

Preliminary Submission of the Palestine Liberation
Organization to the International Commission of Inquiry

December 8, 2000

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I. Purpose:

The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) intends to submit two sets of documents to the International Commission of Inquiry (the Commission):

- a. Our **Preliminary Submission**, presented here, aims at achieving the following goals:
 - a. *Reiterating and elaborating upon the mandate of the Commission.* Clarity regarding the mandate is essential in order for the Commission to achieve its objectives. This submission aims at laying out in clear terms the mandate set forth in the relevant instruments on the basis of which the Commission was established. As part of the mandate, this submission also elaborates upon the legal regime in the context of the facts that should be analyzed and from which recommendations should be formulated.
 - b. *Framing the facts that will be investigated by the Commission.* This submission does not aim to present a comprehensive and systematic collection of facts. This will be provided in future submissions. This submission is designed to achieve two purposes:
 - i. Outline the political and factual context within which the current uprising is taking place; and
 - ii. Inform the Commission of the key areas that it should examine in fulfillment of its mandate.
 - c. *Presenting suggestions regarding procedure and format to assist the work of the Commission.* The experience of previous commissions of inquiry demonstrates that the structures and procedures adopted by the Commission will determine the effectiveness of its work. This submission makes suggestions in this regard that the PLO believes will facilitate the successful fulfillment of the Commission's mandate.
- b. **Future Submission(s)** will form the bulk of the PLO's presentation to the Commission. These submissions will focus on presenting factual data to assist the Commission in its inquiry into the recent events and in reaching effective recommendations to prevent their recurrence.

II. Mandate of the International Commission of Inquiry

A. Establishment of the Commission:

The Palestinian people have called for the establishment of an international commission of inquiry since the first days of the current uprising. This demand stems from the conviction that preventing the violence from recurring will only be possible through an objective and independent investigation into the causes and effects of the violence, with reference to Israel's obligations as an Occupying Power under the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, August 12, 1949 (the Fourth Geneva Convention). A number of international humanitarian and human rights organizations have expressed the same conclusion, including Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, and the United Nations Human Rights Commission.

The United Nations Security Council endorsed this proposal in Resolution 1322 (2000) of October 7, 2000 (SC Res. 1322). The Council "*stress[ed] the importance of establishing a mechanism for a speedy and objective inquiry into the tragic events of the last few days with the aim of preventing their repetition, and welcome[d] any efforts in this regard.*"

Ten days later, at the Sharm al-Sheikh Summit, the Government of Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization sanctioned undertaking such an effort under the auspices of the President of the United States. President Clinton's statement explaining the parties' understanding substantially echoed the mandate described by the Security Council: he announced that "*the United States will develop with the Israelis and Palestinians, as well as in consultation with the United Nations Secretary General, a committee of fact-finding on the events of the past several weeks and how to prevent their recurrence.*"

The Commission is a direct result of this initiative.

B. The Commission's Work:

Security Council Resolution 1322 and President Clinton's statement at the Sharm al-Sheikh Summit on 17 October 2000 (President Clinton's Statement) clearly define the Commission's mandate and terms of reference.

As contemplated by the two instruments, the Commission shall undertake the following tasks:

1. *Determine the Causes of the Current Events:*

An examination of the causes of the current events is an essential part of the Commission's mandate. We do not regard this effort as an exercise in finger-pointing, but rather as an important means of understanding the nature of the current events, as well as a prerequisite for the formulation of effective recommendations.

2. *Examine the Development of Events since the Outbreak of Violence:*

This is important both for producing an objective account of the current events, as well as for formulating a concrete set of recommendations designed to bring said violence to an end.

3. *Formulate Recommendations to Prevent the Recurrence of Violence:*

This is the most important aspect of the Commission's work. The recommendations should cover three areas:

- a. **Recommendations for ending the current violence:** These recommendations should be geared towards achieving an end to the violence. Some guidance as to these recommendations can be found in SC Res. 1322 and in President Clinton's Statement. The texts of both documents are attached hereto as Appendix B.
- b. **Recommendations to prevent the recurrence of violence:** This set of recommendations should deal with the root-causes of the events and be geared towards their eradication. These recommendations should be based on respect for obligations under international law, including those emanating from bilateral agreements.
- c. **Recommendations for facilitating the achievement of a just, lasting and comprehensive peace:** While it is difficult to make concrete recommendations in this sphere, it is important to emphasize measures that create the necessary conditions for reaching peace. Besides ensuring that violence does not recur, there needs to be a reaffirmation of Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, as well as the applicability of international humanitarian law and other principles of international law.

C. Structure and Procedures

In order to accomplish these objectives effectively, the Commission's structure and procedures should allow for a substantive and objective inquiry modeled after previously successful international inquiries. Only such a model will give Palestinians in the Occupied Palestinian Territories confidence that international efforts to address and redress the roots and manifestations of violence are serious and impartial. The alternative – a purely diplomatic commission lacking professional expertise in relevant fields of investigation and operating within a political framework concentrating solely on

“security” issues – would be counter-productive, further feeding the sense of despair among Palestinians.

With this in mind, the following structure and procedures are recommended. The Commission is composed of five persons including the Chairperson. The Chairperson shall select two Co-Chairs of proven integrity, objectivity, and expertise, with demonstrated international stature. It is recommended that the co-chairs be Cherif Bassiouni, Professor of Law at DePaul College of Law and Richard Falk, Professor of Law at Princeton University. Both have long and distinguished careers with outstanding credentials and possess the greatest moral fiber. Their involvement will be instrumental to the success of the Commission.

The co-chairs will recommend and head a Body of Experts with previous experience in international commissions of inquiry and/or experience in cases of belligerent occupation. The expertise enjoyed by members of the Body of Experts should be wide enough to encompass the full range of issues that need to be addressed by the Commission’s mandate. Appendix D includes a list of internationally recognized experts who have agreed to be considered by the Commission for involvement in this inquiry.

