



*Balfour
Project*

Abandoning Palestine: the end of the British Mandate and our continuing responsibility



17 & 18 May 2022
Online conference guide



Welcome from Sir Vincent Fean, Balfour Project Chair

What is the Balfour Project for?

What brings us together is a clear aim: Peace, Justice and Equal Rights in Israel/Palestine.

Mission Statement

Acknowledging Britain's historical and continuing responsibilities, through popular education and advocacy to uphold equal rights for the Israeli and Palestinian peoples. To persuade the British Government to recognise the state of Palestine alongside the state of Israel.

How you can help

The conference is free, but please consider a donation to help us keep going.

www.peoplesfundraising.com/donation/balfour-project

We also seek sponsors for our Peace Advocacy Fellowship Programme. The Balfour Project plans to appoint up to 15 Balfour Project Peace Advocacy Fellowships for the academic year 2022/23. Successful candidates are mostly post-graduates or final year undergraduates with an interest in promoting peaceful solutions to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Britain ruled Palestine for over thirty years before retreating in disarray, leaving chaos, war and injustice as its legacy. The British abandoned Palestine, doing lasting harm.

What should Britain do now – civil society, Parliament, Government – to advance equal rights and uphold the law? If it is to mean anything, the rule of law must apply equally to friend and foe – whoever transgresses. That was the key message of our 2021 conference – “[Israel/Palestine: in search of the rule of law](#)”. Since then, Putin's invasion of Ukraine has highlighted the folly of tolerating breaches of international law. Israel's illegal annexation of East Jerusalem set a malign precedent for Russia's illegal annexation of Crimea. Israel's systematic disregard for so many provisions of international law, an annexation policy endorsed by Trump in his misnamed “Vision for Peace”, gave Putin further cause to think that if other states can ride roughshod over international law with impunity, why not Russia?

This conference is not just about the past. Important as it is to see how we got to here, it's more important to learn from it how to do better, advancing equal rights. In the first part, Hanan Ashrawi, Palestine's advocate, assesses Britain's role then and what it could do, now – given political will. Historian Avi Shlaim chronicles Britain's betrayal of Palestine, from Arthur Balfour in 1917 to Ernest Bevin in 1948. Eye witness Dr Ghada Karimi tells of her enforced flight from Jerusalem with her family in 1948. Balfour Project trustee John McHugo describes the legal vacuum Britain left behind, and which was a recipe for war. Britain had accepted a “sacred trust of civilisation” to assist the Palestinian people to achieve independence – and did exactly the opposite.

The second part of this conference is about what Britain can do next, and do better. Former UN human rights rapporteur Michael Lynk reminds us that Britain's unjust legacy remains, in the form of Israel's continuing use against Palestinians of the savage emergency measures Britain enacted in 1945. Former Secretary of State for International Development Rory Stewart then analyses the impact of Palestine on Britain's international standing, and what needs to change for the better. British Palestinians discuss what the society they now live in can do for the society their forebears had to leave. British Parliamentarians discuss that elusive political will to do the right thing, not just say it.

The Balfour Project charity exists to raise awareness of Britain's past in Palestine, to affirm that we have a responsibility to fulfil, and to explore what we can do today, with likeminded partners, to advance equality. Your interest and engagement are key. Thank you.

Conference Schedule

Day 1 *The Collapse of the British Mandate*
Tuesday 17 May 2022

3.00pm Welcome – Sir Vincent Fean, Chair of Day 1

Keynote Speaker—Dr Hanan Ashrawi

Farewell to Palestine: a personal experience of the Nakba—Dr Ghada Karmi

British Police and Security in Palestine - Lord Cope

From Balfour to Bevin - Britain's betrayal of Palestine -
Professor Avi Shlaim

Q&A with Avi Shlaim

BREAK

Photographing the Nakba - Roger Hardy

The legal vacuum Britain created - John McHugo

6.30pm Close

Day 2 *Why it still matters, and what Britain should do now*
Wednesday 18 May 2022

3.00pm Welcome - Dr Phyllis Starkey, Chair of Day 2

Introducing Professor Michael Lynk—Victor Kattan

Professor Michael Lynk

Britain in a post-imperial world—Rory Stewart

BREAK

Palestinian Panel, chaired by Dr Imad Karam,
My family and Jerusalem—Layla Moran MP

