemonic powers.

Then, many will see that human rights panopticism is hegemonic; justification for their policies, while others agree that hegemonic adherence to human rights principles is the best.

“A human rights Panopticism still results in a ‘disciplined’ individual. Indeed, such a mode of analysis may be (will be or has been) used for the purposes of profit and manipulation, with newly disciplined ‘areas’ becoming ‘stable’ situations ripe for corporate exploitation. Additionally, while many will agree that hegemonic use the discourse of human rights to justify their policies, most would also agree that hegemonic adherence to human rights principles is chequered at best.” (Brent J. Steele, Jacques L. Amoureux. *NGOs and Monitoring Genocide: The Benefits and Limits to Human Rights Panopticism*.P.411).

In the same stream, Hegemonic power is biased regarding the NGOs, Panopticism. As, in the light of understanding the humanitarian organization discipline or Panopticism as a rapid power to prevent human right abuse and genocide, the Hegemonic finds NGOs activities are useful because these NGOs, surveillance is compelling criminals and rights abusers. Thus, NGOs panopticism functions as a form of power.

“In light of these possibilities, let us reiterate that what we are proposing here, as mentioned in our introduction, is a human rights Panopticon as a mode-of-analysis for understanding the alignment of interests when addressing the prevention of genocide. In such a context, hegemonic have found human rights NGOs useful because the latter perform a surveillance function, compelling those who would perpetrate genocide to ‘not do what they otherwise would do’. Thus, in such instances the human rights panopticon functions as a lighter, cheaper and more rapid form of power exercised by hegemonic. .” (Brent J. Steele, Jacques L. Amoureux. *NGOs and Monitoring Genocide: The Benefits and Limits to Human Rights Panopticism*.P.411).

Another phase of the strong effectiveness of humanitarian organizations panopticism is, to make every individual a probable discipline power by taking him as a witness of genocide or any human right abuse in the tension area or in the area of human rights abuse, by this way, it will not be necessary for the humanitarian organization to exist in the tension area to record the genocide or human right violation. In this case, it will be easier for NGOs to discipline any human right abuse, as the genocidair or abuser doesn't know who will report on their activities, while the eyewitnesses providing the NGOs with human rights violations reports as they are exactly in the scene of the crime.

“Just as panoptic surveillance is generally effective when the Panopticon remains out of the subject's view, NGOs do not have to be in the area when the abuses are committed, since the basis for their reports comes from the witnesses who are in the area of human rights abuse. Individuals in trouble (and groups of individuals such as indigenous NGOs) are the eyewitnesses of genocide. NGOs collate this information into reports, and surveillance works to discipline genocidaires because they do not know who will report on their activities. NGOs collect reports even without being at the ‘scene of the crime’.” (Brent J. Steele, Jacques L. Amoureux. NGOs and Monitoring Genocide: The Benefits and Limits to Human Rights Panopticism.P.411).

Moreover, Gill explained in his account of global economic Panopticon, that, no need for credit agencies to be every individual transaction, while the transaction could be through retailer. This information by retailers should be collected, organized as reports according to every individual activity and then stored, sorted and eventually evaluated. This actually what humanitarian organizations did when these NGOs have been innovative in gathering evidence through means that are difficult for abusers to detect and control. These organizations worked on distributing video cameras to human rights abuse victims and trained them to record and prove that “ they were there and they saw”.

“32. This is true in other uses of the Panopticon. For example as Gill explains in his account of the global economic Panopticon, credit agencies need not be at every individual transaction. The transaction itself happens at a retailer, the credit agency collects this information, and then organizes information on individuals into a ‘credit

report’: ‘everyday transactional activity ... leaves traces that can be (electronically) stored, sorted, and evaluated.

-NGOs have also, moreover, been innovative in gathering evidence through means that are difficult for abuse perpetrators to detect and control. For example, the Lawyers’ Committee for Human Rights distributed video cameras to human rights abuse victims and trained them to ‘record and prove that “they were there and they saw”’. (Brent J. Steele, Jacque L. Amoureux. *NGOs and Monitoring Genocide: The Benefits and Limits to Human Rights Panopticism*.P.413-412).

Peter Gabriel explained the use of cameras as well, when he said that, now the people can watch and witness reports on those in power and they are no longer could keep their deeds hidden.

“Explaining the benefits of the cameras Peter Gabriel said: ‘Now the people can watch, witness and report on those in power. With Witness we are serving notice on governments. We are watching that they can no longer keep their deeds hidden’. (Brent J. Steele, Jacque L. Amoureux. *NGOs and Monitoring Genocide: The Benefits and Limits to Human Rights Panopticism*.P.413).

Historically, there is a strong relationship between NGOs and the hegemonic powers or powerful countries controlling this world. Even, the hegemonic powers are working on protecting strong connections with humanitarian organization, especially the human rights organization, as there is a kind of normative benefits for both the NGOs and these leading or hegemonic powers. As Jeremy Bentham illustrates this relationship between these humanitarian NGOs and the hegemonic power is that, the humanitarian NGOs are working on decreasing and preventing the genocide or any kind of human rights abuse, besides working on decreasing the people suffering in conflict areas.

“In this paper we use the concept of a global Panopticon to interpret the promotion and protection of Western-informed human rights. Like previous authors who use the concept of the Panopticon, we describe the current global human rights regime as connected to, reinforcing and benefiting, hegemonic power structures. However, more in keeping with Jeremy Bentham than the many who have subsequently considered the function of the Panopticon, we find normative benefits to Panoptic surveillance as it relates to the prevention of genocide, even if such benefits result, and thus cannot be separated from, the power structures in which they develop”

(Brent J. Steele, Jacque L. Amoureux. *NGOs and Monitoring Genocide: The Benefits and Limits to Human Rights Panopticism*.P.403).

Humanitarian Organizations are working to prevent the future genocides or probable human rights violations by using what called "Panoptic power" or NGOs controlling system, which hegemonic powers are working to promote and protect.

This Panoptic mechanism used by humanitarian organizations to criticize the hegemonic foreign policy as well, but still these hegemonic powers protecting and working on creating the suitable working atmosphere for the NGOs to practice the humanitarian work, as these hegemonic powers consider the sustainability of NGOs is serving its interest, while these hegemonic powers are saving no efforts to act as a facilitator, serving these NGOS, while the latter consider these services by the hegemonic power a kind of exploitation and expose it to the audience and criticize it .

The historical relationship between hegemonic power that protect the humanitarian organizations is always combatted by the humanitarian organization, as these organizations are trying to have its own discipline and independent decisions away from all kinds of interfering or pressure which hegemonic powers use to form its own definition of human right and form its won western humanitarian law.

"Several geopolitical implications follow from our argument. Most importantly, the concept of a human rights Panopticon as a mode of analysis to explain the relationship between human rights NGOs and hegemonic powers may help reveal the most effective and efficient manner for preventing the abuse of human rights around the world. In other words, the Panopticon is a useful metaphor that illustrates one possible relationship between hegemons and human rights NGOs. Understanding in what way human rights protection serves hegemonic interests may also work to align those interests with action by challenging the entrenched perceptions that have historically combated the marriage of human rights and foreign policy. Finally, this effort will appeal to those critical of how power structures covertly subjugate individuals because it exposes the contradictions contained within this network of discipline and thus opens up potential avenues for reform. The hegemons' vehicle for a human rights Panopticon (i.e., NGOs) also works to expose hegemonic exploitation and challenge purely Western-informed definitions of human rights". " (Brent J. Steele, Jacque L. Amoureux. *NGOs and Monitoring Genocide: The Benefits and Limits to Human Rights Panopticism*.P.404).

Big powers or leading countries will always try to shape communities and societies as per their interest and ideologies in order to maintain the structuring power in this world. These powerful countries have the awareness of its ideology hold and seek to influence the actions of other countries.