Given that the Israeli occupation is the last example of belligerent foreign occupation involving active colonization, the recommended experts must have expertise in questions of occupation, as well as the following fields:

1. Statistics, data collection and analysis;
2. International humanitarian law;
3. Protection of civilians in times of conflict;
4. Criminal investigation;
5. Demographics;
6. Economics;
7. Forensics;
8. Ballistics and weapons use; and
9. Psychology.

The Body of Experts should be located in the Occupied Palestinian Territories and Israel and should oversee and conduct the on-going investigation. They should have the authority to hear witnesses and experts in a confidential manner. They should have unimpeded freedom of movement in Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories and should enjoy all other privileges and immunities required to maintain the confidentiality of witnesses and successfully fulfill the Commission’s mandate. The Body of Experts should produce and submit to the Commission Chairperson the final report with its conclusions and recommendations.

Such an approach, covering both structure and substance, will do much to prevent the politicization of the Commission’s mandate and will allow it to carry out its powers and responsibilities in an impartial, reliable, and credible manner, employing the highest technical and scientific standards.

Proposed rules of procedures for the Commission are elaborated in more detail in Appendix A.

D. The Applicable Legal Framework

At the outset, it is imperative to note that the facts under investigation by the Commission do not exist in a legal vacuum. The facts should be examined in light of a defined set of international legal instruments and regimes, all of which clearly form part of the Commission's terms of reference under SC Res. 1322 and President Clinton's Statement. More specifically:

1. Security Council Resolutions 476 (1980), 478(1980), 672 (1990), 1073 (1996), and all other relevant Security Council resolutions:

Security Council Resolution 1322 makes explicit reference to the above mentioned resolutions, all of which emphasize the applicability of the Fourth Geneva Convention to the Occupied Palestinian Territories, the illegality of Israel's unilateral annexation of Jerusalem and the steps it has taken to change its character, including the enactment by Israel of the Basic Law on Jerusalem. The full text of these and other relevant resolutions is attached hereto as Appendix B.

2. Security Council Resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973):

Security Council Resolution 1322 makes explicit reference to Resolutions 242 and 338, both of which reaffirm the principle of "land for peace." The full texts of the resolutions are attached hereto as Appendix B. Of note, Resolution 242:

Affirms that the fulfillment of Charter principles requires the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East which should include the application of both the following principles:

(i) Withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict;

(ii) Termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgment of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force.

3. Fourth Geneva Convention:

The Convention imposes a number of obligations on the Occupying Power *vis-à-vis* Protected Persons. A few key points bear mentioning:

- The West Bank, including East Jerusalem, and the Gaza Strip were conquered by Israel in 1967 and have remained under belligerent occupation since that time. Accordingly, the Fourth Geneva Convention is *de jure* applicable.
- The international community, including the five permanent members of the UN Security Council, recognize the *de jure* applicability of the Fourth Geneva Convention to the Occupied Palestinian Territories. This has been reaffirmed in numerous Security Council and General Assembly resolutions, the full texts of which are attached as Appendix B.
- Israel, in August 1967, recognized the *de jure* applicability of the Fourth Geneva Convention to the Occupied Palestinian Territories. Subsequently, in October/November 1967, it revoked this recognition, becoming the only High Contracting Party to deny its applicability.
- The Convention imposes an obligation on an Occupying Power to protect the civilian population, as specified in considerable detail in Articles 47-78. Of particular importance is Article 47, which affirms “the inviolability of rights” granted to the civilian population that can in no circumstances be suspended or evaded. Article 49 prohibits the establishment of settlements in occupied territory. Article 50 imposes a special burden on the Occupying Power to protect children from the effects of war and accompanying hardships.
- The international community has a duty to take steps, in accordance with Article 1 of the Convention, to ensure Israeli compliance with the relevant provisions of international humanitarian law.

In addition to international humanitarian law, Israel’s conduct in the Occupied Palestinian Territories is also subject to human rights instruments to which Israel is party, as well as customary international human rights rules. While Israel has in the past denied the applicability of international human rights instruments in the Occupied Palestinian Territories, the various mechanisms created by these instruments have reaffirmed their applicability. These include, *inter alia*, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and the Convention on the Rights of the Child. General rules of international law also apply to the Occupied Palestinian Territories. Most significant in this context is the Palestinian people’s right to self-determination. Finally, a number of agreements have been signed between the PLO and Israel governing certain aspects of the relations between them and imposing specific obligations on each.

III. The Current Crisis

A. The Roots of the Current Uprising:

The Palestinian-Israeli conflict is not a primordial, age-old, religious dispute. In essence, it is a case of belligerent occupation. It is, of course, beyond the scope of this submission to undertake a comprehensive review of the historical developments that have given rise to the present Palestinian uprising and the brutal Israeli response that it has elicited. At the same time, a basic historical acquaintance with the relations between the parties, that of occupier and occupied, is necessary to place the recent events in context.

In 1988, the PLO recognized Israel's right to exist based on United Nations Resolutions 181, 242, and 338. In so doing, the PLO relinquished its claim to 100 percent of Mandatory Palestine, calling instead for the creation of an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. This decision represents a massive territorial compromise, leaving the nascent Palestinian state with merely 22 percent of historical Mandatory Palestine, a retreat even from the 45 percent allocated to the Palestinians under U.N. Resolution 181 of 1947. This 22 percent area has been under Israeli occupation since June 5, 1967 and is the subject of the current peace process, which commenced with the signing of the Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements in 1993 in accordance with Resolution 242's formula of "land for peace."

Following the six-year Palestinian uprising that erupted in 1987, the Oslo Accords fostered wide-spread expectations among Palestinians that their lives would improve concretely during the Interim Period and that the Oslo process would yield a comprehensive and equitable resolution of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Neither expectation has been realized. Seven years later, 82 percent of the West Bank and 40 percent of the Gaza Strip remain under full Israeli security control, leaving Palestinians vulnerable to the same abuses that they suffered throughout the first twenty-six years of Israel's military occupation. Home demolitions and evictions continued during the Oslo process: from 1994 to November 2000, 740 Palestinian homes were demolished by the IDF in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, not including those in East Jerusalem.¹ Undercover Israeli military units continue to operate in Palestinian areas, employing illegal practices such as torture and extra-judicial execution.² Israel has placed severe constraints on the movement of Palestinians between cities and towns and particularly

¹ *Report on the Situation of Human Rights in the Palestinian Territories Occupied Since 1967*, U.N. Doc. No. E/CN.4/2000/25, at 8, March 15, 2000 (submitted by Mr. Giorgio Giacomelli, Special Rapporteur, United Nations Commission on Human Rights).

