



Russell Tribunal on Palestine

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The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation Ltd

MEDIA BRIEFING
RUSSELL TRIBUNAL ON PALESTINE
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Media Briefing for the 4th Session

Of the

Russell Tribunal on Palestine

“US Complicity and UN Failings in Dealing with Israel’s Violations of International Law Toward the Palestinian People”

The Russell Tribunal on Palestine will be holding its fourth and final international session in New York City on Saturday, October 6 and Sunday, October 7, 2012. The New York hearings are part of an international people’s tribunal created in response to the international community’s inaction regarding Israel’s recognized violations of international law.

The tribunal aims to bring attention to the complicity and responsibility of various national, international and corporate actors in the ongoing Israeli occupation of Palestinian territories and the perpetuation of Israel’s impunity under international law.

Although the tribunal has no legal status, like other Russell tribunals on Vietnam, Chile and Iraq, its legitimacy comes from its universality and the strength that it draws from the will of citizens and the support of international personalities who advocate for an end to the Israeli occupation and Israel’s denial of Palestinian rights.

Following the sessions in Barcelona (which focused on EU complicity), London (on corporate complicity) and Cape Town (on the crime of apartheid), the New York tribunal will go back to the roots of the conflict and focus on United Nations and United States responsibility in the denial of the Palestinians’ right to self-determination.

During the New York City session, the jury will hear testimony on:

- The Birth of Zionism and its Impact on the Palestinians, Including the United Nations’ Involvement in Palestinian and Israeli Policies Since 1948
- The Role of the United Nations in the Obstruction of Palestinians’ Right to Self- Determination
- The role of the United States in Supporting Violations of Palestinian Rights
- The Role of the United States, NGOs and International Civil Society in Moving Forward
- The Issue of Sociocide from Native Americans to Palestinians

For the full agenda, list of speakers, jurors and details about the methodology of these hearings, please go to <http://www.russelltribunalonpalestine.com> or contact our Press Officer Sherry Wolf at sherrywolf2000@yahoo.com, cell: (773) 991-3877.

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What is the Russell Tribunal on Palestine?

The first Russell Tribunal met in 1967 to investigate US war crimes committed in Vietnam and to adjudicate them on the basis of international law. It was set up by Bertrand Russell, winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1950, and chaired by Jean-Paul Sartre.

Eminent intellectuals, writers and activists such as James Baldwin, Stokely Carmichael, Julio Cortazar Lazaro Cardenas and Simone de Beauvoir took part in the first tribunal's proceedings.

Despite lacking formal judicial status, the tribunal acts as a public awareness forum, highlighting acts of injustice and impunity for violations of international law. The tribunal and its legitimacy does not stem from any government or political party, but its members' prestige, professionalism and commitment to human rights.

Today, the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation is sponsoring the establishment of the Russell Tribunal on Palestine. This tribunal was formed to discuss errors, omissions and complicity of third parties including nations, organizations and corporations that allow Israel's occupation of the territories and its impunity in human rights abuses.

It comprises eminent people from a wide range of countries, including Israel-Palestine, the United States, Britain and South Africa.

Its international support committee features over 100 diverse personalities, such as the former United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

Among others is Mohammed Bedjaoui, ex-president of the International Court of Justice, public intellectual Noam Chomsky, filmmaker Ken Loach, Pulitzer Prize-winning author Alice Walker and civil rights leader Angela Davis.



Photo from the first convening of the Russell Tribunal.

Organising Committee K. Coates | P. Galand | S. Hessel | M-F. Kahn | R. Kissous | F. Maspero | P. Pierson-Mathy | B. Ravenel | B. Senouci
Secretariat / information Brussels | Forum Nord Sud | 115, rue Stévin | B | 1000 Brussels | Belgium | Tel. fax + 32 (0)2 231 01 74 |
 Paris | T.R.P. | 21 ter Rue Voltaire | 75011 Paris | France | London | The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation | 112 Church Street | Maltok |
 Derbyshire DE4 3BZ UK ■ Email | trp_int@yahoo.com | Bank account | IBAN: BE92 7330 3871 2023 // BIC: KREDBEBB

Why is the tribunal needed?