Parliamentary Panel – Julie Elliott MP, Rt Hon David
Jones MP, Layla Moran MP, Tommy Sheppard MP

Question and answer session with the MPs

Balfour Project conference statement - Dr Phyllis
Starkey

6.40pm Close



Abandoning Palestine: the end of the British Mandate and our continuing responsibility

To reserve your free place,
visit

[www.balfourproject.org/
abandoningpalestine](http://www.balfourproject.org/abandoningpalestine)



Accessing the conference

To register for this online conference, please visit

www.balfourproject.org/abandoningpalestine

You will then receive an email with your personal joining link. The same link can be used to attend any or all of the sessions across this two-day conference. You are free to log in and out as you please using your personal link.

Please type any questions you have to the speakers in the chat box. The speakers are not monitoring this, but some questions will be taken forward to the Q&A session at the end of the day.

Recordings and transcripts of the sessions will later be available on the Balfour Project website.

Day 1—Tuesday 17 May 2022

3.00pm

Welcome by Sir Vincent Fean

Sir Vincent Fean (Balfour Project Chair) was a member of the British Diplomatic Service (1975-2014). His last post was as Consul-General, Jerusalem (2010-14). He has also been Ambassador to Libya and High Commissioner to Malta.

Vincent advocates equal rights for Israelis and Palestinians, and British Government recognition of the state of Palestine alongside Israel on pre-June 1967 lines.



The region covered by the Mandate of Palestine. The dates on the lines are the dates the boundaries were fixed.

Day 1—Tuesday 17 May 2022

Hanan Ashrawi

Dr. Hanan Ashrawi is a distinguished Palestinian leader, legislator, activist and scholar who served as a member of the Leadership Committee and as an official spokesperson of the Palestinian delegation to the Middle East peace process, beginning with the Madrid Peace Conference of 1991. Dr. Ashrawi was appointed as the Palestinian Authority Minister of Higher Education and Research (1996), but she resigned from the post in protest at the non-implementation of reform plans in governance and peace talks (1998). Prior to that, she was Dean of the Faculty of Arts at Birzeit University, and head of its Legal Aid Committee since the mid-1970s.



Dr Hanan Ashrawi

Dr. Ashrawi was elected to the Palestinian Legislative Council representing Jerusalem (1996), and, she was re-elected for the “Third Way” bloc ticket (2006). Making history as the first woman to hold a seat in the highest executive body in Palestine, she was elected as member of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in 2009.

As a civil society activist, she founded MIFTAH, the Palestinian Initiative for the Promotion of Global Dialogue and Democracy (1999) and continues to serve as head of its Board of Directors. In the same year, Dr. Ashrawi founded the National Coalition for Accountability and Integrity (AMAN). Moreover, she is the founder of the Independent Commission for Human Rights (ICHR) and has served as its Commissioner since 1994.

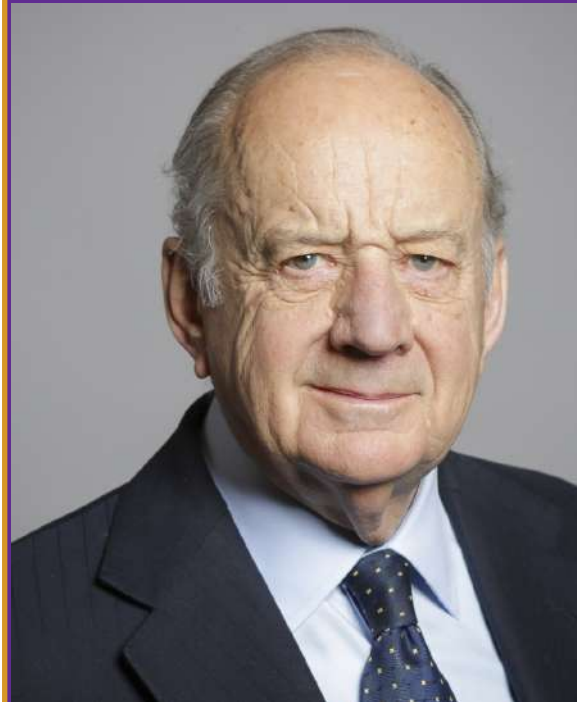
Dr. Ashrawi serves on the advisory and international boards of several organizations, including the World Bank Middle East and North Africa (MENA); the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD); the International Human Rights Council; US/Middle East Project; the Palestine Institute for Public Diplomacy (PIPD); and the Holy Land Christian Ecumenical Foundation’s Know Thy Heritage Program

