



*Balfour
Project*

Peace with Justice

How to get there

Conference Programme

Balfour Project in partnership with Department of History, Kings College London



6th June 2024
Bush House, London & Online

Conference Schedule

Peace with Justice

how to get there

*Bush House, Strand Entrance
London & Online, Thursday 6th
June 2024*

To book your in-person
or online ticket place,
visit

www.balfourproject.org/2024conference

This event would not
be possible without
the support of our
Friends and donors.

Thank you!

1.15pm Registration with refreshments

2.05pm Welcome from Adam Sutcliffe (Professor in European History, King's College London) & Andrew Whitley (Chair, Balfour Project)

2.20pm The challenges ahead

Daniel Levy (President, US/MEP) & Nour Odeh (National Democratic Assembly, Palestine) & followed by Q&A

3.20pm The Gaza War: A Humanitarian Disaster with Mohammed Ghalayini (Gazan scientist, Amplify Gaza Stories)

3.35pm Keynote Speaker – The UN, Human Rights and Gaza Dr Agnès Callamard (General Secretary, Amnesty International), followed by Q & A

4.25pm Break with refreshments

4.50pm How young people bring about change—The Balfour Project Peace Advocacy Fellowship Programme Presentation

chaired by Matan Rosenstrauch (Fellowship Programme Coordinator)

5.10pm What our next Government must do to uphold equal rights

Dr Phyllis Starkey (Vice Chair, Balfour Project), Chris Doyle (Director, CAABU), Yasmine Ahmed (UK Director, HRW), Nour Odeh, chaired by Sir Vincent Fean (Trustee, Balfour Project), followed by Q&A

6.00pm Closing Statement -Dr Phyllis Starkey

6.20– 8.00pm Reception for all attendees

Dear Friends,

Our 6 June annual conference could not be more timely or more important.

Eight months into the Gaza war, the world is transfixed with horror at what it is witnessing every day. The scale of the loss of innocent life, of destruction and disease, beggars belief. It is simply unconscionable. Israeli society remains traumatised by the Hamas atrocities and hostage-taking of 7 October. Accountability for war crimes committed by Israelis and Palestinians is essential.

We meet in London, and online, on the 57th anniversary of the Six-Day War and thus the beginning of the occupation: the start of the inexorable, creeping annexation of lands intended to be the territory of a Palestinian state alongside Israel. Shocked out of their complacency by current tragic events, political leaders everywhere – with the notable exception of Israel – have again pledged to realise the two-state solution. But are they serious? Do they have the determination and courage?

Can the goal of mutual security replace the failure of unilateral control? Is it too late? If so, is there a better alternative solution that both Palestinians and Israelis could accept? The Israeli Government's unwavering support for its settlement project in East Jerusalem and the rest of the West Bank tells its own story. Is it in anyone's long-term interest, including Israelis, for that story to continue?

Our charity's focus is Britain's historic role and responsibility for the absence of justice for Palestinians, coupled with the ongoing denial of their right to determine their own future.

At this conference we therefore intend to pose some awkward questions. What are our Government and the Opposition saying – and doing – about Gaza? Is Britain acting in accordance with the international law it has pledged to uphold? Since November the Balfour Project has called for a permanent ceasefire and the release of all hostages. We have also criticised Britain's supply of arms to Israel when the International Court of Justice has ruled there is plausible evidence of genocide. Is Britain already complicit in war crimes? What should we ask of our Government?

Please join us to debate the way forward, and then to act – pressing our political leaders to do what is right: to stand up for peace with justice in Palestine and Israel.



Andrew Whitley
Chair, Balfour Project



Accessing the conference online

To register for this online conference, please visit

www.balfourproject.org/2024conference

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 of this conference. You are free to log in and out as you please using your personal link.

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



2.05pm Welcome by Andrew Whitley, Balfour Project Chair

Andrew Whitley is founder and executive director of Geo-Political Advisory Services (GPAS), a UK-based consultancy that works on the alleviation of armed conflict in the Middle East and Asia. He was previously Policy Director and interim Chief Executive of The Elders, a journalist with the BBC and Financial Times, and the founding director of Human Rights Watch's Middle East and North Africa division, then known as Middle East Watch. At the UN, Andrew held senior posts at UNCTAD, the Department of Peace-Keeping Operations and at UNRWA.