On July 9, 2004, the International Court of Justice (ICJ) issued a 1,067-page advisory opinion ruling that the wall built by Israel in occupied Palestine was illegal. Eleven days later, the UN General Assembly adopted by an overwhelming majority a resolution that acknowledges the ICJ opinion.

The resolution called on UN member states to comply with their legal obligations as mentioned in the opinion. It obliged them not to render aid or assistance for the wall's construction or to recognize Israel's illegal construction of what is known as the "separation barrier" or "apartheid wall."

The resolution also required member states to ensure Israel's compliance with obligations under international humanitarian law and the right of self-determination of the Palestinian people.

But all the states that voted for the resolution were then content to only issue mere condemnations and policy statements. This allowed Israel to continue its policy of land confiscation, creating illegal settlements in occupied territory, thus violating Palestinians' rights.

In December 2008, the Israeli Defense Forces launched a war on the Gaza Strip, which was already reeling under a brutal siege. The war that killed more than 1,400 people rendered Israel's contempt for international law more apparent than ever.

It highlighted the responsibility and complicity of other countries—especially the United States and the countries of the European Union—in the injustices suffered by the Palestinian people.

Yet as the condemnations have not been accompanied by sanctions or changes in financing of any kind, Israel enjoys the tacit support of the international community.

This is the context that led to the establishment of the Russell Tribunal on Palestine.

It represents a civil initiative that aims to promote international law as the key factor applicable to the conflict between Israel and Palestine.

The tribunal also seeks to mobilize international public opinion so the United Nations and member states can be persuaded to act to end Israel's impunity and build a lasting and just peace.

The tribunal was not only established to focus on Israel's manifest responsibility. It also intends to show the complicity of third-party states, corporations and international bodies whose passive stance or active support allows Israel to continue violating human rights.

How does the Tribunal operate?

The Russell Tribunal on Palestine was established in response to a call by the late Ken Coates, chair of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, Nurit Peled, the Israeli winner of the Sakharov Prize for freedom of speech and Leila Shahid, the EU general delegate for Palestine.

Responsibility for organizing the Russell Tribunal on Palestine lies with **the International Organizing Committee**.

Its members are: Pierre Galand, Stéphane Hessel, Marcel-Francis Kahn, Robert Kissous, François Maspero, Paulette Pierson-Mathy, Bernard Ravenel and Brahim Senouci.

The **International Support Committee** is comprised of individuals with an international reputation from the academic, scientific, cultural and political fields, but with no current political mandate (see annex).

The **National Support Committees** contribute to fundraising and ensure popular mobilization and media coverage. They may also assume responsibility for organizing a session in their country or help to arrange others.

National Support Committees have been set up in the United States, France, Belgium, the United Kingdom, Ireland, Switzerland, Portugal, Germany, Italy, Spain and Catalonia.

Such committees are also being established in the Netherlands, Austria, Algeria, Lebanon, India and Chile.

The US National Support Committee will host the fourth and final session of the Russell Tribunal on Palestine in New York City, October 6–7, 2012.

The US committee brings together individuals who are academics, lawyers, journalists, activists, and writers specialized in human rights as well as US organizations involved in defending human rights and international law in Palestine.

Tribunal sessions are prepared with assistance from dozens of experts and academics from different countries. Experts present arguments at the hearings. Witnesses testify on relevant aspects of the issues addressed.

A jury made up of eminent personalities from the legal, academic, scientific, cultural or political fields will be present at each session.

The tribunal is the core element of the project.

Once the hearings end after the experts' reports and witnesses' statements, the jury will deliberate and present its conclusions.

New York City Session, October 6-7, 2012

The Russell Tribunal on Palestine has been planned as a decentralized initiative involves sessions in different cities between 2010 and 2012.

In 2010, the Tribunal met in [Barcelona](#) to address EU complicity in Israel's violations of International Law and in [London](#) to discuss Corporate Complicity.

In 2011, the 3rd session took place in Cape Town, South Africa and dealt with the applicability of the Crime of Apartheid in regards to the State of Israel.

The fourth and final international session will take place in **New York City, October 6–7, 2012**.

It will examine United Nations and United States' complicity in Israel's violations of international human rights and international humanitarian law.