“Consistent with other applications of panopticism, the application of panopticism to world politics portrays hegemons as part of power structures and as seeking to arrange those structures in their favor. We refer to a hegemon as a powerful country (or countries) that has a self-awareness of its ideological hold, and seeks to and is often successful in influencing the actions of other countries. Thus, we argue that just as within domestic society, international society features an order that accords some actors, more than others, the self-identity of a capable agent. They are thus able to maintain power structures in their favor. Panoptic surveillance is an attractive means by which to ensure and foster this ideological hold on power.” (Brent J. Steele, Jacques L. Amoureux. *NGOs and Monitoring Genocide: The Benefits and Limits to Human Rights Panopticism*.P.406).

On the other hand, the panoptic surveillance of humanitarian organizations is the most attractive mean to have influence as independent variable upon the decisions and practices of states.

“With this in mind, we add to the applications of Panopticism the monitoring activities of human rights NGOs as a further possible surveillance structure. Much of the work in International Relations on nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) has focused on the ways in which they have influenced the policies of state agents – examining the role ‘transnational advocacy networks’ played in changing state policy practices through lobbying,¹⁷ or ‘shaming’¹⁸ – and how NGOs have improved the human rights practices of particular states.¹⁹ What most of these works have in common is that they investigate the influence NGOs have as an ‘independent variable’ upon the decisions and practices of states.” (Brent J. Steele, Jacques L. Amoureux. *NGOs and Monitoring Genocide: The Benefits and Limits to Human Rights Panopticism*.P.407).

The activities of these human rights organizations in the crisis area or conflict areas give a preminent role to these NGOs. So, NGOs have their hegemonic phase in

vulnerable atmosphere, as these NGOs observe and collate human rights abuse into dossiers in order to reform an apparent Pariah groups or even states through transparent human rights abuse reports, the thing will be reconsidered by the civil world community and then shame the leading power to react towards these pariah groups, individuals, or states.

NGOs transparent reports and activities are increasing the hegemony of these NGOs where the traditional power practices failed to dominate or control in a more rapid and soft manner.

“And yet, along with causing states to reconsider their interests, NGOs can also serve the interests of some states. We argue that the NGO is also a new veiled form of hegemonic power, one that provides a monitoring function which can fulfill the needs of hegemons.²⁰ Through NGO activities the abuse of human rights can be monitored, recorded, and publicized. Activities of possible human rights abusers are made transparent through observation and data collection that is collated into dossiers and then used both to make apparent the reach of NGOs’ gaze and to reform ‘pariah’ states and groups into life-respecting members of the international community. This use of transparency increases discipline in areas of the world that hegemons find difficult to control through traditional power practices. Human rights NGOs provide an effective tool for extending hegemonic influence in a more rapid and effective manner.” (Brent J. Steele, Jacque L. Amoureux. *NGOs and Monitoring Genocide: The Benefits and Limits to Human Rights Panopticism*.P.408).

In spite of all this efforts by humanitarian organization such as Amnesty international and HRW (human rights watch) to have its own surveillance and independence, still they exemplify the NGOs which largely constitute the panoptic system of surveillance, discipline subjects to the narrow definition of human rights which only based on the western- based standards, what some referred to as “first world NGOs”. “In turn, we take the ‘human rights NGOs’, which provide surveillance functions to be those Western-based NGO’s (what some have referred to as ‘First World NGO’s’²²) which reflect this Western-based preference for civil and political rights protection/promotion. Human Rights Watch (HRW) and Amnesty International (AI) exemplify the NGOs which largely constitute the Panoptic system of surveillance, disciplining subjects according to this narrow definition.” (Brent J. Steele, Jacque L. Amoureux. *NGOs and Monitoring Genocide: The Benefits and Limits to Human*

Rights Panopticism.P.409).

Makau Mutua, the theorist is also sees that Human rights watch and Amnesty international for admitting the new western humanitarian values and abandoned its long standing apposition to the advocacy of economic and social rights Nevertheless, Mutua views HRW' policy with skepticism, as this policy sees economic and social rights only as an Appendage of civil and political rights.

“Although both AI and HRW have made recent attempts to include economic, social and cultural rights. Makau Mutua, a critic of human rights NGOs like AI and HRW, admitted that in September of 1996 the latter ‘abandoned its long standing opposition to the advocacy of economic and social rights. [HRW] passed a highly restrictive and qualified policy – effective January 1997 – to investigate, document, and promote compliance with the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights’. Nevertheless, Mutua views HRW’s ‘restrictive policy’ with scepticism: ‘this policy statement can be seen as a continuation of the history of skepticism toward economic and social rights HRW has long demonstrated; it sees economic and social rights only as an appendage of civil and political rights’. Mutua, ‘Human Rights International NGOs: A Critical Evaluation’, in *NGOs and Human Rights: Promise and Performance*, ed. Claude E. Welch (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001)” (Brent J. Steele, Jacque L. Amoureux. *NGOs and Monitoring Genocide: The Benefits and Limits to Human Rights Panopticism.P.409*).

Many critics of this new western humanitarian conceptualization, which represent a kind of doctrinalists of western values, what makes the NGOs surveillance and panoptic power not separated from the interest of states, the thing provoked HRW to declare and note that they are independent humanitarian organization and they don't accept fund from the government of U.S, while they get supported and funded by individuals and foundations worldwide.

“Critics of this conceptualization of human rights and human rights NGOs conclude that the latter therefore represent ‘doctrinalists’ of Western values, and that ‘no one should believe that the scheme of rights promoted by INGOs²⁴ [like AI and HRW] does not seek to replicate a vision of society based on the industrial democracies of the North’ Like its critics we find this narrow definition problematic, but for analytical purposes we use it here in our interpretation of a Western-based human rights regime. What makes the NGOs’ Panoptic means of power extension so

effective – despite their Western-based definition of human rights – is that NGOs are largely, although not uniformly, perceived to be separate from the interests of states.²⁶ on its website HRW notes that its organization: does not accept any funds from the US government (or any other government).

Indeed, we are often highly critical of the US government for its human rights policies at home and abroad. Human Rights Watch is a fully independent, nongovernmental organization, supported exclusively by contributions from private individuals and foundations worldwide.” (Brent J. Steele, Jacques L. Amoureux. *NGOs and Monitoring Genocide: The Benefits and Limits to Human Rights Panopticism*.P.409). What gives NGOs a leading role and effective power is the Autonomous discipline and monitoring, as this makes them less of a threat to the ruling power in a place. Even some sees that, NGOs serve hegemonic power, but they do this service in a shape of rapid and more effective form of power that has big influence and active in protecting human rights and civil sustainability.

“The perception of NGOs as autonomous makes them appear to be less of a threat to the sovereign integrity of monitored units. Thus, to they extent that they serve hegemonic power, they do so as a ‘lighter’ and more ‘rapid’ form of that power. The same is also true in their perceived independence from supranational organizations.” (Brent J. Steele, Jacques L. Amoureux. *NGOs and Monitoring Genocide: The Benefits and Limits to Human Rights Panopticism*.P.410).

Analysis

The following chapter analyses the data, which was gathered through the interviews and documents, and according to the theories presented.

NGOs / states’ hegemony without Borders

“On the surface, the cultural narrative seems innocent enough: billionaire, philanthropists, political luminaries and transitional corporations, along with legions of staff and volunteers – all working together in the name of social justice, forging a better, fair and more accountable world.” (Patrick Henningsen, *Global research*, 2016).

By this deep introduction, Patrick, the independent political analyst, started his argument explaining how is the humanitarian organization and the humanitarian work looks like innocent, calm and for the benefit of the humanity. Army of employees with loads of respected salaries, billionaires funding these humanitarian organizations under the name of humanitarian donors, and mass of volunteers are joining these humanitarian organizations, those supposed to be provoked by their high level of responsibility and humanity. But, is, t?

It seems not, as the emerge of these humanitarian organizations looks like it is blur and sceptic. As Patrick, the birth of these humanitarian organization due to the string of many failures by many governments to stop most of the human right violations and genocides in this world during the 20th century.

“After all, the 20th century saw a string of failures by various governments to curb and halt some of the most horrific exhibitions of genocide and crimes against humanity.