² *See for example*, B'Tselem, "Lethal Training: The Killing of Muhammed Al-Hillu by Undercover Soldiers in Hizmeh Village" (1992); B'Tselem, "Activity of the Undercover Units in the Occupied Territories, Comprehensive Report," May 1992. *See also* reports of al-Haq, and the Palestinian Human Rights Information Center.

between the West Bank and Gaza Strip³ and Israel has subjected Palestinian goods to lengthy and often arbitrary “security” checks that have stifled Palestinian trade with Israel and other countries.⁴ In sum, the Oslo process has done nothing to deliver the Palestinians from the humiliation, harassment and deprivation that have characterized their lives under Israeli military occupation.

Not only have Palestinians failed to realize any improvements in their daily lives, they also have witnessed Israel’s systematic encroachment on their future. In blatant disregard of its obligations under the signed agreements and under international humanitarian law, Israel has continued its policy of confiscating land, establishing new settlements and expanding existing ones. Since the signing of the Oslo Accords, the settler population in East Jerusalem has grown to 170,000, and in the rest of the West Bank and Gaza Strip it has doubled to approximately 200,000.⁵ Palestinians entered the peace process based on the understanding that it would culminate in the return of their territory – the central feature of the land for peace formula articulated in Resolution 242. Israel’s aggressive settlement expansion – while territorial negotiations are in progress – has prompted many to question whether Israel has any intention of achieving the just and equitable solution anticipated by U.N. Resolutions 242 and 338.

Israel’s refusal at Camp David to acknowledge the Palestinians’ historic compromise and their rights under international law further eroded Palestinian faith in the peace process. In negotiations regarding every permanent status issue – Jerusalem, settlements, borders, security, water and refugees – Israel rejected any terms of reference other than the facts on the ground, facts Israel has imposed by force over thirty-three years of military occupation. To Palestinians, Camp David represented nothing less than an attempt by Israel to extend the force it exercises on the ground to the negotiations.

Following these events, which had already fomented frustration and hopelessness among Palestinians, the visit by former Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon to Haram al-Sharif, accompanied by over one thousand IDF soldiers, came as the final blow. The acquiescence of the current Israeli administration to Sharon’s visit, Sharon’s history as a war criminal, as well as the national significance of Jerusalem to both Christian and Muslim Palestinians, all combined to make Sharon’s visit an inherently inflammatory political maneuver. This was followed a day later by the shooting of five Palestinians at Friday prayers. Since that time over 275 Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip have been killed and nearly ten thousand wounded.⁶

³ Report of Special Rapporteur, *supra* note 1, at 12.

⁴ *See generally*, UNSCO Reports.

⁵ Foundation for Middle East Peace, “Palestinian Revolt Centers Around Settlements,” Report on Israeli Settlement in the Occupied Territories, Nov-Dec. 2000, vol. 10, no.6.

⁶ Palestine Red Crescent Society statistics dated 8 December 2000.

B. Key Areas of Inquiry:

The Commission's investigation of the events of the past two months should address the key areas of ongoing violations listed below.

You will note that the Commission's assessment of the violations listed below would benefit from the assistance of specialized, technical expert, particularly in the areas of human rights and humanitarian law. Appendix D lists specialists who are well-suited to provide this type of assistance.

- **Violence Against the Civilian Population**
 - Use of force and failure to use non-lethal weapons;
 - Indiscriminate firing on the civilian population;
 - Changes in the Open-Fire Regulations;
 - Shooting to kill or to seriously maim and the use of live ammunition and rubber-coated steel bullets;
 - Shelling and firing on civilian areas;
 - Summary executions;
 - Injury to children;
 - Use of torture, physical harassment and beatings;
 - Obstruction or denial of access to medical treatment and provisions;
 - Firing on clearly marked ambulances and paramedics.

- **Collective Punishment Measures**
 - Closure that restricts or prevents the freedom of movement of persons and goods within the Occupied Palestinian Territories, between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and between the Occupied Palestinian Territories and the outside world;
 - Imposition of curfews and siege on villages and urban centers;
 - Destruction and demolition of homes;
 - Destruction of property, including agricultural land and the uprooting of trees and crops.

- **Transfer of Israeli Population to the Occupied Palestinian Territories**
 - Continued settlement construction and expansion;
 - Construction of by-pass roads;
 - Attacks on the Palestinian civilian population by Israeli settlers;
 - Attacks on and destruction of Palestinian property by Israeli settlers.

- **Destruction of the Economic Sector**
 - o Confiscation of land;
 - o Destruction of crops and uprooting trees;
 - o Bans on fishing off the Gazan coast;
 - o Restriction on the movement of labor;
 - o Restrictions on trade between the Occupied Palestinian Territories and Israel and trade with other countries;
 - o Closures of the Occupied Palestinian Territories, impeding access to both Israel and the outside world;
 - o Delaying transfers of tax revenues.

Pursuant to the Commission's mandate to identify both the causes of the recent events and the means of preventing their recurrence, the Commission should undertake to examine the events in the context of Israel's legal obligations as an occupying power and the broader political context. An analysis of the recent events cannot be divorced from the fact that they have taken place in territory under belligerent occupation.

Accordingly, the Commission should not focus solely on individual rights abuses or the anatomy of individual clashes but also examine roots of the violence and the context in which it is occurring. An investigation into whether willful, persistent, and systematic abuses of individual rights are taking place must be conducted.

In our future submissions, we will provide the Commission with the relevant facts and statistics, as well as an analysis of these violations in the applicable legal and political contexts.