The content of the New York session will be prepared with help from many prominent legal experts in international and corporate law.

These academics are from Britain, the United States, France, Belgium, Ireland, the Netherlands, Israel and Palestine.



José Sánchez - imagenaccion.org

1st session in
Barcelona, Spain



2nd session in
London, United
Kingdom

3rd Session in Cape Town, South Africa

Organising Committee K. Coates | P. Galand | S. Hessel | M-F. Kahn | R. Kissous | F. Maspero | P. Pierson-Mathy | B. Ravenel | B. Senouci
Secretariat / information Brussels | Forum Nord Sud | 115, rue Stévin | B | 1000 Brussels | Belgium | Tel. fax + 32 (0)2 231 01 74 |
 Paris | T.R.P. | 21 ter Rue Voltaire | 75011 Paris | France | London | The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation | 112 Church Street | Maltock |
 Derbyshire DE4 3BZ UK ■ Email | trp_int@yahoo.com | Bank account | IBAN: BE92 7330 3871 2023 // BIC: KREDBEBB

The **jury** is comprised of eleven people of internationally recognized moral or legal prestige:

Alice Walker, the African American author and poet who has written on race and gender and is best known for her Pulitzer Prize-winning novel *The Color Purple*. In 2003, on International Women's Day, she was arrested with others for crossing a police line during a protest outside the White House. Walker was among more than 5,000 activists—linked with the organizations Code Pink and Women for Peace—who marched from Malcolm X Park in Washington. Walker says of the incident: "I was with other women who believe that the women and children of Iraq are just as dear as the women and children in our families, and that, in fact, we are one family. And so it would have felt to me that we were going over to actually bomb ourselves." Walker wrote about the experience in her essay "We Are the Ones We Have Been Waiting For."

Michael Mansfield QC, barrister and president of the Haldane Society of socialist lawyers in Britain. Mansfield is also a socialist, republican and self-described "radical lawyer." He has participated in court cases involving accused IRA bombers, the Bloody Sunday killings, and the deaths of Jean Charles de Menezes and Diana, Princess of Wales.

John Dugard is a South African international law professor and former special Rapporteur on Human Rights in the Palestinian territories. He has served as judge ad hoc on the International Court of Justice and as a special rapporteur for the former UN Commission on Human Rights and the International Law Commission. He is a serving member of the Institut de Droit International. He now practices in the Netherlands, with public international law as his specialty.

Ronald Kasrils, South African writer, politician and activist. Kasrils was earlier minister for South African intelligence services and a member of the national executive committee of the African National Congress. He also served on the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party.

Mairead Corrigan Maguire is the former Nobel Peace Laureate from Northern Ireland and an Irish peace activist. She co-founded the Community of Peace People with Betty Williams, an organization that attempts to encourage a peaceful resolution of the Troubles in Northern Ireland. Both women received the Nobel peace prize. Corrigan was awarded the Pacem in Terris award and is a founding member of the Nobel Woman's Initiative.

Cynthia McKinney is a former US congresswoman and a member of the Green Party. She served six terms as a Democratic Party member of the US House of Representatives. In 2008, the Green Party nominated McKinney for the US presidency. She is the first African American woman to have served for Georgia in the House of Representatives. In 2012, McKinney was awarded the Peace Through Conscience Award from the Munich American Peace Committee. In 2004, during a break from office, McKinney received the Backbone Award by the Backbone Campaign "because she was willing to challenge the Bush administration and called for an investigation into 9-11."

Miguel Angel Estrella is an Argentine pianist who went into exile on 1976 during the National Reorganization Process and was imprisoned and tortured in 1977 by the Civic-military dictatorship of Uruguay. He was freed in 1980. Since 2007 Estrella is the Argentine ambassador to the UNESCO and in 2010 he was part of the program Estudio País Bicentenario broadcasted by the state run Canal Siete.