Dr. Ashrawi is the recipient of numerous awards from all over the world including the 2005 Mahatma Gandhi International Award for Peace and Reconciliation; the 2003 Sydney Peace Prize; the 2002 Olof Palme Prize; the 1999 International Women of Hope “Bread and Roses”; the Defender of Democracy Award – Parliamentarians for Global Action; the 50 Women of the Century; the 1996 Jane Addams International Women’s Leadership Award; the Pearl S. Buck Foundation Women’s Award; the 1994 Pio Manzu Gold Medal Peace Award; and the 1992 Marissa Bellisario International Peace Award.

She is the author of many books, articles, poems and short stories on Palestinian politics, culture and literature. Her book *This Side of Peace* (Simon & Schuster, 1995) earned worldwide recognition. Dr. Ashrawi received both Bachelor of Arts (B.A.) and Master of Arts (M.A.) degrees from the American University of Beirut and a Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.) degree in Medieval and Comparative Literature from the University of Virginia in the United States. Moreover, she is the recipient of eleven honorary doctorates from universities in the U.S., Canada, Europe and the Arab world.



Dr Ghada Karmi



Lord Cope

Day 1—Tuesday 17 May 2022

Farewell to Palestine: a personal experience of the Nakba

Dr Ghada Karmi

Ghada Karmi is a Palestinian physician, academic and writer. Her family was forced to leave their home in Jerusalem in April 1948, and took refuge in Syria on their way to England where she grew up and was educated. She is a former research fellow and lecturer at the Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies, University of Exeter. Her writings have mostly dealt with the Palestinian-Israeli conflict; they include two memoirs, *In Search of Fatima*, (Verso 2002), and *Return* (Verso, 2015) which both deal with the Nakba and its effects.

British Police and Security in Palestine

Lord Cope

John Cope is a Conservative politician who was an MP from 1974 to 1997 and was then appointed to the House of Lords. From 1979 to 1994 he held various ministerial offices in the Governments of Margaret Thatcher and John Major. He was later Conservative Chief Whip in the House of Lords. John Cope was Mrs Thatcher's Security Minister in Northern Ireland during Direct Rule, when he was responsible for Police, Prisons and Troops in support of the civil power. He has a keen interest in Palestine where his wife Djemila was born. He has chaired PalMusic UK (Friends of the Edward Said National Conservatory of Music) and played a key role in bringing the Palestine Youth Orchestra to Britain in 2016. John Cope is Patron of the British Palestine Police Association.

Day 1—Tuesday 17 May 2022

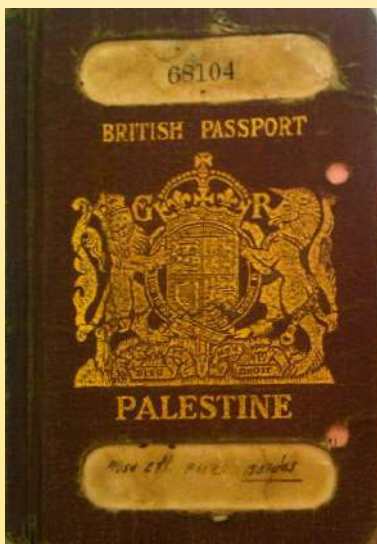
From Balfour to Bevin - Britain's betrayal of Palestine