Opening Contribution from Adam Sutcliffe, Professor in European History, Department of History, King's College London

Adam Sutcliffe joined the History Department at King's College London in 2005, having started his academic career in the United States, at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. He received his BA from Cambridge, his MA from Sussex, and his PhD (1998) from UCL. He has held fellowships at the University of Pennsylvania, the Institute of Advanced Study in Princeton, and the University of Leipzig, and served as Head of the History Department from 2012 to 2016.

Daniel Levy
Political Scientist



Nour Odeh
Political analyst



2.20pm The Challenges Ahead with Daniel Levy (President, US/MEP) & Nour Odeh (National Democratic Assembly, Palestine), followed by Q&A

Daniel Levy is the President of the U.S./Middle East Project. From 2012 to 2016, he was Director for the Middle East and North Africa at the European Council on Foreign Relations. Prior to that, he was a Senior Fellow and Director of the New America Foundation's Middle East Taskforce in Washington D.C. and a Senior Fellow at The Century Foundation. Daniel was a Senior Advisor in the Israeli Prime Minister's Office and to Justice Minister Yossi Beilin during the Government of Prime Minister Ehud Barak (1999-2001). He was a member of the official Israeli delegation to the Israel/ Palestine peace talks at Taba under Prime Minister Barak and at Oslo B under Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin (1994-95). Daniel is a Trustee of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund in New York, a Council Member of the European Council on Foreign Relations and serves on the board of the European Middle East Project. Daniel graduated with an MA and BA from King's College Cambridge University with awards.

Nour Odeh is a media professional and communications consultant, with extensive experience in journalism, social justice activism, advocacy, and consultancy. In 2014, Nour founded Connect, a strategic communications consultancy firm. Before that, Nour served as the Director of the Palestinian Media Centre and spokesperson of the Palestinian Government after having served as a senior communications advisor for the Palestinian leadership, ahead of Palestine's application for membership at the United Nations in 2011. In 2003, Nour set up and led Ramattan News Agency, Palestine's first video news agency, based in Gaza, which served clients worldwide. In 2008, Nour's reporting from Gaza was recognised at the Monte Carlo Television Festival and won Al-Jazeera Network's first Golden Nymph award.

3.20pm The Gaza War: A Humanitarian Disaster with Mohammed Ghalayini (Gazan scientist, Amplify Gaza Stories)

Mohammed Ghalayini is a Palestinian-British air pollution scientist and translator of short stories from Gaza and based in Manchester with a focus on public health, environmental justice and environmental policy. While in Gaza in December 2023, Mohammed helped set-up Amplify Gaza Stories (AGS) to relay testimonies he had recorded with people he knew in Gaza of their experience of the Israeli onslaught and displacement, in addition to relaying stories AGS has been raising funds to support resilience in Gaza through community led food projects and in partnership with local NGOs.

3.35pm Keynote Speaker – Dr Agnès Callamard, General Secretary, Amnesty International

Dr Agnès Callamard is Secretary General at Amnesty International. She leads the organisation's human rights work and is its chief spokesperson. She is responsible for providing overall leadership of the International Secretariat, including setting the strategic direction for the organisation and managing relations with Amnesty International's national entities.

Agnès has been a prominent figure in the human rights world for decades. In 2016, she was appointed as the United Nations Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary killings. Along with her UN work, Agnès was also the Director of Global Freedom of Expression at Columbia University in New York.

Previously she was Executive Director of the freedom of expression organisation Article 19. She returns to Amnesty after twenty years having previously held the role of Chef de Cabinet for then Secretary General Pierre Sané. As a leading advocate for freedom of expression, a feminist and an anti-racism activist, she pushes out the frontiers of rights through her scholarship and advocacy.

**Mohamed Ghalayini,
Gazan scientist,
Amplify Gaza Stories**



**Dr Agnès Callamard,
General Secretary,
Amnesty
International**



4.25pm Break with refreshments

4.50pm How young people bring about change

Kira Nygren, Adrian Kreutz, Lily Wood (Balfour Project Peace Advocacy Fellows), chaired by Matan Rosenstrauch (Fellowship Programme Coordinator)

Kira Nygren - Settler Violence in Area C

Adrian Kreutz - Israel Arms Suspension

Lily Wood - Israel Arms Suspension, Recognise Palestine, TikTok

Matan Rosenstrauch

Matan Rosenstrauch is an anti-occupation activist and Peace Advocacy Fellowship Coordinator since 2019. He has worked with Jewish communities' anti-occupation organisations and helped establish the Jewish Democratic Initiative, a South African charity. He is an organiser for Meretz UK. He holds a BA in Jewish History from Ben Gurion University and an MA in Community Developments Studies from the Hebrew University. Matan teaches Hebrew privately.