Stéphane Hessel was born in Berlin, he assumed French nationality in 1937 and was a member of the Resistance during the Second World War, joining General de Gaulle in London. He was deported to the concentration camps Buchenwald and Dora. After the war, Hessel contributed to the writing of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. He is an Ambassador of France and serves on the support committee for the French coordination for the decade of peace culture and non-violence. Since its creation, Hessel has supported the Non-Violence XXI foundation. He is Grand Officer of the French Légion d'Honneur and Grand Cross of the Ordre National du Mérite. Hessel was a member of the consultative National Committee for Human Rights and of the High Counsel for international cooperation. He is the honorary president of the Russell Tribunal on Palestine.

Dennis Banks is a Native American leader, teacher, lecturer, activist and author and is an Anishinaabe born on Leech Lake Indian Reservation in northern Minnesota. He has been a longtime leader of the American Indian Movement, which he cofounded in 1968 with Native Americans in Minneapolis. Banks participated in the 1969–71 occupation of Alcatraz Island, initiated by Indian students from San Francisco of the Red Power movement, and intended to highlight Native American issues and promote Indian sovereignty on their own lands.

Angela Davis is an American political activist, scholar, and author. Davis emerged as a nationally prominent activist and radical in the 1960s as a leader of the Communist Party USA and Black Panther Party, and through her association with the Civil Rights Movement. Prisoner rights have been among her continuing interests; she is the founder of "Critical Resistance," an organization working to abolish the prison-industrial complex. She is a retired professor with the History of Consciousness Department at the University of California, Santa Cruz and is the former director of the university's Feminist Studies department.

Experts and Witnesses

Ilan Pappé is an Israeli historian and activist. He is currently a professor with the College of Social Sciences and International Studies at the University of Exeter in the UK, director of the university's European Centre for Palestine Studies, and co-director of the Exeter Centre for Ethno-Political Studies. He is the author of *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine* (2006), *The Modern Middle East* (2005), *A History of Modern Palestine: One Land, Two Peoples* (2003), and *Britain and the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (1988). He was formerly a leading member of Hadash, and was a candidate on the party list in the 1996 and 1999 Knesset elections. Pappé is one of Israel's New Historians who, since the release of pertinent British and Israeli government documents in the early 1980s, have been rewriting the history of Israel's creation in 1948, and the corresponding expulsion or flight of 700,000 Palestinians.

Peter Hansen has been a Diplomat-in-Residence at the Institute of International Humanitarian Affairs, Fordham University, since 2005. Prior to that, he served as the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency, was the Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs and UN Emergency Relief Coordinator, and held several other prominent positions at the United Nations since 1978. Upon his retirement from the United Nations, Hansen was praised by then-Secretary-General Kofi Anan for his "unflagging energy, commitment and leadership."

Ben White is a freelance journalist, writer, and activist, specializing in Palestine/Israel. He has been visiting the region since 2003 and his articles have been widely published in *The Guardian's Comment is free*, *Al Jazeera*, *Electronic Intifada*, *New Statesman*, *Salon*, *Christian Science Monitor*, and others. His most recent book, *Palestinians in Israel: Segregation, Discrimination and Democracy*, was published in 2012 with a foreword by Member of Knesset Haneen Zoabi. White's first book, *Israeli Apartheid: A Beginner's Guide* (Pluto Press, 2009) received praise from Desmond Tutu, Nur Masalha, and Ghada Karmi. White has given many talks on campuses and at conferences in the UK, US, and Canada.

Huwaida Arraf is a Palestinian American lawyer and human rights advocate. In 2001 Huwaida co-founded the International Solidarity Movement (ISM), which has twice been nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize for its work in the Occupied Palestinian Territory. Huwaida is co-editor of the book *Peace Under Fire: Israel, Palestine, and the International Solidarity Movement*. From 2007–2008, Huwaida taught in a human rights law clinic at Al-Quds University in Jerusalem, the first accredited clinical legal education program in the Arab world. She was one of the initiators and organizers of a delegation of American lawyers to Gaza in February 2009, and co-authored the report on their findings, "Onslaught: Israel's Attack on Gaza and the Rule of Law." Huwaida is the former Chairperson of the Free Gaza Movement. Since August 2008, she has led five successful sea voyages to the Gaza Strip to challenge Israel's crippling closure. Huwaida was also one of the primary organizers of the Gaza Freedom Flotilla and was traveling with it when Israeli forces lethally attacked it on May 31, 2010.