So, the door has been opened for many humanitarian organizations to play a bigger and essential role in the modern international relations and politics. While, these organizations call themselves as natural and implementing humanitarian work just for the sake of humanity, but the reality is some thing different and far away from what is on the ground, as these humanitarian organizations are working on reshaping the map of political and international interventions in the 21th century.

Furthermore, as long these humanitarian organizations are responding to the humanitarian needs in the crises area or conflict zone in this sceptic way, they will disfigure and undermine the credibility of the humanitarian work all over the world.

“The door has been opened for many charities and human rights organizations to play a bigger role in moderating international affairs. Upon more rigorous inspection, however, what emerges is one of the most unfortunate realities of 21st century geopolitics. Though many human rights charities still market themselves as ‘neutral’ and ‘nonpartisan’, the reality is something very different. With public scepticism at an all-time high, the danger is clear: if conflicts of interest are not addressed in a serious way, they threaten to undermine the credibility of the entire non-governmental organization (NGO) sector internationally.” (Patrick Henningsen, Global research, 2016).

Even thou, Ozkan and Akgun in their study of Darfur, they implied that Humanitarian soft power could reshaping international relations according to different aspects and sources, such as culture, interest, and religion. As this humanitarian soft power function as Engagement to what might be called “ quiet diplomacy” without using the hard power on the base of interest. As the foreign American intervention in Sudan will not be effective, as the American democracy and humanitarian standards are based on a western values. But, a soft power partnership between U.S and Turkey in

Sudan could succeed, as Turkey the Islamic country could easily lead the soft power agencies, and it would be accepted among the people in Darfur.

The example, which mentioned in this context, gives a clear and powerful concept of the humanitarian soft power role in engaging the hegemony on the interest bases. “Ozkan and Akgun’s study of Darfur implies that soft power functions as an engagement to what might be called “quiet diplomacy.”¹⁰ This study suggests that soft power success depends upon engagements without hard force or hard power and involves a dialogue based on common terms and interests. One can infer from this study that soft power is enhanced by common ground—in this case, a Muslim nation-to-nation exchange of values. In contrast, the U.S. espousal of Western values of democracy may not be as effective in Sudan. A soft power partnership between the U.S. and Turkey in Darfur could succeed if Turkey, as the lead soft-power agency, could draw upon soft power resources (tangible and monetary) from the U.S. and then diffuse the soft power within the established and accepted context between Turkey and Sudan”. (Humanitarian Frames and Humanitarian Soft Power in Darfur. Stephen Matthew Wisniew, p 68).

Nye argues as well that, humanitarian organizations that are funded and supported by the ruling powers could play a role of the “single seller” who has the ability to monopoly goods and hold the power over prices in a place. While the same can the humanitarian organizations do when they select a unique place, circumstances, and services, and try to use the necessity in this area created by specific circumstances, and then start to apply their strategy or ideology, where they are the only ones with these capabilities. Nye presents OPEC organization as example of the organization, which holds the power over the prices of petroleum and impose its strategy in exporting this unique material.

“Nye argues that an actor can “produce the idea of monopoly (a single seller) or monopsony (a single buyer), [to] gain some power over price. [Actors] can do this by differentiating [their] product through advertising, creating brand loyalty, picking a special location, and so forth. Or in the case of oil-producing countries, agents can try to form a cartel like the Organization of Petroleum-Exporting Countries (OPEC). Humanitarian organizations could communicate the same idea of producing a single choice of persuasion by being the only game in town with a certain

service”. (Humanitarian Frames and Humanitarian Soft Power in Darfur. Stephen Matthew Wisniew, p 69).

Borah added that, Humanitarian organizations operating in Darfur are using the humanitarian projects they are implementing there as a soft power to accomplish their goals.

“Humanitarian organizations operating in Darfur may use frames and soft power to accomplish their goals. Creating a soft power frame means developing a continuing narrative resonating in time, space, culture, attitudes, words, deeds, images, and motivations that appeals and attracts others to support humanitarian efforts.

Therefore, it assumes a certain point of view that the target audiences find within their own points of view—they point back at each other and affirm each other.” (Humanitarian Frames and Humanitarian Soft Power in Darfur. Stephen Matthew Wisniew, p 70).

It seems that not only hegemon powers are using the humanitarian organizations a mean to accomplish their strategies or replacing their hard power with that soft one. Ryfman As well argues, NGOs or humanitarian work in general could also reveal a messages or carry the interest of the Stockholder who is using the good quality of humanitarian services as an important component of farming and articulating humanitarian soft power.

“Further, as Ryfman argues, an NGO’s application of soft power to stakeholders should “make both beneficiaries; members, staff, and volunteers; private donors, public sponsors, partner associations; and suppliers feel that they are directly involved themselves.” Thus Ryman adds stakeholder interest and quality of services as important components of framing and articulating humanitarian soft power.”

(Humanitarian Frames and Humanitarian Soft Power in Darfur. Stephen Matthew Wisniew, p 72).

The operational NGOs conducted relief work on the ground in Darfur had to carefully frame their mission and tasks there, as the U.S government or some donors who have no based advocacy and operational or technical support on the ground in Sudan in general and in Darfur specially, will ask the operational NGOs for some specific duties or reports to handle over their working in Darfur.

For The operational NGOs working on the ground in Darfur with its total numbers of staff, it would be hard or harmful for them to accomplish what in the U.S

communication reports, or to operate their missions as per the Donors who are not based on the ground in Darfur. As, the mission on these operational NGOs is a humanitarian task with full intension to bring relief and support victims who got affected due of the conflict there, and it may differ to what donors or U.S ask for, such as reports about perpetrators and wanted people in Darfur. Doing such actions by these operational NGOs may expose them to be excluded from Darfur by the Sudanese government, leaving the victims without lifesaving aids and relief. “At some point, the operational NGOs needed to decide what to report back to their media communication representatives in the U.S. and, ultimately, their donor constituents. It is unlikely they would say nothing or give no indication about NGO relief in Darfur. It is assumed the NGOs opted for a message supporting the victims over exposing or reporting the perpetrators and wanted moreover to highlight the relief and aid efforts to beneficiaries. This decision would seem to bring more good to many, as reporting on perpetrators would lead to Sudan asking NGOs to leave (offering an unsanctioned Sudanese message) and leaving victims without “lifesaving” aid and relief.” (Humanitarian Frames and Humanitarian Soft Power in Darfur. Stephen Matthew Wisniew, p 74).

In Addition, these kind of communications with Donors and U.S government committed by the operational NGOs working on the ground in Darfur may damage the whole current humanitarian work operated in a catastrophic places like Darfur. Where many operational American personnel were working with the humanitarian organizations in Darfur, advocated that they were expelled because the Sudanese government suspected them of reporting Al-Bashir’s abuses. So, the operational humanitarian organizations still operating in Sudan, but they have been spotted in the black hall and have been on notice.

“In addition, messages intended to communicate to more than one specific audience had to be carefully framed or omitted if they were perceived to potentially damage current aid efforts by NGOs within Darfur.” (Humanitarian Frames and Humanitarian Soft Power in Darfur. Stephen Matthew Wisniew, p 74).

“Advocates in America, especially those who were formerly operational NGOs in Darfur, recognized that they were expelled because the Sudanese government suspected them of reporting al-Bashir’s abuses. Therefore the operational NGOs still

remaining in Sudan and Darfur are assumed to have been put on notice— reporting abuses equals expulsion. Operational NGOs framed messages and activities with caution limiting what they communicated to donors.” (Humanitarian Frames and Humanitarian Soft Power in Darfur. Stephen Matthew Wisniew, p 74).

Moreover, bunch of humanitarian organizations working in Darfur such as Catholic Relief services, Cooperative for assistance and Relief everywhere CARE, World vision, United Methodist Committee on Relief, and HelpAge are revealing the U.S political sovereignty and soft power, as they receive grants to perform humanitarian services for the U.S government in Darfur. So, this money those humanitarian organizations receive from the U.S government will play the role of U.S foreign policy in Sudan implementing the American strategy and political views in this area.