Professor Avi Shlaim

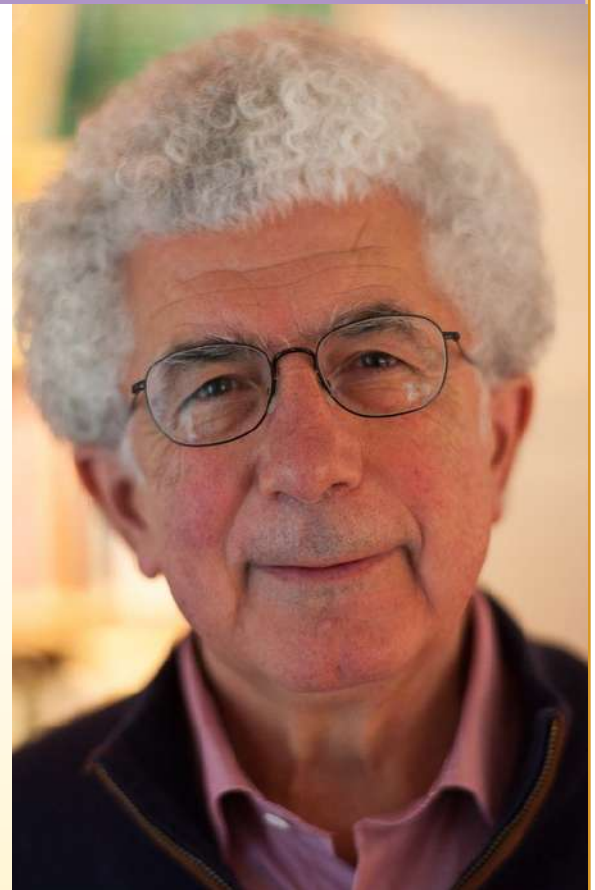
Avi Shlaim is an Emeritus Professor of International Relations at the University of Oxford and a Fellow of the British Academy. His books include *War and Peace in the Middle East: A Concise History* (1995); *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World* (2014); *Lion of Jordan: The Life of King Hussein in War and Peace* (2007); and *Israel and Palestine: Reappraisals, Revisions, Refutations* (2009). Avi is working on an autobiographical book *Three Worlds: Memoir of an Arab-Jew*, which will be published in June 2023.

Q&A with Avi Shlaim

BREAK



A Palestinian passport from the era of British Mandate for Palestine



Professor Avi Shlaim



Roger Hardy

Day 1—Tuesday 17 May 2022

Photographing the Nakba

Roger Hardy

Roger Hardy was for more than twenty years a Middle East analyst with the BBC World Service. He is the author of *The Muslim Revolt: A Journey through Political Islam*, *The Poisoned Well: Empire and Its Legacy in the Middle East* and, most recently, *The Bride: An Illustrated History of Palestine, 1850-1948*. He is an Associate Fellow of Green Templeton College, University of Oxford.



Allenby
enters
Jerusalem
1917

Day 1—Tuesday 17 May 2022

The legal vacuum Britain created: how Britain failed its sacred trust of civilisation towards the Palestinian people

John McHugo, Balfour Project Trustee

In his books, John McHugo (Balfour Project trustee) tries to explain how we in the West have contributed to the catastrophic state of affairs that currently obtains in the Middle East. He is the author of "A Concise History of the Arabs (2016, new edition pending), Syria: A Recent History (2017), A Concise History of Sunnis and Shi'is (2017)". During his legal career, he worked on international boundary disputes in the Middle East for over ten years. He is also a member of the board of CAABU, the Council for Arab British Understanding.



John McHugo



Dr Phyllis Starkey

3.00pm Welcome - Dr Phyllis Starkey, Chair of Day 2

Introducing Prof Michael Lynk—Victor Kattan

Prof Michael Lynk

Britain in a post-imperial world—Rory Stewart

BREAK

Palestinian Panel chaired by Dr Imad Karam

My family and Jerusalem—Layla Moran MP

Parliamentary Panel – Julie Elliott MP, David Jones MP, Layla Moran MP, Tommy Sheppard MP

Question and answer session with the MPs

6.30pm Balfour Project conference statement and close - Dr Phyllis Starkey

Day 2 —Wednesday 18 May 2022

3.00pm

Welcome - Dr Phyllis Starkey

Dr Starkey held a number of important Parliamentary posts.

Before entering Parliament, Dr. Starkey had a double career as a distinguished research scientist and as a politician in both local and national politics. She qualified as a biochemist and followed a career in medical research, leading her own research group in Oxford. She won a seat on Oxford City Council, was Chair of Finance for six years, and Council leader for three years. From 1993-1997, Dr. Starkey was the National Chair of the Local Government Information Unit, which represents over 120 Councils across the country.