APPENDIX A

PROPOSED RULES OF PROCEDURE FOR THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

PROPOSED RULES OF PROCEDURE

Rule 1 - Mandate

The Commission shall examine and analyze the information submitted by Palestinian and Israeli sources, as well as governments, international humanitarian organizations, and any other persons or bodies pursuant to Security Council Resolution 1322, General Assembly Resolution ES-10/7, 20 of October 2000, and the President Clinton's Statement. The Commission may obtain information as required through its own investigations or efforts, with a view to providing the parties, the President of the United States, and the United Nations Secretary General with its conclusions. These conclusions will include the underlying and immediate causes of the recent crisis and confrontations in the Israeli Occupied Palestinian Territories, violations of human rights and/or acts and measures which constitute breaches of international humanitarian law, and a concrete plan of action to ensure the cessation of violence and to prevent its recurrence in accordance with principles of international law. This will help ensure an atmosphere conducive to the conduct of genuine and non-prejudicial peace talks. This does not preclude the pursuit of other means of accountability and prevention as may be necessary. The Commission shall issue a public report of its findings.

Rule 2 - Meetings and Quorum

1. The Commission shall hold its meetings in private and in public as and when it deems necessary for the effectiveness of its work.
2. The Chairperson shall appoint and maintain a professional body of internationally recognized and impartial experts (Body of Experts) in the Israeli Occupied Palestinian Territories and Israel to conduct its investigation and coordinate its work. The Israeli and Palestinian sides (the Parties) may make recommendations concerning the membership of this Body to the Commission, but only the Commission shall have the authority for making the actual appointments.
3. The Chairperson shall call for meetings. A simple majority of Commission members may also call a meeting.
4. The Chairperson may declare a meeting officially in session with the presence of a simple majority. The presence of a majority of the members shall be required for any decision to be taken.
5. For any decision to be binding, Commission decisions shall be adopted by a simple majority of members present.

Rule 3 - Confidentiality

Members of the Commission shall refrain from expressing a position in public on any question under discussion in the Commission during the Commission's investigation. While the investigation is ongoing, the Chairperson shall solely be empowered to

disseminate information or comment on the investigation to the extent he deems appropriate. Upon conclusion of the investigation and submission of the report to the Parties, to the President of the United States, and to the United Nations Secretary General, the parties shall be invited to submit responses/comments on the report to the Commission within two (2) weeks. The Commission shall study said responses/comments, amend the report as it deems appropriate, and then make public its findings along with the Parties' responses/comments.

Rule 4 - Powers and Responsibilities of the Chairperson

The Chairperson shall represent the Commission in all its official and public capacities. Only the Chairperson shall be empowered to speak on behalf of the Commission or issue reports on the conduct of the Commission up until and including the publication of the Commission report. The Chairperson shall call for meetings and declare the opening and closing of each meeting of the Commission and, at such meetings, shall direct the discussions, accord the right to speak, put questions to the vote, announce decisions, rule on points of order and have complete control of the proceedings. The Chairperson shall also select and appoint two co-chairs from the Body of Experts to oversee and conduct the on-going investigation.

Based on the recommendations of the members of the Commission, the Parties, and the Co-Chairs, the Chairperson shall select a Body of Experts in a manner so as to include all areas and fields necessary for a thorough and objective inquiry to be completed. In addition, the Chairperson shall appoint a Secretariat to oversee the administrative staff.

Rule 5 - Powers and Responsibilities of the Co-Chairs

The Co-Chairs are required to have experience with international commissions of inquiry and/or the laws pertaining to occupation. The Co-Chairs, under the Chairperson's supervision, shall direct the Body of Experts of internationally accredited professionals in all fields relevant and necessary to conduct a complete and objective inquiry. The Co-Chairs may nominate additional experts for appointment by the Chairperson. The Co-Chairs shall also direct the Secretariat.

Rule 6 - Secretariat

The Director of the Secretariat shall be responsible for making all arrangements connected with the work of the Commission, including arrangements for its meetings, and it shall provide any administrative assistance required by the Commission. He/She shall distribute documents and materials to the members of the Commission as requested by the Commission, its Chairperson, the Co-Chairs, or any member of the Commission, and it shall be responsible for the preparation of the Commission's meetings.

Rule 7 - Records

1. The Commission will be provided with records of its meetings in English.
2. The Commission will arrange for the safekeeping and conservation of its records and files. After the conclusion of its work, the Commission will deposit its records and files with the Secretary General of the United Nations to ensure the privacy of testimonials and provide for the protection of individuals named therein.
3. The Commission will prepare its final report in English with official translations in Arabic and Hebrew.

Rule 8 - Participation of Governments, International Humanitarian Organizations, or Other Persons or Bodies

The Commission may invite governments, international humanitarian organizations, or other persons or bodies to participate in its discussions, when the Commission deems it necessary for the enhancement of the effectiveness of its work.

Rule 9 - Investigations

1. The Commission shall hear witnesses or experts, on its own initiative or upon proposal by governments, international humanitarian organizations, or other persons or bodies. In such cases, the Commission shall determine the modalities for issuing summons and subpoenas to witnesses and experts. Testimonials of witnesses shall be taken upon oath.
2. The Commission may authorize one or more of its members to hear any witness or witnesses.
3. The Commission shall provide for the protection of all witnesses as necessary.
4. All parties agree that the Commission shall have unimpeded freedom of movement in the Occupied Palestinian Territories and shall enjoy those other privileges and immunities required to maintain the confidentiality of witnesses and successfully fulfill the Commission's mandate. Visits may be carried out by the Commission in its entirety, by one or more of its members, by its Co-Chairs, or by the staff of the Commission, as decided by the Commission.

Rule 10 - Decisions

The Commission will make every effort to take its decisions by consensus. In the absence of consensus, decisions of the Commission will be taken by a majority of the present voting members.