Find out more about the Fellowship Programme here: www.balfourproject.org/fellowship



Sir Vincent Fean

Sir Vincent Fean was a member of the British Diplomatic Service 1975-2014. His last post was as Consul-General, Jerusalem (2010-14). Before Jerusalem, he was Ambassador to Libya, and previously 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.



5.10pm What our next Government must do to uphold equal rights

Dr Phyllis Starkey (Vice Chair of Balfour Project), Chris Doyle (Director, CAABU), Yasmine Ahmed (UK Director, HRW), Nour Odeh, chaired by Sir Vincent Fean (Balfour Project Trustee), followed by Q&A

Chris Doyle

Chris is the Director of Caabu and its lead spokesperson. As an acknowledged expert on the region, Chris is a frequent commentator on TV and Radio. He gives numerous talks around the country on numerous issues including the Arab Spring, Libya, Syria, Palestine, Iraq, Islamophobia and the Arabs in Britain. He regularly has articles published in the British and international media.

He has worked with the Council since 1993 after graduating with a first-class honours degree in Arabic and Islamic Studies at Exeter University. Since then he has travelled widely in the Middle East and North Africa.

In 1996 Chris moved to work for a professional government relations firm but returned to a more senior role at Caabu in 1997. In November 2002, he was made full-time Director.



Yasmine Ahmed—UK Director, HRW

Yasmine Ahmed is UK Director of Human Rights Watch. She has two decades of experience as a public international lawyer, and human rights advocate. In her current role, she advocates for the United Kingdom's foreign and domestic policies to be consistent with human rights. Yasmine is a well-known human rights commentator and regularly appears on the BBC, Sky, Times Radio, Al Jazeera and other broadcasters, and her comments have featured in the Guardian, the Independent, the Times, and the Washington Post.

Prior to Human Rights Watch, Yasmine was Executive Director of the multi award winning human rights organisation, Rights and Security International. She also worked as a public international lawyer for the UK and Australian Governments and the UN at the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia and the Serious Crimes Unit in Timor-Leste. She started her career supporting asylum seekers and refugees in Australia. She is a Chevening Scholar, has an LLM in Public International Law from the University of London, and has taught public international law at the School of Oriental and African Studies and the

University of Adelaide, South Australia. She also worked as an Associate to a Judge of the Supreme Court of South Australia and qualified as a solicitor (former solicitor) of England and Wales and a barrister and solicitor in Australia.



Dr Phyllis Starkey

Dr Phyllis Starkey was a Member of Parliament from 1997-2010 during which time she was Chair of the All Party Britain Palestine Group, then PPS to the Middle East Minister in the FCO, in 2005 she became Chair of the Select Committee for Communities & Local Government. In parliament she was active in campaigning for the labelling of settlement goods, and after 2010 worked with others to persuade the EU to follow suit and to exclude settlements from benefiting from EU funds, programmes or preferential trade benefits.



6.00pm Closing Statement from Dr Phyllis Starkey, Balfour Project Vice-Chair

6.20– 8.00pm Reception for all attendees

Balfour Project Action Points for UK Government Peace with Justice – how to get there

The Hamas attack of 7th October, and the on-going Israeli destruction of Gaza which followed, are but the latest and most devastating episode of a sequence of recurring violence which must be ended. The Balfour Project works with others to inform and influence Parliamentarians and our Government on the need to address the underlying causes: 76 years of the Nakba starting under the British Mandate, 57 years of occupation, 17 years of the Gaza blockade, dispossession, suppression of all means of peaceful resistance, and the continuing denial of Palestinian rights including the right of self-determination.

The danger of a “forever war” with dire consequences for Israelis and Palestinians, for the whole region and for us in Britain must be averted. The universality of International Law, and the need for accountability for those who breach it, must be re-asserted. The trajectory of violence and lawlessness has to be stopped and then reversed. Only a concerted effort by a broad coalition of states committed to upholding International Law can do this. It must be done urgently.

Our strategy, which sets out the necessary actions the British Government and others should take, is evolving in response to the changing situation on the ground. Input from our Conference speakers and audience will help to improve it. We hope it will provide a template for actions to be taken after the Conference.