Dr. Starkey has held a number of important Parliamentary posts since she was elected in 1997: Between 1999-2001 she was a member of the Modernisation of the House of Commons Select Committee; in 2002 she became PPS to Denis MacShane, Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs; in 2005, Dr. Starkey was made Chair of the Select Committee for Communities and Local Government.

She is now working as a Policy Adviser on Middle East issues.

Day 2—Wednesday 18 May 2022

Introducing Prof. Michael Lynk

Victor Kattan



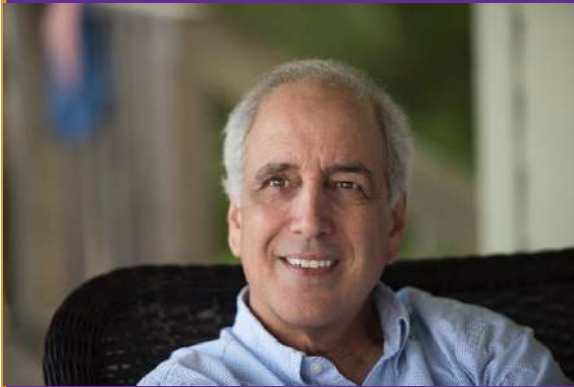
Victor Kattan

Victor Kattan is a senior research fellow at the School of Law at the University of Nottingham, where he is undertaking a study on the prohibition of apartheid in international law in places beyond South Africa.

For many years, Victor was based at the Middle East Institute at the National University of Singapore, where he was also an Associate Fellow at the Faculty of Law. Victor is the inaugural winner of the Asian Society of International Law's Young Scholar Prize, and is the author and editor of three books, including: *From Coexistence to Conquest: International Law and the Origins of the Arab-Israeli Conflict 1891-1949* (Pluto 2009); *Violent Radical Movements in the Arab World: The Ideology and Politics of Non-State Actors* (Bloomsbury 2019); and, with Brian Cuddy, *Making Endless War: The Vietnam and Arab-Israeli Conflicts in the History of International Law* (Michigan University Press, forthcoming).

Victor has written and spoken widely about various aspects of the Israel-Palestine dispute, the laws of war, human rights, and the history of international law, and has published in scholarly journals such as *Political Geography*, the *Melbourne Journal of International Law*, the *American Journal of International Law*, the *Leiden Journal of International Law*, and the *Max Planck Yearbook of United Nations Law*. He is the Area Editor for the *Middle East and Islam* for *Oxford Bibliographies of International Law*.

Victor has also published op-eds in newspapers, including *Ha'aretz*, *The South China Morning Post*, *The Straits Times*, and *The Guardian*. He has appeared on ABC, Al Jazeera English, Al Jazeera Arabic, Al Jazeera Balkans, Bloomberg, the BBC, Channel News Asia, CNBC Asia, and CNN.



Prof Michael Lynk

Day 2—Wednesday 18 May 2022

Professor Michael Lynk

Michael Lynk is Associate Professor at the Faculty of Law, Western University, London, Ontario, Canada. He joined the Faculty in 1999, and has taught courses in labour, human rights, disability, constitutional and administrative law. He served as Associate Dean of the Faculty between 2008-11.

In March 2016, the United Nations Human Rights Council appointed him as Special Rapporteur for the human rights situation in the Palestinian Territory occupied since 1967 for a six-year term, recently completed. In this capacity, he delivered regular reports to the UN General Assembly and the Human Rights Council on human rights trends in the OPT.

He has served as a labour arbitrator since 2000. Since 2007, he has been a vice-chair and arbitrator with the Ontario Grievance Settlement Board.

Day 2—Wednesday 18 May 2022

Britain in a post-imperial world

Rory Stewart

Rory Stewart was Member of Parliament for Penrith and The Border – the largest geographical constituency in England – between 2010 and 2019.

In May 2019 he was appointed Secretary of State for International Development, having previously been the Minister of State at the Ministry of Justice, Minister of State for Africa in both the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) and the Department for International Development (DFID) (June 2017-January 2018), and the Minister of State in DFID (June 2016-June 2017) and, prior to that, Minister for the Environment and Rural Affairs at DEFRA (May 2015-June 2016).