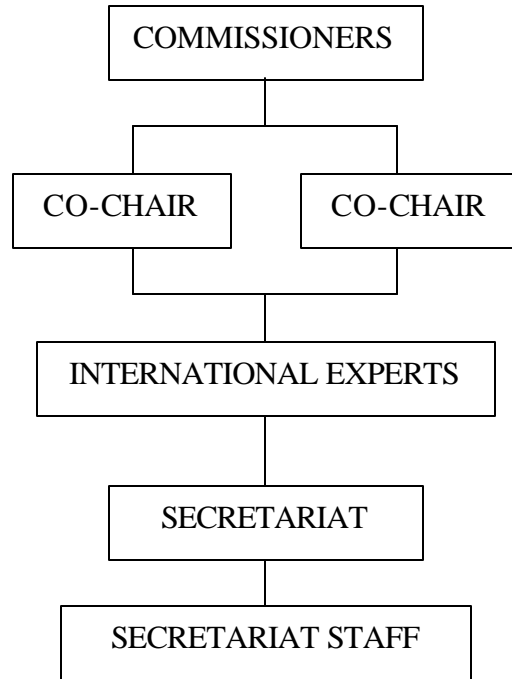
Rule 11 - Reports

1. The Commission shall deposit its report, along with party responses/comments, with the President of the United States and the Secretary General of the United Nations in accordance with Security Council Resolution 1322 (2000), General Assembly Resolution ES-10/7, dated 20 October 2000, and President Clinton's Statement, five (5) days prior to public dissemination of the report.
2. The Secretary General of the United Nations will deposit the report as a public record with the United Nations.
3. Members of the Commission who wish to dissent from one part or more of the Commission's report shall have the right to do so and append their dissenting opinions to the report.

Rule 12 - Other procedural matters

1. Any procedural matters arising at a meeting which are not covered by these rules shall be dealt with by the Commission.
2. All capitalized terms not defined herein shall have the meaning assigned to them under the Palestinian preliminary submission dated 9 December 2000.

PROPOSED FORMAT FOR THE INTERNATIONAL INQUIRY COMMISSION



APPENDIX B

**UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTIONS
AND PRESIDENT CLINTON'S STATEMENT
AT SHARM AL-SHEIKH**

**United Nations Security Council Resolutions
Relevant to the Commission's Mandate**

SCR 1322 (2000)
SCR 1073 (1996)
SCR 672 (1990)
SCR 478 (1980)
SCR 476 (1980)
SCR 338 (1973)
SCR 242 (1967)

Security Council

S/RES/338 (1973)
22 October 1973

**Resolution 338 (1973)
of 22 October 1973**

The Security Council

1. *Calls upon* all parties to the present fighting to cease all firing and terminate all military activity immediately, no later than 12 hours after the moment of the adoption of this decision, in the positions they now occupy;
2. *Calls upon* the parties concerned to start immediately after the cease-fire the implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) in all of its parts;
3. *Decides* that, immediately and concurrently with the cease-fire, negotiations shall start between the parties concerned under appropriate auspices aimed at establishing a just and durable peace in the Middle East.

*Adopted at the 1747th meeting
by 14 votes to none. 1/*

1/ One member (China) did not participate in the voting.

Security Council

S/RES/242 (1967)
22 November 1967

**Resolution 242 (1967)
of 22 November 1967**

The Security Council,

Expressing its continuing concern with the grave situation in the Middle East,

Emphasizing the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war and the need to work for a just and lasting peace in which every State in the area can live in security,

Emphasizing further that all Member States in their acceptance of the Charter of the United Nations have undertaken a commitment to act in accordance with Article 2 of the Charter,

1. *Affirms* that the fulfillment of Charter principles requires the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East which should include the application of both the following principles:

(i) Withdrawal of Israel armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict;

(ii) Termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgment of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force;

2. *Affirms further* the necessity

(a) For guaranteeing freedom of navigation through international waterways in the area;

(b) For achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem;

(c) For guaranteeing the territorial inviolability and political independence of every State in the area, through measures including the establishment of demilitarized zones;

3. *Requests* the Secretary-General to designate a Special Representative to proceed to the Middle East to establish and maintain contacts with the States concerned in order to promote agreement and assist efforts to achieve a peaceful and accepted settlement in accordance with the provisions and principles in this resolution;

4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on the progress of the efforts of the Special Representative as soon as possible.

Adopted unanimously at the 1382nd meeting.



Security Council

Distr.
GENERAL

S/RES/1322 (2000)
7 October 2000

Resolution 1322 (2000)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 4205th meeting on 7 October 2000

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolutions [476 \(1980\) of 30 June 1980](#), [478 \(1980\) of 20 August 1980](#), [672 \(1990\) of 12 October 1990](#), and [1073 \(1996\) of 28 September 1996](#), and all its other relevant resolutions,

Deeply concerned by the tragic events that have taken place since 28 September 2000, that have led to numerous deaths and injuries, mostly among Palestinians,

Reaffirming that a just and lasting solution to the Arab and Israeli conflict must be based on its resolutions [242 \(1967\) of 22 November 1967](#) and [338 \(1973\) of 22 October 1973](#), through an active negotiating process,

Expressing its support for the Middle East peace process and the efforts to reach a final settlement between the Israeli and Palestinian sides and *urging* the two sides to cooperate in these efforts,

Reaffirming the need for full respect by all of the Holy Places of the City of Jerusalem, and *condemning* any behavior to the contrary,

1. *Deplores* the provocation carried out at Al-Haram Al-Sharif in Jerusalem on 28 September 2000, and the subsequent violence there and at other Holy Places, as well as in other areas throughout the territories occupied by Israel since 1967, resulting in over 80 Palestinian deaths and many other casualties;
2. *Condemns* acts of violence, especially the excessive use of force against Palestinians, resulting in injury and loss of human life;
3. *Calls upon* Israel, the occupying Power, to abide scrupulously by its legal obligations and its responsibilities under the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of 12 August 1949;

4. *Calls for* the immediate cessation of violence, and for all necessary steps to be taken to ensure that violence ceases, that new provocative actions are avoided, and that the situation returns to normality in a way which promotes the prospects for the Middle East peace process;

5. *Stresses* the importance of establishing a mechanism for a speedy and objective inquiry into the tragic events of the last few days with the aim of preventing their repetition, and *welcomes* any efforts in this regard;

6. *Calls for* the immediate resumption of negotiations within the Middle East peace process on its agreed basis with the aim of achieving an early final settlement between the Israeli and Palestinian sides;

7. *Invites* the Secretary-General to continue to follow the situation and to keep the Council informed;

8. *Decides* to follow closely the situation and to remain seized of the matter.