“The implementing partners of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) (Catholic Relief Services, Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere [CARE] , World Vision, United Methodist Committee on Relief, and HelpAge) received grants to perform humanitarian service for the U.S. government specifically in Darfur. Because USAID gives money in grants to humanitarians as implementing partners in Darfur, humanitarian organizations conveyed U.S. soft power strategy, and humanitarian frames were assumed to strengthen their soft power.” (Humanitarian Frames and Humanitarian Soft Power in Darfur. Stephen Matthew Wisniew, p 74).

Patrick Henningsen rings the bells over a serious issue, which is the Humanitarian work politicization, while most of the people working in these humanitarian organizations don't know about this fact, even the most educated ones. Most of human rights or Aid organizations led by extremely well educated staff, with altruistic hearts, who joined the humanitarian work with full energy to help and spread relief and help in protecting the human right law, but non of them is interested about who funded these organizations whom he is part of, who is funding all these humanitarian projects, and for what reasons?? And where is this humanitarian organization stands when it comes to the political or geopolitical issues in the area of conflict which his organization working in??

“One difficult aspect in analysing this struggle for ‘perception management’ is that most human rights and aid organizations are staffed and run by good, hard-working and extremely well-educated individuals, many of whom carry out their roles with an

altruistic heart and with the best of intentions. For the most part, many remain unaware or uninterested in who actually funds their organisations and what those financial strings mean in terms of the what a given organisation's stance will be on any range of geopolitical issues or military conflicts. It's certainly true that over the years, sincere and dedicated campaigning by organisations has helped to free individuals who were unjustly imprisoned and achieved due process and justice for the dispossessed. It's also true that many of these same organizations have helped to raise awareness on many important social and environmental issues". (Patrick Henningsen, Global research, 2016).

Thus, the more humanitarian organization gets fund, the more it is politicised. As in the recent years, the humanitarian organizations got more and more funded by the western governments those are searching for an area of influence and intervention in a diplomatic soft way in these areas of conflict. And, with this kind of sceptic cooperation between the humanitarian organization and the west policies, the humanitarian organizations may be contributed to the very problem they profess to be working to abate, causing more suffering and become a probable reason for instability through what Patrick call it "their co-marketing" of the foreign policy of the western power.

"Due to increased funding from corporate interests and direct links to government and policy think tanks in recent years, these organisations have become even more politicised, and more closely connected with western 'agents of influence.' As a result, an argument can be made that, on many levels, these 'human rights' organisations may be contributing to the very problem they profess to be working to abate: causing more suffering, death and instability worldwide through their co-marketing of the foreign policy objectives of Washington, London, Paris and Brussels." ". (Patrick Henningsen, Global research, 2016).

Beside that, as per Patrick, the problem is that most of the big and leading human rights organizations and humanitarian works organizations based in North America, and in most western countries, the thing makes these humanitarian organization as just a mirror reflecting the European and western foreign policy agenda and interventionist propaganda.

"The problem is both systemic and institutional in nature. As a result, many of the western world's leading human rights organizations based in North America and Europe have become mirror reflections of a western foreign policy agenda and have become virtual clearing houses for interventionist propaganda." (Patrick Henningsen, Global research, 2016).

While the writer Stephanie Mcmillan describes the role of the humanitarian organizations in a very explicit way when he mentioned that, the humanitarian organizations and even the missionaries help in invading countries with crises, and has an essential role in paving the way in front of these hegemonies for exploitation and extraction.

“Along with military invasions and missionaries, NGOs help crack countries open like ripe nuts, paving the way for intensifying waves of exploitation and extraction.” (Patrick Henningsen, Global research, 2016).

The serious influence of the humanitarian organizations is not only enrolled as to accomplish western governmental goals or strategies in the places of humanitarian crises, NO, NGOs could also manipulate the public western perceptions about the hot spot humanitarian cases all over the world. Humanitarian organizations working in affected places could present its own picture about the humanitarian situation in these countries, and at the same time, working on sending messages to the international community about the situation in these countries.

These messages will always reveal the intentions and political views of the big western powers. All these messages by Humanitarian organizations come from countries with crises or human rights abuses, are serving the leading western countries, policies and political ideology. For instance, in Balkans war of 1990s, human right group supported partitioning, while in Ukraine, Syria, and Yemen in 2016 they supported regime change.

“Shaping western public perception and opinion on major international issues is essential if major world powers are to realise their foreign policy goals. Not surprisingly, we can see that many of the public positions taken by NGOs are exactly aligned with western foreign policy. In the Balkans War of the 1990’s, human rights groups supported partitioning. In the Ukraine in 2014 and with both Syria and Yemen in 2016 they supported regime change. In each instance NGOs function as public relations extension to a United Nations western member Security Council bloc, namely the US, UK and France. This collusion is manifest throughout the upper echelons of these organizations whose streamlined agenda conforms through a lucrative revolving door which exists between a cartel of western NGOs, government and media.” (Patrick Henningsen, Global research, 2016).

Not surprisingly to find western governments are trying to create a strong alliance with humanitarian organization entity, as these humanitarian organizations are working in the conflict areas, in which the western powers are involved heavily in these long term conflict all around the world due of a quite war of interests and power intervention. Western governments not stop outsourcing the humanitarian organizations with their morals and ideological implementations, in order to keep holding these areas where NGOs work, and as a result, manage these areas of conflict / which are areas of power at the same time / according to their political views and interests.

The mutual interest is present apparently between humanitarian organizations and the western governments, while the latter need the humanitarian organization to reveal their ethical and ideological views, which means the first steps of hegemons and power control in the conflict areas, while at the same time, humanitarian organizations are in need for these western powers, as they are the main source of fundraising and public relations.

“As western governments find themselves more heavily involved in long-term conflicts around the globe, the need to outsource their ethics and morals to NGOs becomes more apparent. Continuity between these symbiotic entities is essential if governments are to successfully frame the geopolitical narratives on which international human rights organizations so often derive their own public relations and fundraising campaigns. Together, all of these things converge to form a highly efficient, functioning alliance, which could be described as a type of ‘government-media-human rights’ industrial complex. .” (Patrick Henningsen, Global research, 2016).

International humanitarian organizations played a big role with corporation of the western media in miss leading the American mainstream audience by framing the Syrian conflict in 2011 as a “civil war”. Both human rights organizations and western media propped up the western media narrative of the U.S government and some of the western big powers foreign policy. This support afforded by the human rights organizations in Syria to the American foreign policy narrative about the conflict in Syria, gave a very big access to wag a hidden proxy war by the U.S with its allies such as NATO, turkey and gulf countries. All these parts participating in the war in

Syria, flooding Syria with weapons, cash, equipment, and foreign trainers and fighters, and still the human rights organizations in Syria framing the mainstream conception of a “civil war”, which is NOT, but this narrative is serving the foreign policy of the U.S and western countries and give them a big excuse to intervene and create their basics for their future interests.

“Nowhere is this complex more evident than with the United States-led foreign policy towards Syria. By framing the Syrian Conflict (2011 to present) as a “civil war”, both western media and human rights organizations did their part in propping-up an important western foreign policy narrative. Inaccurate and distorted, this narrative has helped shield the US-led clandestine proxy war that has been allowed to carry on almost unimpeded below the surface narrative of western public perception. For mainstream US audiences, if truly known, the reality of Syria might be too much to bear – a US-backed guerrilla war where Washington and Ankara, along with NATO and Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) allies, flooding Turkey and Syria with weapons, cash, equipment, social media teams, military trainers and foreign fighters from as far away as Pakistan. When analysed from this wider perspective, very little is ‘civil’ about the Syrian Conflict.” (Patrick Henningsen, Global research, 2016).

Human Rights industry Facade

International humanitarian organizations start leading the international progressing political movements in the 21th century. Multi-billion dollar as fund raising campaign, international political corporations and mapping a new political agenda, all of that under the official guise of charity organizations, which in reality have a direct links to the hart of military and war decision makers in NATO and the U.S, as NGOs such as Amnesty international and HRW /Human rights watch/ are working to serve the public relation outlets for these big powers in the world.