John Quigley is President's Club Professor in Law at the Ohio State University. He is author of *The Statehood of Palestine: International Law in the Middle East Conflict* (2010), and of *The Case for Palestine: An International Law Perspective* (2005). His latest book is *The Six-Day War and Israeli Self-Defense: Questioning the Legal Basis for Preventive War* (forthcoming 2013). Quigley's writings thus range across the major legal issues involved in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. His 2006 book *The Genocide Convention: An International Law Analysis* examines the concept of genocide as a means of curbing major atrocities. He has actively communicated with the International Criminal Court (ICC) on the validity of the Palestine acceptance of ICC jurisdiction.

Vera Gowlland-Debbas is Professor Emeritus, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva (since 2009), and Honorary Visiting Professor, University College London (since 2003). Main publications include: *The Security Council and Issues of Responsibility in International Law*, *Collected Courses of the Hague Academy of International Law 2007* (forthcoming 2012/13); *The Security Council as Enforcer of Human Rights, in Securing Human Rights? Achievements and Challenges of the UN Security Council*, Bardo Fassbender (ed.), *The Collected Courses of the Academy of European Law* (2011); *Revisiting the Role of UN Sanctions in the International Legal System*, Institute of International Public Law and International Relations of Thessaloniki (2010); *National Implementation of United Nations Sanctions: A Comparative Study* (ed.) (2004) and *Collective Responses to Illegal Acts in International Law* (1990, 1991 ASIL Certificate of Merit). Professional activities include counselling governments and private law firms on a range of public international law issues; acted as expert for international organizations, including UNHCR, OHCHR and WHO; Rapporteur for the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. Counsel for the Arab League in the Advisory Opinion on the Legal Consequences of the Construction of a Wall in the Occupied Palestinian Territory before the International Court of Justice.

Susan Akram was born and raised in Lahore, Pakistan, in a multicultural, multiethnic, multilingual household. Her early exposure to the plight of refugees steered her into a legal career in immigration and refugee law. Professor Akram, who teaches in the Boston University Law's Clinical Program, worked for many years as an immigration lawyer before joining the faculty in 1993. She has served as executive director of Boston's Political Asylum/Immigration Representation Project and as directing attorney of the immigration project at Public Counsel, a public interest law firm in Los Angeles. In 1992 she was interim director of the agency overseeing the resettlement of Gulf War Iraqi refugees in Saudi Arabia. Her distinguished research was recognized with a Fulbright Senior Scholar Teaching and Research Award for the 1999–2000 academic year, which she used to research and write recommendations for a durable solution for Palestinian refugees in light of the 1993 Oslo talks, and to teach at the Palestine School of Law at Al-Quds University in East Jerusalem.

Raji Sourani is widely considered the Gaza Strip's foremost human rights attorney and is the recipient of the 1991 John F. Kennedy Human Rights Award. Since 1995, he is the founder and director of the Palestinian Center for Human Rights, a trusted source for those seeking information on human rights abuses within the Palestinian territories, especially within the Gaza Strip. The Center has been recognized for its work through several awards, including Bruno Kreisky Prize for Outstanding Achievements in the Area of Human Rights in 2002 and the International Service Human Rights Award in 2003. Since 2006, Sourani has been a member of the Executive Committee, International Commission of Jurists, Geneva; since 2003 he has been a member of the International Human Rights Commission; since 2000 he has been vice-president of the Federation Internationale des Ligues des Droits de l'Homme, Paris, France; and he is a distinguished member of several other human rights organizations. Sourani, born in Gaza, has been imprisoned for his political activities by the Israeli state and the Palestinian Authority; he was listed as a prisoner of conscience by Amnesty International in 1988.

Diana Buttu is a Palestinian-Canadian lawyer and former spokesperson with the Palestine Liberation Organization. She is best known for her work as a legal adviser and negotiator on peace negotiations between Israeli and Palestinian organizations. Buttu was born in Canada to Palestinian parents. She began her work as a negotiator in 2000, shortly after the outbreak of the Second Palestinian Intifada, as a spokesperson for the Negotiations Support Unit of the Palestine Liberation Organization. The Economist in 2005 termed her part of the closest thing to a Palestinian makeover. Al-Ahram Weekly carried an op-ed piece in 2005 in which she was lauded. Given her public role in promoting the Palestinian cause, she has appeared numerous times in the American news media from TV networks such as Fox News, CNN, and MSNBC to newspapers such as USA Today and other outlets.