Security Council

S/RES/476 (1980)
30 June 1980

Resolution 476 (1980)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 2242nd meeting
on 30 June 1980

The Security Council,

Having considered the letter of 28 May 1980 from the representative of Pakistan, the current Chairman of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, as contained in document S/13966 of 28 May 1980,

Reaffirming that acquisition of territory by force is inadmissible,

Bearing in mind the specific status of Jerusalem and, in particular, the need for protection and preservation of the unique spiritual and religious dimension of the Holy Places in the city,

Reaffirming its resolutions relevant to the character and status of the Holy City of Jerusalem, in particular resolutions 252 (1968) of 21 May 1968, 267 (1969) of 3 July 1969, 271 (1969) of 15 September 1969, 298 (1971) of 25 September 1971 and 465 (1980) of 1 March 1980,

Recalling the Fourth Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949 relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War,

Deploring the persistence of Israel, in changing the physical character, demographic composition, institutional structure and the status of the Holy City of Jerusalem,

Gravely concerned over the legislative steps initiated in the Israeli Knesset with the aim of changing the character and status of the Holy City of Jerusalem,

1. Reaffirms the overriding necessity to end the prolonged occupation of Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem;

2. Strongly deplores the continued refusal of Israel, the occupying Power, to comply with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly;
3. Reconfirms that all legislative and administrative measures and actions taken by Israel, the occupying Power, which purport to alter the character and status of the Holy City of Jerusalem have no legal validity and constitute a flagrant violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War and also constitute a serious obstruction to achieving a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East;
4. Reiterates that all such measures which have altered the geographic, demographic and historical character and status of the Holy City of Jerusalem are null and void and must be rescinded in compliance with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council;
5. Urgently calls on Israel, the occupying Power, to abide by this and previous Security Council resolutions and to desist forthwith from persisting in the policy and measures affecting the character and status of the Holy city of Jerusalem;
6. Reaffirms its determination in the event of non-compliance by Israel with this resolution, to examine practical ways and means in accordance with relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations to secure the full implementation of this resolution.



Security Council

S/RES/478 (1980)
20 August 1980

Resolution 478 (1980) of 20 August 1980

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolution 476 (1980),

Reaffirming again that the acquisition of territory by force is inadmissible,

Deeply concerned over the enactment of a "basic law" in the Israeli Knesset proclaiming a change in the character and status of the Holy City of Jerusalem, with its implications for peace and security,

Noting that Israel has not complied with resolution 476 (1980),

Reaffirming its determination to examine practical ways and means, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, to secure the full implementation of its resolution 476 (1980), in the event of non-compliance by Israel,

1. *Censures* in the strongest terms the enactment by Israel of the "basic law" on Jerusalem and the refusal to comply with relevant Security Council resolutions;
2. *Affirms* that the enactment of the "basic law" by Israel constitutes a violation of international law and does not affect the continued application of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, in the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since June 1967, including Jerusalem;
3. *Determines* that all legislative and administrative measures and actions taken by Israel, the occupying Power, which have altered or purport to alter the character and status of the Holy City of Jerusalem, and in particular the recent "basic law" on Jerusalem, are null and void and must be rescinded forthwith;
4. *Affirms also* that this action constitutes a serious obstruction to achieving a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East;

5. *Decides* not to recognize the "basic law" and such other actions by Israel that, as a result of this law, seek to alter the character and status of Jerusalem and calls upon:

(a) All Member States to accept this decision;

(b) Those States that have established diplomatic missions at Jerusalem to withdraw such missions from the Holy City;

6. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on the implementation of the present resolution before 15 November 1980;

7. *Decides* to remain seized of this serious situation.

Adopted at the 2245th meeting by 14 votes to none, with 1 abstention (United States of America).



Security Council

S/RES/672 (1990)
12 October 1990

Resolution 672 (1990)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 2948th meeting on
12 October 1990

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolutions 476 (1980) and 478 (1980),

Reaffirming that a just and lasting solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict must be based on its resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) through an active negotiating process which takes into account the right to security for all States in the region, including Israel, as well as the legitimate political rights of the Palestinian people,

Taking into consideration the statement of the Secretary-General relative to the purpose of the mission he is sending to the region and conveyed to the Council by the President on 12 October 1990,

1. Expresses alarm at the violence which took place on 8 October at the Al Haram al Sharif and other Holy Places of Jerusalem resulting in over twenty Palestinian deaths and to the injury of more than one hundred and fifty people, including Palestinian civilians and innocent worshippers;
2. Condemns especially the acts of violence committed by the Israeli security forces resulting in injuries and loss of human life;
3. Calls upon Israel, the occupying Power, to abide scrupulously by its legal obligations and responsibilities under the Fourth Geneva Convention, which is applicable to all the territories occupied by Israel since 1967;
4. Requests, in connection with the decision of the Secretary-General to send a mission to the region, which the Council welcomes, that he submit a report to it before the end of October 1990 containing his findings and conclusions and that he use as appropriate all the resources of the United Nations in the region in carrying out the mission.

Adopted unanimously.



Security Council

Distr.
GENERAL

S/RES/1073(1996)
28 September 1996

RESOLUTION 1073 (1996)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 3698th meeting,
on 28 September 1996

The Security Council,

Having considered the letter dated 26 September 1996 from the representative of Saudi Arabia on behalf of the States Members of the League of Arab States, contained in document S/1996/790, that referred to the action by the Government of Israel to open an entrance to a tunnel in the vicinity of Al Aqsa Mosque and its consequent results,

Expressing its deep concern about the tragic events in Jerusalem and the areas of Nablus, Ramallah, Bethlehem and the Gaza Strip, which resulted in a high number of deaths and injuries among the Palestinian civilians, and concerned also about the clashes between the Israeli army and the Palestinian police and the casualties on both sides,

Recalling its resolutions on Jerusalem and other relevant Security Council resolutions,

Having discussed the situation at its formal meeting on 27 September 1996, with the participation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of a number of countries,

Concerned about the difficulties facing the Middle East peace process and the deterioration of the situation, including inter alia its impact on the living conditions of the Palestinian people, and urging the parties to fulfill their obligations, including the agreements already reached,

Concerned about developments at the Holy Places of Jerusalem,

1. Calls for the immediate cessation and reversal of all acts which have resulted in the aggravation of the situation, and which have negative implications for the Middle East peace process;

2. Calls for the safety and protection of Palestinian civilians to be ensured;
3. Calls for the immediate resumption of negotiations within the Middle East peace process on its agreed basis and the timely implementation of the agreements reached;
4. Decides to follow closely the situation and to remain seized of the matter.