“What was once a 20th century adjunct to an emerging international progressive movement has since mushroomed into a 21st century multi-billion dollar, internationalised ‘third sector’ concern – underwritten by some of the world’s leading transnational corporations. This impressive labyrinth is led by organizations like Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch (HRW), and the Worldwide Human Rights Movement (FIDH). Each of these organisations has well-developed links leading directly into central governments, and perhaps more surprisingly, links leading straight into the heart of the military industrial complex. Safely cloaked under the official guise of ‘charity organisation’, many of these entities push a political agenda and effectively serve as public relations outlets for US and NATO forward military planning. (Patrick Henningsen, Global research, 2016).

For fully understanding the geopolitical and international influence that international organizations have, we should have a look at the common thread between these international humanitarian organizations and the Think Tanks foundations.

Think tanks foundations as Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Brookings Institute, Heritage Foundation, American Enterprise Institute (AEI), and Foreign Policy Initiative ([the heir apparent to PNAC](#)), are playing almost the same role of NGOs in supporting the foreign policies of the western countries, as they serve as an official academic-like support structure for managing policy planning and rolling out grant strategies and big ideas conforming the western powers strategies and political views.

Both, think tanks and the international charitable organizations have the same source of fund, the thing that forms the ring connecting western governments, NGOs and charities.

“Working behind the public-facing human rights industrial complex is another key component which helps set the geopolitical agenda. Leading western governmental efforts are the White House and the US State Department. Behind the political facade, however, is where the real work takes place; a myriad of think tanks, which serve as an unofficial academic-like support structure for managing policy planning, [rolling out grand strategies and other big ideas](#). Some recognisable names in this industry are the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Brookings Institute, Heritage Foundation, American Enterprise Institute (AEI), and Foreign Policy Initiative ([the heir apparent to PNAC](#)). These think tanks and foundations are also referred to as ‘policy mills’ because of their ability to churn-out volumes of policy ‘white papers’, surveys and strategic studies which are then disseminated through various industry journals and at functions, conferences and events in Washington DC and New York City. Certain think tanks, [like the Committee for Peace and Security in the Gulf](#), were set-up in the 1990’s to push through specific foreign policy objectives – like kick-starting the war in Iraq. Where you find a war, you most certainly will find a think tank advocating behind it.” (Patrick Henningsen, Global research, 2016).

Wall Street Billionaire George Soros is a basic donor and contributor of annual fund raising to the international humanitarian organizations as HRW. FIDH with 178 human rights organizations as well receive funds from the US states department. Thus, one can argue that, any output or message revealed by these international charitable organization would certainly conform the western foreign policy and strategy.

“To find the common thread between think tanks, foundations and human rights charities, one needs only to follow the money.

Many of these entities receive large portions of their funding from the same sources – transnational corporations. One large contributor of annual funding for human rights organisations, including HRW, is Wall Street billionaire George Soros, through his NGO the Open Society Institute. Other human rights organisations like FIDH, which draw together some 178 organizations from 120 countries, receives funding from the US State Department by way of the National Endowment for Democracy (NED). Here we have a direct financial link, which forms a ring connecting western governments, NGOs and charities.

One can argue, and successfully, that this nexus ensures that the output, ideas and marketing messages of each leg of a human rights campaign conforms to western foreign policy language and objectives. (Patrick Henningsen, Global research, 2016). The strong connection between the international NGOs and the western powers is no secret any more, and maybe the time for NATO or the U.S of using the international humanitarian organizations to reveal their political views maybe gone.

Now, the U.S could handle the operation of these international humanitarian organizations directly by employing its ex-employees like Suzanne Nossel, who was working as Deputy Assistant Secretary for International Organisations at the US State Department, in a senior position in one of the biggest human rights organizations like Amnesty international.

“That passage, taken in the context of the Syrian conflict, reveals a stark picture of how Washington really works. It was written by Suzanne Nossel, one of Washington’s most high-profile humanitarian advocates who managed to transition seamlessly from her position as Deputy Assistant Secretary for International Organisations at the US State Department – directly into an executive director position at Amnesty International USA in 2012. Prior to the State Dept., Nossel was also served as chief operating officer for Human Rights Watch, vice president of strategy and operations at the Wall Street Journal and a media and communications

consultant to CFR founding corporate member, law firm McKinsey & Company. (Patrick Henningsen, Global research, 2016).

Through such strong link between U.S administration and the top humanitarian organization, Nossel would be a key bridge helping to send the foreign policy of the U.S through her position in Amnesty International organization, and this what happened in many Middle East countries as Syria and Libya.

“Here we see a powerful public relations résumé, combined with established links to Washington’s foreign policy core, and at a time where multiple Middle Eastern nations states, like Libya and Syria, were being forced into submission under the yoke of US-led international pressure. Projecting Washington’s preferred narrative is paramount in this multilateral effort and Nossel would be a key bridge in helping to project US foreign policy messaging internationally through top tier NGO Amnesty.” (Patrick Henningsen, Global research, 2016).

Another phase of Amnesty International where the American leading is apparent in this organization, where Amnesty international launches digital campaign against Russian presence in Syria.

“NO MORE EXCUSES”

“Russia: Stop Arms Transfer to Syria!”

By these slogans, companied with rallies in Nepal, Amnesty human right organization tries to sell a geopolitical narrative about the Russian activity in Syria.

These anti-Russia events and campaign reflects the American foreign policy in Syria, and have nothing to do with human rights works, but aiming to harm Russian reputation and isolate Russia politically.

“Around this time, Amnesty USA launched a new PR campaign aimed at millennials and selling the following geopolitical narrative: “NO MORE EXCUSES: Russia has vetoed two UN Security Council resolutions while continually supplying arms, causing the violence to worsen.”

This digital and print campaign was also backed by rallies and other live events used to promote their anti-Russia and Anti-Syria PR effort. At one event in 2012, young school children in Nepal could be seen holding up signs that read, “Russia: Stop Arms Transfer to Syria!” When you consider its mirror reflection of foreign policy lines emanating from the US State Dept., it’s easy to see how this catchy slogan had little if anything to do with human rights, but could easily be viewed as trying to isolate both

the Russian and Syrian governments geopolitically.” (Patrick Henningsen, Global research, 2016).

Once more in 2012, Amnesty international tried to pose an ideological control through backing up the American foreign policy decision with morals and humanitarian intentions, when it ran a national campaign as a kind of support to the NATO in Afghanistan. This campaign launched with images of Afghani girls with a slogan “NATO, Keep the progress going”. And, hand in hand with western media, as it was also polishing the image of NATO military operations in Afghanistan, calling it as “ the first feminist war. In this campaign by Amnesty international, which ran together with governmental sectors as, Pentagon, the mainstreaming American media, the Amnesty international could lose its credibility and neutrality, especially when this campaign is trying to manipulate the public opinion regarding the sever military operations led by NATO and the U.S.

“In 2012, Amnesty International USA ran a national billboard campaign with images depicting Afghan women and girls, accompanied by the slogan: “NATO: Keep the Progress Going.” Not surprisingly, at this same moment, western media were referring to NATO’s military operation in Afghanistan as “[the first feminist war](#).” In its totality, this is one example of near perfect streamlined marketing campaign, which tied together all branches of the interventionist network – the US State Department, the Pentagon, the mainstream media and Amnesty International. This cynical attempt to manipulate public opinion by Amnesty International, on behalf of the Pentagon and Brussels, could be traced back to one Amnesty patron, former US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, who in the 1990’s, [famously remarked](#), “We think the price is worth it,” referring to the death of a half million Iraqi children as a result of crippling US economic sanctions.”(Patrick Henningsen, Global research, 2016).

The western countries concern about geopolitical changes and interests with other strong political or economical partners, made their concern less with human rights situation. Even if the new geopolitical collation joins countries with human rights violation record, then, this human rights violation record will be ignored in front of the billions and the influence of the heavy scale of money. This example was exposed when Wikileaks In June 2015 got information about a deal between the UK and the Saudi Arabia to exchange back up to be both elected to have chairs among the 47

members of the UNHRC /UN Human Rights Watch council. The UK was facilitating this deal as part of quid pro quo arrangement with Saudi Arabia, ignoring the human rights violation records of this country.