Katherine Gallagher is a Senior Staff Attorney at the Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR), where she focuses on holding individuals, including US and foreign government officials, and corporations, including private military contractors, accountable for serious human rights violations. Prior to joining CCR, she worked at the United Nations International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia from 2001–2006. Among other jobs, she has also worked as a legal advisor for the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe in Kosovo and with the Special Court for Sierra Leone in Freetown. Katherine currently serves as a vice-president on the International Board of the International Federation for Human Rights, of which CCR has been a member since 2004. She is currently a member of the editorial committee of the Journal for International Criminal Justice.

Noam Chomsky is a US political theorist and activist, and Institute Professor of Linguistics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Besides his work in linguistics, Chomsky is internationally recognized as one of the most critically engaged public intellectuals alive today. Chomsky has lectured at many universities in the United States and abroad, and is the recipient of numerous honorary degrees and awards. He has written and lectured widely on linguistics, philosophy, intellectual history, contemporary issues, international affairs and US foreign policy. Among his recent books are: *New Horizons in the Study of Language and Mind*; *On Nature and Language*; *Hopes and Prospects*; *Gaza in Crisis*; *How the World Works*; *9-11: Was There an Alternative?*; *Making the Future: Occupations, Interventions, Empire, and Resistance*; *The Science of Language*; and *Peace with Justice*.

David Wildman is the executive secretary for Human Rights and Racial Justice with the United Methodist Church's General Board of Global Ministries. He also relates on behalf of GBGM with grassroots partners in the Middle East and Afghanistan. Wilman visits Afghanistan and the Middle East regularly, and serves on the board of the National Farm Worker Ministry and is active in corporate accountability work with the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility. David helped found United For Peace & Justice in October 2002 and the US Campaign to End Israeli Occupation in 2001 and serves on its Steering Committee. He serves on the World Council of Churches Palestine-Israel Ecumenical Forum Core Group. David co-authored, with Phyllis Bennis, *Ending the US War in Afghanistan: A Primer*.

Phyllis Bennis directs the New Internationalism Project at the Institute for Policy Studies and is a fellow of the Transnational Institute in Amsterdam. She has been a writer, analyst, and activist on Middle East and UN issues for many years. In 2001 she helped found and remains on the steering committee of the US Campaign to End Israeli Occupation. She works closely with the United for Peace and Justice antiwar coalition, and co-chairs the UN-based International Coordinating Network on Palestine. Bennis is the author of eight books: *From Stones to Statehood: The Palestinian Uprising* (1990); *Calling the Shots: How Washington Dominates Today's UN* (2000); *Before & After: US Foreign Policy and the September 11th Crisis* (2003) [US Policy and the War on Terrorism, 2nd ed.]; *Challenging Empire: How People, Governments, and the UN Defy US Power* (2006); *Understanding the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict: A Primer* (2009); *Ending the Iraq War: A Primer* (2009); *Understanding the US-Iran Crisis: A Primer* (2009); *Ending the US War in Afghanistan: A Primer* (2010).

Gianfranco Fattorini is a member of the executive board and a permanent representative at the UN of the Press Emblem Campaign, an international journalists' NGO advocating for the adoption of an international convention for the protection of journalists in armed conflicts. From 1996 to 2006, Fattorini represented *Mouvement contre le racisme et pour l'amitié entre les peuples* (MRAP) at the Commission on Human Rights and he represented MRAP at the negotiations for the adoption of the International Convention against International Organized Crime and the International Convention against corruption at the UN Office in Vienna from 1998 to 2003. Since the establishment of the UN Council on Human Rights in 2006, he's been MRAP's chief of delegation and has been MRAP's co-president since 2011. Among other posts, Fattorini is the co-founder of the Executive Board of Tibetan UN Advocacy in Geneva.