Peace with Justice: how to get there

Immediate requirements

- **Hamas and Israel** agree to a permanent ceasefire with the release of all hostages;
- **Hamas** immediately halts its indiscriminate rocket fire against Israeli civilian targets;
- **Israel** removes all aid restrictions, and fully and actively facilitates the delivery of essential humanitarian aid (food, water, electricity, medical supplies, personnel and shelters);
- **Israel** guarantees the safety of all humanitarian workers, installations and vehicles, as well as essential civilian infrastructure protected under International Law. Starvation must never be used as a weapon of war. Daily supplies of aid must be sufficient to meet the needs of all Gazans, and address the consequences of Israel's earlier actions;
- **Israel** gives unfettered access for all UN agencies, including UNRWA, which is being prevented from undertaking its responsibility for the wellbeing of the two-thirds of Gazans who are refugees from pre-1948 Palestine;
- **Israel** freezes all settlement building in East Jerusalem and the rest of the West Bank, halting the current massive expansion of new settlements beyond the 1948 Green Line; and
- **Israel** ends the unprecedented levels of settler violence in the West Bank and holds those responsible to account.

Priority Actions for the UK Government

- Recognise the State of Palestine now, alongside Israel on pre-June 1967 borders, and support Palestine's full membership of the UN as a state. Without this, the UK commitment to the two-state solution is meaningless; and
- Work with the US, EU, Arab partners, and other key UN member states to end the violence in Gaza, the rest of the Occupied Palestinian Territory (OPT) and Israel, meet the needs for humanitarian relief, and start reconstruction. The Occupation must end, with international guarantees of a sovereign, independent Palestinian State on pre-June 1967 borders, including East Jerusalem.

UK actions to end collusion in war crimes in Gaza

- End arms sales to Israel (particularly where those arms have been used in Gaza) and other forms of support to the Israeli military campaign in Gaza; stop buying military and security equipment from Israeli companies;
- Ban settlement trade and ban UK-based companies (including banks and other financial institutions) from involvement with settlements or their support structure. The expected ruling of the ICJ in July that the Occupation is illegal would make this action essential;
- Ensure the UK is fulfilling its obligations under UNSCR 2334 (of 2016) to differentiate in ALL its dealings with Israel between the illegal settlement project and Israel itself;
- Widen its advice to UK –based businesses to highlight the economic, legal and reputational risks of involvement with the Occupation or with Israel’s war on Gaza;
- Vote in the UN Security Council to enforce ICJ measures over Israel's actions in Rafah; and
- Reject any role for UK judges in a scheme to monitor the treatment of Palestinian prisoners and detainees in Israeli custody; the proposal attempts to supplant the International Committee of the Red Cross.

UK actions to ensure accountability for war crimes

- Increase UK sanctions against violent settlers, those who incite violence against Palestinian civilians, or advocate dispossession, expulsion or genocide, and the organisations that fund these activities, including those outside Israel; and
- Support the ICJ, ICC and UN Human Rights Council in holding to account all parties involved in breaches of international law, whether Israeli or Palestinian. ¹

[1] Without accountability, the starvation of a population, the targeting of health, education and other vital civilian infrastructure, the misuse of dual use lists, and the use of Artificial Intelligence algorithms programmed to accept a disproportionate rate of civilian death, will all become established military practice and a starting point for abuses by Israel, or by others, in subsequent wars.

UK actions to ensure the establishment of a sovereign Palestinian State

- Insist that, when fighting ends, Israel withdraws completely from the whole of the Gaza Strip, ending surveillance overflights and restrictions on Gazan access to the sea;
- Contribute to the reconstruction of Gaza and the renewal of the West Bank, taking into account the continuing burden of disability and trauma and the loss of skilled personnel as a result of the war;
- Re-unite Gaza with the West Bank including East Jerusalem and support an interim Palestinian administration committed to mutual security and democracy for all Palestinians, leading to a sovereign and independent Palestine with control of its own borders, free movement and jurisdiction over all its inhabitants;
- Support Palestinian civil society and political groups in building a broad coalition, reaffirming the PLO's recognition of Israel on pre-June 1967 borders and committed to democratic renewal, leading to an elected government of the State of Palestine; and
- Support an international coalition to guarantee security for Palestine and Israel during the transition to a final resolution, accepted by both parties.





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 Christopher Chessun
Rt Hon Lord (Peter) Hain of Neath
Rt Revd Nicholas Hudson
Baroness Morris of Bolton
Rt Revd John Pritchard, former Bishop of Oxford
Rabbi Danny Rich
Lord Soames of Fletching PC
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Balfour Project



For more information and to send us any comments, please email us
at info@balfourproject.org or visit www.balfourproject.org

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