“It’s worth noting here, that despite its own hotly contested human rights record, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia was somehow managed to get elected to the UN’s prestigious Human Rights Council (UNHRC). Evidence suggests that this appointment was facilitated in part by British officials as part of a larger quid pro quo arrangement. According to classified Saudi foreign ministry files that were passed to Wikileaks in June 2015, and translated by Geneva-based UN Watch and revealed how UK initiated the secret negotiations by asking Saudi Arabia for its support. Eventually, both countries were elected to the 47-member state UNHRC. The following passage from the leaked cables reveals how a clear deal was struck: The ministry might find it an opportunity to exchange support with the United Kingdom, where the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia would support the candidacy of the United Kingdom to the membership of the council for the period 2014-2015 in exchange for the support of the United Kingdom to the candidacy of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.” (Patrick Henningsen, Global research, 2016).

It was not a surprise to see the UK asking for the mutual back up in the UNHRC when another files passed by Wikileaks revealed a Saudi transfer of 100,1000\$ spent on the nomination campaign for the kingdom for the membership of the Human rights council. In addition, Saudi Arabia also pledged 1 Million \$ to UNHRC prior winning the seat.

“According to The Guardian another cable revealed a Saudi Arabia transfer of \$100,000 for “expenditures resulting from the campaign to nominate the Kingdom for membership of the human rights council for the period 2014-2016”. At the time of their report, no one knows how this money was spent.”

“In addition, it was later shown that Saudi Arabia pledged \$1 million to UNHRC prior to winning the its seat. Then rather amazingly (or not), in the fall of 2015, the UN appointed Saudi as Chair of the UNHRC.” (Patrick Henningsen, Global research, 2016).

NGOs’ effectiveness and humanitarian power

Despite of the sceptic relations between the big western powers and the Humanitarian organizations working in conflict areas, and beside the big question marks over the

politicized huge fund from these western countries to the NGOs. Still we can't avoid the heroic role these humanitarian organizations play in protecting the human rights. Still we have to consider the lives these NGOs are saving by bringing livelihood and aids to them. Beside that, we got to know the new independence strategies that humanitarian organizations employ in order to be free of the western political and economic control.

When studying the effectiveness of humanitarian actions on the ground, we have to understand the role of this humanitarian actors or actions in changing the place they are working in, or we have to understand the influence these humanitarian actions take place in the conflict or crises area. Humanitarian activities through the form of Humanitarian organizations are working in places where human rights are violated and the people are suffering of hunger and lack of safety. In such fragile atmosphere, the humanitarian organizations try to quell the conflicts and play in a resiliency way with all actors to transfer the humanitarian law and limitation to them.

“Understanding soft power, understanding how organizations frame soft power, and understanding why soft power is effective in gaining action for humanitarian support” (Humanitarian Frames and Humanitarian Soft Power in Darfur. Stephen Matthew Wisniew. P 66).

The important role of the humanitarian organizations working on the ground is derived from their being as a phase of the international humanitarian law. They remain vigilant to protect the human rights law not to be abused, and to operate effectively in a place where the international human law is violated. Humanitarian organizations apparently are the first witness on the violations of the humanitarian law and take the task of recording the genocide or any act against the human law. “Humanitarian organisations inform their activity through International law governing the rules on how they operate. These organizations are some of the first to witness humanitarian crises and indicators of genocide and other acts against humanity.” (Humanitarian frames and humanitarian soft power in Darfur: Advocacy frames in a humanitarian crises. Stephen Mathew Wisniew. P 3).

The presence of the humanitarian soft power is not derived from its being represented the international humanitarian law, this powers derived as well by the support these

international organizations get by international Donors. While these international humanitarian organizations show their effectiveness through their humanitarian activity, this automatically encourage the sectors interested in humanitarian work to support these organizations, and at the same time sharing in developing these humanitarian organizations and the humanitarian work at the same time.

“Developing humanitarian objectives that may thwart and/or assuage mass atrocities and crimes against humanity serves to define humanitarian activity in Darfur as legitimate and consistent with applicable international laws. Humanitarian soft power may be used in connecting with potential donors and promoting humanitarian actions. The message of the humanitarian organizations frames ideally will work to encourage potential donors to support the need for humanitarian activity. The medium and the message together convey support using already established soft power presence of the humanitarian organization.” (Humanitarian frames and humanitarian soft power in Darfur: Advocacy frames in a humanitarian crisis. Stephen Mathew Wisniew. P 3).

Humanitarian Organizations are using the strategy of soft power as well. This strategy explains how to have the ability to effect others through using your possible means in order to be able to form your agenda and then obtain the needed outcomes you seek.

” According to Joseph S. Nye, Jr., political theorist at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, soft power is “the ability to affect others through the co-optive means of framing the agenda, persuading, and eliciting positive attraction in order to obtain preferred outcomes.” (Humanitarian frames and humanitarian soft power in Darfur: Advocacy frames in a humanitarian crisis. Stephen Mathew Wisniew. P 67).

This kind of strategy used by the humanitarian organizations working in Darfur. For example, the humanitarian organizations in Darfur made successfully an advocacy through the newspaper against china arming and funding Sudanese army. This advocacy called” The Genocide Olympic”, as china was preparing to host the Olympic games in 2007. Humanitarian organizations used this effective message through the written media to draw the attention of the world about the Genocide in Darfur and the struggle in Sudan in general.

“Humanitarian organizations are assumed to use soft power strategies. Human Rights

First successful campaign against China's arms funding to Sudan, in which through the advocacy of op-eds to newspapers in 2007 called "The Genocide Olympics", and Mia Farrow's work, helped to influence Steven Spielberg to pull out of his commitment to China's hosting of the Olympics. (Hamilton, 2011, 138-149). This example illustrates a way in which soft power strategy and framing coincide to create behaviour outcomes." (Humanitarian frames and humanitarian soft power in Darfur: Advocacy frames in a humanitarian crisis. Stephen Mathew Wisniew. P 19).

Humanitarian organizations in general save no efforts working on replacing the use of hard power solution with a soft power solution. The effectiveness of the NGOs and humanitarian action lies in responding to the situation in a conflict area preventing the political powers from posing their military solution to end this crises or conflict mass. Despite of NGOs accepting a governmental cooperation and assistant implementing their humanitarian solution instead of giving the access to the military intervention as a solution, but, still they don't want to seem like governmental instrument.

NGOs consider themselves as third party actor and independent, the thing which gives keep them neutral and credible, and help them to gain sustainability to conform the humanitarian work.

"NGOs might encourage soft power application over the hard power options and effectively add their humanitarian goals within that framework, excluding the military option or hard power portion of that framework. NGOs seem to avoid the term soft power because they want to remain "third party" and independent, not wanting to seem to collaborate in the political or governmental objectives. NGOs may not like to think that they are considered an apparatus or instrument of soft power of governments; however, when it assists government soft power objectives, they do in fact become accomplices in governmental soft power." (Humanitarian frames and humanitarian soft power in Darfur: Advocacy frames in a humanitarian crisis. Stephen Mathew Wisniew. P 82).

The effectiveness of NGOs will not be harmed, even if these humanitarian organizations accept the governmental assistant and help, as the NGOs are able to perform their humanitarian actions according to the humanitarian standards and values that are a red line in the humanitarian work. NGOs don't allow their donors or any other align to reshape the humanitarian messages away from the humanitarian values, as these NGOs through their loyalty to the humanitarian value and messages

could have the quiet diplomacy, where they can generate humanitarian and political agenda and at the same time use the ethical and humanitarian morals.