Gustave Massiah is an engineer and economist; he is also a former professor at the Architectural School of Paris-La Villette, a member of the International Council of the World Social Forum (representative of CRID), the former President of CRID (Center of Research and Information on Development, a coalition of 54 French associations for international solidarity), the former vice-president of Attac-France, a founding member of CEDETIM (Center for Research and Initiatives for International Solidarity), and IPAM (Initiatives for Another World). Among his books are: *La crise de l'impérialisme*, 1977, with Samir Amin, *Villes en développement*, 1985, with Jean-Francois Tribillon, and *Une stratégie altermondialiste*, 2011.

Johan Galtung, born in 1930 in Oslo, Norway, is widely recognized as the founder of the academic discipline of peace studies. He has mediated in more than one hundred international conflicts, often successfully, and published more than 150 books, with translations into 33 languages. Early in his career he was an active journalist, and now publishes a weekly column on the TRANSCEND Media Service (www.transcend.org/tms). In 2000, he founded the TRANSCEND Peace University and serves as its Rector. In 2008, he founded the TRANSCEND University Press, you can find out more about Galtung's work at www.transcend.org.

William A. Schabas is professor of international law at Middlesex University in London. He is also professor of international criminal law and human rights at Leiden University, professor of human rights law at the National University of Ireland Galway, chairman of the Irish Centre for Human Rights, and a visiting professor at the Paris School of International Affairs (Sciences-Po). He is the author of more than 20 books and 300 journal articles on such subjects as the abolition of capital punishment, genocide, and the international criminal tribunals. Professor Schabas was a member of the Sierra Leone Truth and Reconciliation Commission. He is president of the Irish Branch of the International Law Association and chair of the Institute for International Criminal Investigation. He is an Officer of the Order of Canada and a member of the Royal Irish Academy and holds several honorary doctorates.

Russell Means was described by the LA Times as one of "the two most famous Indians since Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse." During the 1960s he captured national attention when he led the 71-day armed siege on the sacred grounds of Wounded Knee, a tiny hamlet in the heart of South Dakota's Pine Ridge Reservation. Means negotiated with the White House in 1972, after the BIA takeover. As the first National Director of the American Indian Movement, Means led "The Longest Walk" in 1978 to protest a new tide of anti-Indian legislation, including the forced sterilization of Indian women. In 2010, he shared the stage with Rigoberta Manchú, Nobel Peace Laureate, and Mayan Elders at Naropa University, Boulder, CO. Dr. Means' autobiography, *Where White Men Fear to Tread*, published by St. Martins Press, is currently in its eighteenth printing.

Saleh Hamayel joined the Palestinian national movement in 1968; was imprisoned three times by Israeli authorities without trial; was active in the PLO but was critical of some of Chairman Yasser Arafat's stances since 1971; studied at Cairo University and was active in both the General Union of Palestinian Students and the Egyptian student movement, for which he was repeatedly imprisoned in 1972–73. He has worked as Professor of History and Political Science at Birzeit University since 1981; served as Director of Birzeit's Research Center from 1994–97; was a researcher and visiting professor at various international academic institutions including the French Maison des Sciences de L'Homme and Harvard University. He emphasizes the term "sociocide" in understanding the Israeli policies in the OPT, referring to the pressures of destruction, Judaization, and expulsion imposed on the Palestinian people; spoke out against the militarization of the second Palestinian Intifada in 2000.

Day One: Saturday, 6 October 2012

9.00 AM Doors Open

10.00 AM Introductory Remarks: Pierre Galand and Stephane Hessel

I. Introduction

10.30 AM Ilan Pappé: The Birth of Zionism and its Impact on the Palestinians: From Dispossession to Occupation

11.10 AM Break

11.30 AM Peter Hansen: United Nations' Involvement in Palestine: From Mandate to Present

12.10 PM Ben White: Israeli policies Since 1948

12.40 PM Lunch

2:00 PM Huwaida Arraf: Israel's Violations of International Law

II. The Role of the United Nations in the Obstruction of Palestinians' right to Self Determination

2.30 PM John Quigley: The Establishment of a Palestinian State

3.00 PM Vera Gowlland-Debas: The United Nations: What is the legal responsibility of an Intergovernmental Organization? (Historical perspective)