President Clinton's Statement at Sharm el-Sheikh

17 October 2000

First of all, I want to thank President Mubarak and his able team for making it possible for us to have this meeting that we have held in this magnificent and beautiful place. I especially want to thank President Mubarak for Egypt's consistent and pivotal partnership in the peace process and for playing a critical role in our efforts here. I also want to thank His Majesty King Abdullah for his steadfast leadership for peace, which again was in evidence.

I would like to thank the E.U. High Commissioner Javier Solana, my longtime friend, who worked with me to bring an end to violence in the Balkans, and now is working in the Middle East. And especially I want to thank Secretary General Kofi Annan, who has been here now in the region for more than a week, and who has worked tirelessly to bring an end to violence and to make this meeting possible.

But of course, the greatest credit for the progress we have made today belongs to Prime Minister Barak and Chairman Arafat, who have had to overcome the difficulties of these last several days. And we all recognize that theirs was the primary decision to make.

Our meeting has not been easy because the last two weeks have been so hard. A tragic and terrible confrontation costing many lives and injuries, threatening everything that we have worked to achieve between Israelis and Palestinians and throughout the region and over the past seven years now.

Even as we meet, the situation in the territories remains tense. Yesterday again was violent.

This is a reminder of the urgency of breaking the cycle of violence. I believe we have made real progress today. Repairing the damage will take time and great effort by all of us.

When we leave here today, we will have to work hard to consolidate what we have agreed. Let me summarize what has been agreed so there will be no misunderstanding.

Our primary objective has been to end the current violence so we can begin again to resume our efforts towards peace. The leaders have agreed on three basic objectives and steps to realize them.

First, both sides have agreed to issue public statements unequivocally calling for an end of violence. They also agreed to take immediate, concrete measures to end the current confrontation, eliminate points of friction, ensure an end to violence and incitement, maintain calm, and prevent recurrence of recent events.

To accomplish this, both sides will act immediately to return the situation to that which existed prior to the current crisis, in areas such as restoring law and order, redeployment of forces, eliminating points of friction, enhancing security cooperation, and ending the closure and opening the Gaza airport. The United States will facilitate security cooperation between the parties as needed.

Second, the United States will develop with the Israelis and Palestinians, as well as in consultation with the United Nations Secretary General, a committee of fact-finding on the events of the past several weeks and how to prevent their recurrence. The committee's report will be shared by the U.S. President with the U.N. Secretary General and the parties prior to publication. A final report shall be submitted under the auspices of the U.S. President for publication.

Third, if we are to address the underlying roots of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, there must be a pathway back to negotiations and a resumption of efforts to reach a permanent status agreement based on the U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and subsequent understandings. Toward this end, the leaders have agreed that the United States would consult with the parties within the next two weeks about how to move forward.

We have made important commitments here today against the backdrop of tragedy and crisis. We should have no illusions about the difficulties ahead.

If we are going to rebuild confidence and trust, we must all do our part, avoiding recrimination and moving forward. I'm counting on each of us to do everything we possibly can in the critical period ahead.

I am sure it will be a disappointment to some of you, but one of the things that all the leaders agreed was that our statement should stand on its own and we should begin by promoting reconciliation and avoiding conflict by forgoing questions today.

Thank you very much.

APPENDIX C

LIST OF OFFICIALS, ACADEMICS AND REPRESENTATIVES OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN THE OCCUPIED PALESTINIAN TERRITORIES

LIST OF OFFICIALS, ACADEMICS AND REPRESENTATIVES OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN THE OCCUPIED PALESTINIAN TERRITORIES

1. Members of the Palestinian Authority

Mr. Yasser Arafat, President
Mr. Hikmat Zaid, Minister of Agriculture
Mr. Jamil Tarifi, Minister of Civil Affairs
Mr. Yasser Abed Rabbo, Minister of Culture and Arts and Information
Mr. Hisham Abdel Razeq, Minister of Detainees and Freed Detainees Affairs
Mr. Maher Al-Masri, Minister of Economy and Trade
Mr. Tayeb Abdel Rahim, Minister of Presidential Affairs
Mr. Freih Abu Middain, Minister of Justice
Mr. Zuhdi Nashashibi, Minister of Finance
Mrs. Intisar Al-Wazir, Minister of Social Affairs
Dr. Riyadh Al-Za'noun, Minister of Health
Dr. Munther Salah, Minister of Higher Education
Dr. Youssef Abu Safiyeh, Minister of Environment
Mr. Abdul Rahman Hamad, Minister of Housing
Dr. Sa'di Al-Krunz, Minister of Industry
Mr. Ziyad Abu Zayyad, Minister of Jerusalem Affairs
Dr. Ali Al Qwasm, Minister of Transportation
Mr. Freih Abu Meddein, Minister of Justice
Mr. Rafiq An-Natsheh, Minister of Labour
Dr. Saeb Erakat, Minister of Local Government
Mr. Hassan Asfour, Minister of Non-Governmental Organizations
Mr. Nabil Amro, Minister of Parliamentary Affairs
Dr. Nabil Shaeth, Minister of Planning and International Cooperation
Mr. Imad Al-Falouji, Minister of Posts and Telecommunication
Mr. Azzam Al-Ahmad, Minister of Public Works
Mr. Abdul Aziz Shaheen, Minister of Supplies
Mr. Mitri Abu 'Aytah, Minister of Tourism and Antiquities
Mr. Faisal Hussein, Minister without Portfolio