“An NGO’s ability to perform the actions as their values in action, demonstrates a soft power quality from their stakeholders (Nye, 2011, p. 92). Because NGOs are considered and framed as credible, they have the soft power quality of “legitimacy” (Nye, 2011, p.93), do not coerce donors, and align themselves with their messages of “attraction, trust, and persuasion” (Nye, 2011, p. 93); their messages ultimately reinforce their soft power. Because NGOs are able in their messages to have a “quiet diplomacy” (Ozkan & Akgun, 2010), generate a uniting agenda with both humanitarian and political actions, and use moral and ethical convincing messages (Thieren, 2007, p. 220), they create soft power. (Humanitarian frames and humanitarian soft power in Darfur: Advocacy frames in a humanitarian crisis. Stephen Mathew Wisniew. P 82).

Dechaine mentions that, humanitarian morality and the political influence are not neutral. But, still a humanitarian organization such MSF doesn’t find its existence away from the humanitarian principles. It’s hard to associate with humanitarian morality and political influence, but for a humanitarian organization, it should be based upon the principles of humanitarian values. “Dechaine suggests that the concepts of “humanitarian morality” and “political influence” are not neutral” (Dechaine, 2002, p.358) and that in general MSF has difficulty in “humanitarian and political action” (Dechaine, 2002, p.359). MSF’s dignified exit strategy hinged on the idea that they could exit based upon principles and soft power, and explaining their rationale in detail was unnecessary because these principles were intrinsically associated with MSF.” (Humanitarian frames and humanitarian soft power in Darfur: Advocacy frames in a humanitarian crisis. Stephen Mathew Wisniew. P 7).

Bringing relief

There is no doubt about the humanitarian role, which the humanitarian organizations play in the area of crises. Beside their activities in protecting the human rights, they implement big humanitarian aid projects to decrease the suffering of refugees or displaced people due of the lack of living sources, as food, water, shelter etc. As Yousef- the CEO of TRUST organization, that work in monitoring and evaluation field in Syria and turkey – he mentioned through the interview with him the role of

NGOs in helping the people in need in Syria due the horrible conflict there. Yousef during the interview with him, he highlighted the role of NGOs in decreasing the outcomes of crises on the newly displaced people, as they left their origin area fleeing the war, leaving with nothing but their lives. “Yousef: Generally speaking, the impact of the projects by the NGOs is positive, as you know most of the IDPs inside Syria are poor. They moved from one place to another and they left every thing behind, and they start their lives in a new laces without nothing, some of them don’t have even clothes. They receive food, bread, NFI by these NGOs”. (Yousef interview. P, 1).

Many humanitarian organizations responded to the crises in Syria. This response came a result to the catastrophic situation in this country affected by the on-going war, and to the harm and destruction in all life sectors in Syria. Samaritans, purse, is a humanitarian organization working on the ground in Syria beside other NGOs. Samaritan Purse with other NGOs are implementing humanitarian projects in Sanjar camp, north of Aleppo, to meet the needs of refugees and IDPs / displaced people/.

Health, Education, WASH, Food security, all these projects are implemented by these humanitarian organization show the strong need of humanitarian assistant, and show the important role of these humanitarian organization in decreasing the suffering of refugees by bringing relief and humanitarian services.

“Research indicated that all camps in Sanjar were served equally. Assistance in the form of around 1969 stoves and 1000 kg of fuel for heating was distributed over a period of 4 months; with 250kg of fuel distributed per month.. Currently, there is a veterinarian project being prepared to help the IDPs with their livestock. It was identified that there is a person in charge at each camp for facilitating the work of organizations, which makes the process of providing humanitarian assistance easier. In the last 6 months, (11 local council members) indicated that their camps received heaters and stoves from Mercy Corps; 4 local council members mentioned IDPs received food baskets from Hand in Hand organization (Yad bi Yad) and Unions of Syrians Abroad and two local council members mentioned health kits from IHH Humanitarian Relief Foundation and NFIs have been distributed by Khair foundation. on Rasm Al Abed camp. However, it was noticed that the local council in Al Khayriya Al Kobra camp cluster mentioned the most number of aid items

received; 5 food baskets from local NGOs like Hand in Hand, Union of Syrians Abroad, Elaf foundation, Sakan and Zaytuna foundations, meat from Mercy Corps and Emergency Kits from Salam Al Khair foundation. This is an indication that this camp cluster received the most humanitarian assistance.” (SANJAR CAMPS NEEDS ASSESSMENT Samaritan’s Purse March 31, 2017).

The success Relief projects implemented by NGOs in Syria depend on the good connection with community they are serving. NGOs in Syria plan for sustainability and effectiveness for their humanitarian projects, and these humanitarian organizations know that this sustainability would not be real unless it got the trust and credibility of the local community. Its very important for the humanitarian organizations to involve the local community in the humanitarian projects they conduct in the area of crises. Global Communities, the humanitarian organization was careful about community involvement and community leading the humanitarian work when implementing the “Winter agricultural inputs” project in Aleppo city.

Involving community and let them lead the humanitarian projects is the key of success and sustainability of the humanitarian organization on the ground.

Through the group discussion conducted by TRUST team with beneficiaries of the Winter agricultural Inputs project implemented by Global communities, the team of the organization was sure to involve the community by let them criticize the steps of the project and collect their notes, beside asking about their satisfaction of the implementation of this project.

“ Trust team: How satisfied were you with, the selection criteria, the selection process, the distribution process, and the quality of the seeds and agricultural items?

Beneficiaries: We are satisfied about the selection of the deserved people and about the distribution process but some items were not of a good quality. For example, the wheat wasn’t of a suitable quality and the germination percentage was little, but as for the remaining items, they are good”(Focus group discussion, Winter agricultural inputs project.p3). Secondary data.

Influence of NGOs

The high level of human rights` respect by the humanitarian organization, beside the big efforts the humanitarian organizations perform in monitoring the crises and reducing the human rights abuse, all of that make the humanitarian

organizations a kind of power. So, the government or hegemony sees that humanitarian organizations are useful, as they exercise a kind of control or smooth power in preventing the genocide or human rights violation in a place of tension. Both, governmental side and the humanitarian organizations have the same interest in addressing the crises and prevent all kinds of human rights abuse, in order to make the place of crises stable and those who perpetrate a human violation are compelled.

“In light of these possibilities, let us reiterate that what we are proposing here, as mentioned in our introduction, is human rights Panopticon as a mode-of-analysis for understanding the alignment of interests when addressing the prevention of genocide. In such a context, hegemony has found human rights NGOs useful because the latter perform a surveillance function, compelling those who would perpetrate genocide to ‘not do what they otherwise would do’. Thus, in such instances the human rights panopticon functions as a lighter, cheaper and more rapid form of power exercised by hegemony. Yet we recognize the tension which exists between human rights NGOs and hegemony. While both human rights NGOs and hegemony will have an interest in the prevention of genocide, and the assistance of human rights NGOs provides hegemony with a contextual advantage in such situations, in other contexts the interests of human rights NGOs and hegemony will diverge.” (NGOs and Monitoring Genocide: The Benefits and Limits to Human Rights Panopticism. Brent J. Steele. Jacques L. Amoureux. P, 411).

The NGOs adherence to the humanitarian values, and the protection of human rights, gave them the credibility and power to criticize all kinds of human rights violation, including that comes from the American agents. The humanitarian organizations were conducting interviews with victims of human rights abuse, and made visits to the groups and personnel where the atrocities occurred, to gather information and then form their reports about all of that.

In any case, despite of humanitarian organizations critics to the governmental agents human right violation, these governmental or states agents declare on public their support and respect to the humanitarian organization. One cited example of this is when Richard Boucher of the US department of state replied a question about

Amnesty international critic report about the US human rights practices in Abu Ghraib. Richard in his reply spoke about the cooperation and information sharing with NGOs, and he mentioned that US takes Amnesty International reports seriously, and they will work on investigate the abuse took place in Abu Ghraib and carry out punishment. Through this mentioned example, we can see the tangible effectiveness and the direct influence of the humanitarian organizations in protecting the human rights law, and at the same time non can avoid the humanitarian abuse reports, even the big western powers, while these abuse reports ashamed the American government to open an investigation about what happened in Abu Ghuraib.