On leave from the Foreign Service he walked for 21 months crossing Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, India and Nepal, staying in 500 village houses on the journey. In 2008 he was appointed as the Ryan Family Professor of the Practice of Human Rights and Director of the Carr Centre of Human Rights at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government.

He has written four books: *The Places in Between* (a New York Times bestseller, which describes his walk across Afghanistan in the winter of 2001-2002), *Occupational Hazards or The Prince of the Marshes* (which describes his time as an administrator in Southern Iraq), *The Marches* (which describes a walk through Cumbria and the Borders with his father), and *Can Intervention Work?* (with Gerald Knaus, an essay on military intervention). He has presented three BBC television documentaries: *In Search of Lawrence of Arabia*, *Afghanistan: The Great Game*, and *Border Country: The Story of Britain's Lost Middleland*.

He has been awarded the Order of the British Empire (for his work in Iraq), the Gold Medal of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society (for his work in Afghanistan), the Ondaatje Prize of the Royal Society of Literature, the Spirit of Scotland award, the Radio France award, the Prize del Camino del Cid (for his books), a Scottish BAFTA (for his documentary making) and honorary doctorates from Stirling University and the American University of Paris. He was educated at Eton and Balliol College, Oxford, and was a Fellow at Harvard from 2004 to 2005 before taking up his Professorial chair in 2008.



Rory Stewart

BREAK



Dr Imad Karam



Leila Sansour



Victor Kattan

Day 2 —Wednesday 18 May 2022

Palestinian Panel, chaired by Dr Imad Karam, Balfour Project Trustee

Dr Imad Karam

Dr Imad Karam is the Executive Director of Initiatives of Change International, a global network of people of diverse cultures and backgrounds, whose mission is to inspire, equip and accompany change makers in the pursuit of a just and peaceful world.

Imad is also an award-winning documentary filmmaker. His films focus on forgiveness, peace-building and reconciliation. His films include the award-winning documentary films: 'The Man Who Built Peace' and 'Beyond Forgiving'.

Leila Sansour

Leila Sansour has been a Palestinian/British filmmaker for over 25 years. Leila spent 10 years documenting the wall being built by the Israelis in Bethlehem. She is well-known for her feature documentaries "Jeremy Hardy vs The Israeli Army" 2003 and "Open Bethlehem" 2014.

Victor Kattan

Victor Kattan is a senior research fellow at the School of Law at the University of Nottingham. Victor has published op-eds in newspapers, including Ha'aretz, The South China Morning Post, The Straits Times, and The Guardian. He has appeared on ABC, Al Jazeera English, Al Jazeera Arabic, Al Jazeera Balkans, Bloomberg, the BBC, Channel News Asia, CNBC Asia, and CNN.

Adam Abdalla

Adam Abdalla is a Balfour Project Peace Advocacy Fellow Alumni who studied Arabic and Politics at the University of Leeds. Adam is a Modern Middle Eastern Studies MPhil candidate at the University of Oxford. He was born in Prague but his family origins go back to Palestine from whence they were ethnically cleansed in 1948. He researches language policy and nationalism in Israel.



Adam Abdalla

Dr Atef Alshaer

Atef Alshaer is a lecturer in Arabic Studies at the University of Westminster. He was educated at Birzeit University in Palestine and the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, where he obtained his PhD and taught for a number of years. He is the author of several publications in the fields of language, literature and politics, including *Poetry and Politics in the Modern Arab World*, *The Hizbullah Phenomenon: Politics and Communication* (with Dina Matar and Lina Khatib), *Love and Poetry in the Middle East* (editor) and *Language and National Identity in Palestine: Representations of Power and Resistance in Gaza*, both forthcoming. Alshaer regularly contributes to academic and media outlets, including the BBC, Independent, I-Newspaper, Electronic Intifada and Radio Monocle.



Dr Atef Alshaer



Layla Moran MP

Day 2 — Wednesday 18 May 2022

My family and Jerusalem

Layla Moran MP

Layla has been the Member of Parliament for Oxford West and Abingdon since 2017.