3.30 PM Break

4.00 PM Vera Gowlland-Debas: The United Nations: What is the legal responsibility of an Intergovernmental Organization? (Current)

4.30 PM Susan Akram: Palestinian Refugees and the United Nations

5.00 PM Raji Sourani : The Case of Gaza

5.30 PM END OF DAY 1

Day Two: Sunday, 7 October 2012

9.00 AM Doors Open

III. The role of the US in supporting Violations of Palestinian Rights

10.00 AM Diana Buttu: The US's Role in Palestine & the Middle East

10.30 AM Katherine Gallagher: UN Vetoes and Military Aid

10.55 AM Break

11.25 AM Noam Chomsky: US-Israel-Palestinians: Retrospect and Prospect

12.00 PM David Wildman: Christian Zionism and the Israel Lobby

12.25 PM Lunch

IV. Ways forward

1.45 PM Phyllis Bennis: US Civil Society and International NGOs

2.10 PM Gianfranco Fattorini: The Human Rights Council

2.35 PM Gus Massiah: International Civil Society

3.00 PM Break

V. Is there a case for sociocide?

3.20 PM Johan Galtung: What is Sociocide?

4.00 PM William Schabas: From Vow to Law: How can Prohibition of Sociocide Become an International Norm?

4.30 PM Russell Means: The Sociocide of the Native Americans

5.00 PM Saleh Hamayel: A Palestinian Sociocide?

5.30 PM Final Remarks

END OF DAY 2

Day Three: Monday, 8 October 2012

10.30 AM Press Conference: Jury will present findings

For the latest news on the Russell Tribunal on Palestine:

www.russelltribunalonpalestine.com/en

New York Session

For general information:

Maryam Zohny

US Coordinator of the RToP-NYC

rtop.nyc@gmail.com

or

Frank Barat

International Coordinator of RToP

russelltribunaluk@gmail.com

00 44 7718998695

For press and communications:

Sherry Wolf, RToP Press Officer

sherrywolf2000@yahoo.com

773-991-3877

Patrons of the Support Committee:

The late Ken Coates Chairman of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, UK

Nurit Peled Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Speech 2001, Israel

Leila Shahid General Delegate of Palestine to the European Union, Belgium and Luxembourg, Palestine.

Members of the Support Committee

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The Russell Tribunal on Palestine has been set up to address the failure of states and the international community to implement the Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice of 9 July 2004, and Resolution ES-10/15 adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 20 July 2004.

The following treaties, resolutions and international legal norms constitute the legal frame of reference for the work of the Committees of Experts set up in different countries and for the Tribunal:

International treaties (to which Israel is a party):

- Charter of the United Nations, 26 June 1945
- Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, 9 December 1948
- Geneva Convention (IV) relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, 12 August 1949
- International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 21 December 1965
- International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 16 December 1966
- International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 16 December 1966
- International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, 1973
- Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions relating to the Protection of Victims of International Armed Conflicts, 1977
- Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, 1984
- Convention on the Rights of the Child, 20 November 1989

Relevant United Nations resolutions on Palestine: Security Council:

- Resolution 242 (obligation to withdraw from the occupied territories)
- Resolution 338 (obligation to withdraw from the occupied territories)
- Resolution 446 (illegality of Israeli settlements)
- Resolution 478 (nullity of the annexation of Jerusalem) General Assembly:

- › Resolution 181 (Partition Plan)
- › Resolution 194 (return of the refugees)
- › Resolution ES 10/15 (illegality of the Wall, Israel's obligation to dismantle, states' obligation to ensure compliance with the Fourth Geneva Convention)

Norms of customary international law (norms established through practice, including the application of treaties to which Israel is not a party):

- › Legal principles governing occupation contained in The Hague Regulations concerning the Laws and Customs of War on Land, 18 October 1907
- › Principle of the non-acquisition of territory through the threat or use of force (United Nations General Assembly resolution 2625)
- › Principle of the right of peoples to self-determination – Right of the Palestinian people to self determination
- › Principle of the permanent sovereignty of peoples under foreign occupation over their natural resources.
- › Universal Declaration of Human Rights, United Nations General Assembly resolution of 10 December 1948 (non-binding instrument)