“Nevertheless, even in such instances where human rights NGOs have criticized hegemonic states’ human rights practices, those states’ agents have been careful to declare their support for NGOs’ role as independent and credible evaluators of human rights practices. Thus, for example, in response to a media question regarding an AI report quite critical of United States’ human rights practices, Richard Boucher of the US Department of State alluded to US cooperation through information sharing with human rights NGOs and US recognition of human rights NGOs as legitimate actors: ‘We work with Amnesty International. We listen to Amnesty International. We have close ties. We talk to them all the time, share information. That being said, we don’t necessarily agree with their views. We have recognized the abuses that took place at Abu Ghraib. There is a firm US process underway to identify those responsible and carry out punishment. ... [L]et me say we do take Amnesty’s reports seriously. We look at what they say. We look at specific cases they raise and make sure that we are doing what we can for the people who might be hurt by harmful practices around the world’. (NGOs and Monitoring Genocide: The Benefits and Limits to Human Rights Panopticism. Brent J. Steele. Jacques L. Amoureux. P, 410- 411).

It is not necessary for NGOs to be in the area when abuses committed. NGOs developed a surveillance and effective tactic to monitor and control human rights abuses in the area of human rights violation. As, it is not necessary for NGOs to be exist in the area of human rights violation, but to make the victim of human rights abuse is the instrument of surveillance and humanitarian discipline. NGOs worked on distributing video cameras to human rights abuse victims and trained them on how to use it and record these human rights abuses, and then report it to the human rights

organizations working in corporation with them. This tactic by the NGOs is very affective to monitor the human rights abuse actions committed by abusers or genociders, as it will be very hard for those abusers to know who is reporting their activities, and it will be hard to detect the individuals recording these abuses.

Peter Gabriel explained the benefit of the video camera tactics when he spoke about how important when the victim becomes a witness, and he can watch and report the abusers activities from the “ scene of the crime”, and those abusers will not be able to be hidden any longer.

“Just as panoptic surveillance is generally effective when the Panopticon remains out of the subject’s view, NGOs do not have to be in the area when the abuses are committed, since the basis for their reports comes from the witnesses who are in the area of human rights abuse. Individuals in trouble (and groups of individuals such as indigenous NGOs) are the eyewitnesses of genocide. NGOs collate this information into reports, and surveillance works to discipline genocidaires because they do not know who will report on their activities. NGOs collect reports even without being at the ‘scene of the crime’ .”(NGOs and Monitoring Genocide: The Benefits and Limits to Human Rights Panopticism. Brent J. Steele. Jacque L. Amoureux. P, 412).

“NGOs have also, moreover, been innovative in gathering evidence through means that are difficult for abuse perpetrators to detect and control. For example, the Lawyers’ Committee for Human Rights distributed video cameras to human rights abuse victims and trained them to ‘record and prove that “they were there and they saw”’. Explaining the benefits of the cameras Peter Gabriel said: ‘now the people can watch, witness and report on those in power. With Witness we are serving notice on governments. We are watching that they can no longer keep their deeds hidden’. (NGOs and Monitoring Genocide: The Benefits and Limits to Human Rights Panopticism. Brent J. Steele. Jacque L. Amoureux. P , 413). Thus, This kind of NGOs` surveillance and abuse monitoring tactic, has enhanced the humanitarian organizations to collect a massive reports of human rights violation. These reports are used by the NGOs for prosecutorial purposes and generate judicial lobbies of international powers with the UN to establish

international tribunals. Indeed, this was successfully occurred, and in many places, where there are human rights abuses such as in Bosnia, Rwanda, Yugoslavia, and Congo. NGOs presented reports about potential perpetrators that their crimes may be exposed and could be brought to the court and punished.

“NGOs perform a third type of surveillance when they formulate and promote reports on human rights abuses for prosecutorial purposes, whether for domestic or international judicial bodies.³⁴ For instance, during the Bosnian genocide human rights NGOs lobbied the US and the United Nations (UN) to establish an International Tribunal, and they have provided evidence to this and many other courts. The evidence has been purposely organized so as to facilitate identification of individual responsibility, tying individuals to particular crimes with evidence.³⁵ Ad hoc tribunals for Yugoslavia (International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia) and Rwanda (International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda), and the referral of cases for Sudan and the Democratic Republic of the Congo to the International Criminal Court (ICC), assure Potential perpetrators that their crimes may be exposed and those they could be punished.” (NGOs and Monitoring Genocide: The Benefits and Limits to Human Rights Panopticism. Brent J. Steele. Jacques L. Amoureux. P, 413).

Conclusion

NGOs Panopticism concept is usefully used to illustrate the humanitarian organizations' strategy to protect the human right law in concert with the global states powers. This corporation between the international humanitarian organizations and the hegemons is in the benefit of depriving the human right abuse and decreasing the future human rights violation. Even, these NGOs are criticizing the hegemons powers activities, but still these powerful states are working on developing and protecting the NGOs work. While, the benefit of humanitarian discipline is for the continuity of these NGOs, and at the same time for the hegemons.

“We use the Panopticon as a metaphor to illustrate how a system of nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) can work in concert with hegemonic

states to decrease future occurrences of serious human rights abuses. Like previous authors who use the concept of the Panopticon in this context, we see the current global human rights regime connected to, and benefiting, current hegemonic power structures. But unlike previous authors we find normative benefits to this Panoptic surveillance, even if such benefits result, and thus cannot be separated from, the power structures in which they develop. We consider why hegemons would promote the activity of NGOs when the latter are often critical of the former's foreign policy Practices." (NGOs and Monitoring Genocide: The Benefits and Limits to Human Rights Panopticism. Brent J. Steele. Jacques L. Amoureux. P, 403). The surveillance and disciplinary system used by the humanitarian organization to protect the human rights with the corporation of governments, is so effective and useful on the international, social, and individual level. While NGOs continue developing and strengthen its accountability and monitoring mechanism through the independent reports they present about the human rights abusers. This accountability and monitoring mechanism creates a kind of threat of punishment in the international tribunals. This threat of punishment will strengthen the control and surveillance structure until it imposes the self-discipline. As for Hedley Bull, the self-policing on the individual or micro level will definitely lead to the disciplined international order.

"As the human rights regime continues to develop and strengthen accountability mechanisms, the threat of punishment may begin to loom larger. Surveillance efforts that collect evidence to be used in judicial fora partially constitute and strengthen a panoptic structure that works to enforce self-discipline. We begin to see how NGOs are most effective when they work in tandem with governmental organisations." (NGOs and Monitoring Genocide: The Benefits and Limits to Human Rights Panopticism. Brent J. Steele. Jacques L. Amoureux. P, 414).

"Finally, there is the 'order-based argument' that surveillance and self-policing on the micro level will lead to a more disciplined those patterns or dispositions of human activity that sustain the elementary or primary goals of social life among mankind as a whole. International order is order among states; but states are simply groupings of men ... underlying the questions we raise about

order among states there are deeper questions, of more enduring importance, about order in the great society of all mankind". (NGOs and Monitoring Genocide: The Benefits and Limits to Human Rights Panopticism. Brent J. Steele. Jacques L. Amoureux. P, 417).

On the other side, it's true that, some hegemonies are performing the human rights law at best, and the governments' Corporation with humanitarian organisations is potential, but, as Patrick Henningsen, at the same time, humanitarian organisations should adopt a geopolitical / not political stance through which this NGOs advocate neutrality and opposition of the destructive western imperialist manipulating policy.

Beside that, unless the conflicts of interests between hegemonies are not fairly and seriously resolved, and unless the relationship between the humanitarian organizations and governments is properly addressed, it could eventually undermine and destroy the reputation of the humanitarian work sector all over the world.

Eventually, if the international community wants a progress and flourishing away from colonialist values and mechanism, it needs to use compassion as an instrument for its policy and humanity before profits. Only then can the reality live up to the rhetoric.

"If the international community is to advance beyond defunct neo-colonialist paradigms, it will need to place compassion ahead of policy, and humanity ahead of profits. Only then can the reality live up to the rhetoric." (Patrick Henningsen, Global research, 2016).

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