She is the Liberal Democrats' Foreign Affairs and International Development Spokesperson, an issue that she is deeply passionate about. She advocates immediate recognition of the state of Palestine alongside Israel. She was previously, as an ex-teacher, the party's education spokesperson.



Lord Arthur Balfour in Mandatory Palestine with Vera and Chaim Weizmann, Nahum Sokolow and others in 1925

Day 2 — Wednesday 18 May 2022

Parliamentary Panel — Julie Elliott MP, David Jones MP, Layla Moran MP, Tommy Sheppard MP

Julie Elliott MP

Julie Elliott is a British Labour Party politician, who was first elected MP for Sunderland Central in 2010. Julie served as Shadow Minister for Energy and Climate Change from October 2013 to September 2015, with specific responsibility for renewable energy, the Green Investment Bank and skills and supply chain issues. She chairs the Britain Palestine All-Party Parliamentary Group and Labour Friends of Palestine and the Middle East.



Julie Elliott MP

Rt Hon David Jones MP

David Jones has been the Conservative Member of Parliament for Clwyd West since 2005. He is a former Secretary of State for Wales and Minister of State at the Department for Exiting the European Union.

David has a long-standing interest in Middle Eastern Affairs. He is chairman of the Council for Arab-British Understanding (CAABU) and also chairs the All-Party Parliamentary Groups for Jordan, Libya and the United Arab Emirates, in which capacities he has made several visits to the region.



**Rt Hon
David Jones MP**



Day 2 —Wednesday 18 May 2022



Layla Moran MP

Layla Moran MP

Layla has been the Member of Parliament for Oxford West and Abingdon since 2017.

She is the Liberal Democrats' Foreign Affairs and International Development Spokesperson, an issue that she is deeply passionate about. She advocates immediate recognition of the state of Palestine alongside Israel. She was previously, as an ex-teacher, the party's education spokesperson.



Tommy Sheppard MP

Tommy Sheppard MP

Tommy Sheppard is the Scottish National Party MP for Edinburgh East, and has been an MP continuously since May 2015. He is currently Shadow SNP Leader of the House of Commons.

Question and answer session with the MPs

**Balfour Project conference statement
& close
Dr Phyllis Starkey**



Monica Spooner

What is the Balfour Project?

The Balfour Project was born when Monica Spooner, a retired doctor in Edinburgh, visited Israel and Palestine in 2008 with her husband, Roger.

‘I saw the achievement of a Jewish homeland, but discerned great anxiety and fear,’ she recalls. ‘I saw the pain of the Palestinians, and discovered their anger towards Britain. They felt betrayed by the 1917 Balfour Declaration, in which the British Government promised support for a homeland for Jews in Palestine so long as this did not prejudice the rights of the existing inhabitants, 90% of whom were Arab at that time.

‘Now that homeland is a reality. But the Palestinians have no freedom. ‘Studying this history, I realised that we British acted with duplicity, making several contradictory promises, and finally washed our hands of Palestine, leaving the Jews and the Palestinians to an undeclared war for domination. We in Britain are not taught these shameful episodes. I met others who felt similarly, and together we launched the Balfour Project. We have been joined by academics, politicians, clergy and citizens from all parts of the UK.

‘We are discovering a vast network of people throughout the country who are equally committed to peace and justice for both Palestine and Israel.’

Patrons

Rt Hon Tom Brake
Rt Revd Declan Lang, Bishop of Clifton
Rt Revd Christopher Chessun, Bishop of Southwark
Rt Hon Lord (Peter) Hain of Neath
Very Revd Dr Andrew McLellan CBE, former Moderator of the Church of Scotland and Chief Inspector of Prisons
Baroness Morris of Bolton
Rt Revd John Pritchard, former Bishop of Oxford
Rabbi Danny Rich, Senior Rabbi and CEO of Liberal Judaism in UK 2005-2020
Sir Nicholas Soames
Rt Hon Baroness Sayeeda Warsi
Dr Philippa Whitford MP

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The Very Revd Nicholas Frayling
Dr Imad Karam
John McHugo
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Dr Monica Spooner
Professor Roger Spooner OBE
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Balfour Project



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at info@balfourproject.org or visit www.balfourproject.org

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