2. The Palestinian Legislative Council

Mr. Ahmed Qrei'a, Speaker

3. The Palestinian Independent Commission for Citizen's Rights

Dr. Hayder Abed-Elshafi, Commissioner General

4. Other Palestinian officials, academics and representatives of civil society

Mr. Mustafa Abdel Nabi Al-Natshah, Mayor of Hebron
Dr. Fathi Arafat, Chairman of the Palestinian Red Crescent Society
Dr. Sari Nusseibeh, President of Al-Quds University in Jerusalem
Dr. Ali Jirbawi, Head, Political Science Department, Birzeit University and
Project Coordinator for Human Rights Issues, Education Department, UNRWA
Dr. Hanan Ashrawi, Member of the Palestinian Legislative Council and
Secretary-General of Global Dialogue and Democracy (“Miftah”)
Mr. Sulaiman Al Najjab, Member of the Executive Committee of PLO

5. Palestinian NGOs

Adameer Association
Al Mizan Centre for Human Rights
Al-Haq
Arab Thought Forum/Citizen Rights Centre
Association of Palestinian Local Authorities
Association of Women for Social Work
Birzeit Law Institute
Bisan Centre for Research and Development
Centre for Economic and Social Rights
Cultural and Free Thought Centre
Defence for Children International/Palestinian Section
Democracy and Workers’ Rights Centre
Early Childhood Resource Centre
Freedoms Defence Centre
Gaza Centre for Rights and Law
Gaza Community Mental Health
Gender Planning Development
General Union of Disabled Palestinians
General Union of Palestinian Women
Guidance and Training Centre for the Child and Family
Jerusalem Centre for Economic and Social Rights
Jerusalem Centre for Women
Jerusalem Legal Aid Centre
Land Research Centre
Makassed Society in Jerusalem
Mandela Institute for Political Prisoners
Mashriqqiyat
National Rehabilitation Society for Handicapped
Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs (PASSIA)
Palestinian Agriculture Relief (PARC)
Palestinian Bar Association
Palestinian Centre for Human Rights

Palestinian Counselling Centre
Palestinian Happy Child Centre – PHCC
Palestinian Human Rights Monitoring Group
Palestinian Hydrologist Group
Palestinian Mother and Child Care Society
Palestinian Prisoner Society
Palestinian Society for Human Rights
Palestinian Society for the Protection of Human Rights and Environment (LAW)
Palestinian Working Women Society
PNGO Network
Rawdat-E-Zuher
Red Crescent Society
Resource Centre for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights (BADIL)
St. John Eye Hospital
Tamer Institute for Community Education
The Palestinian Association for Legal Sciences
Treatment and Rehabilitation Centre for Victims of Torture
Union of Health Work Committees
Union of Palestinian Medical Relief Committees
Women Affairs Centre
Women Affairs Technical Committee
Women Union Centre
Women’s Centre for Legal Aid and Counseling
Women’s Studies Centre

8. Representatives of the Muslim, Christian communities

Mr. Ramzi Zananiri, Executive Director
Near East Christian Council Committee for Refugee Work, Jerusalem/West Bank

Mr. Harry Hagopian
Executive Director, Middle East Council of Churches
Convener, Jerusalem Inter-Church Committee
Legal Consultant, London, United Kingdom

Fr. Raed Abusahlia
Chancellor of the Latin Patriarchate
Secretary of Patriarch Michel Sabbah

Bishop Aris Shirvanjan
Director for Ecumenical and Foreign Relations of
the Armenian Patriarchate, Jerusalem

Dr. Mustafa Abu Sway
Director
Islamic Research Centre
Al-Quds University

Jerusalem

Sheikh Ikrama Said Sabri
General Mufti of Jerusalem and Palestinian territories
Preacher of Al-Aqsa Mosque

Sheikh Yaakoub Karrach
Director of Islam Fiqh Centre
and member of the Palestinian National Council

9. Israeli and Arab NGOs

Adalah Legal Centre for Arab Minority Rights in Israel
Alternative Information Center
Association for Civil Rights in Israel (ACRI)
Btselem Israeli Information Centre for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories
Defence for Children International (Israel Section)

HaMoKed Centre for the Defence of the Individual
Ittijah Union of Arab Community Based Association
Mossawa Centre
Physicians for Human Rights
Public Committee against Torture in Israel
Rabbis for Human Rights

APPENDIX D

RECOMMENDED BODY OF EXPERTS

RECOMMENDED BODY OF EXPERTS

Name	Association	Contact Information	Expertise
Bassiouni, Cherif M.	Professor of Law, DePaul University	(312) 362-8332 (t) (312) 362-5649 (f)	International Humanitarian Law
Boraine, Alexander Lionel	Professor and Director of the Institute for Transitional Justice at New York University School of Law	(212) 998-6189 (t) (212) 995-4590 (f) borainea@juris.law.nyu.edu alex@ct.osf.org.za	International Humanitarian Law
Chopra, Jarat	Head, Office of District Administration for the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor	(401) 863-2943 (t) (401) 863-7440 (f) jarat_chopra@hotmail.com	Protection of Civilians in Times of Conflict; Deployment of Protection Forces
Dessus, Sebastien Christian	Senior Country Economist, West Bank and Gaza Resident Mission, the World Bank	(972) (2) 236-6549 (t) (972) (2) 236-6543 (f) sdessus@worldbank.org	Economist
Falk, Richard	Albert G. Milbank Professor of International Law and Practice, Princeton University	(609) 258-4864 (t) (609) 258-3988 (f) rfalk@princeton.edu	International Law
Fawcett, John	International Crisis Group	(212) 539-1002 (t) JohnFawcett2@compuserve.com	International Humanitarian Law
Hollis, Brenda J.	Senior Trial Attorney; Chief, Team Legal Officer and Co-Counsel Section, UN International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia	(31) (70) 416-8679	International Criminal Law
Jussila, Jorma	Senior Advisor, Police Technical Centre, Helsinki	(358) (9) 8388-8075 (t) (358) (4) 0569-1408 (f) jorma.jussila@ptk.poliisi.fi	Weapons Specialist, Ballistics, Policing Issues
O'Neil, William	Senior Advisor on Human Rights, UN Interim Mission in Kosovo	(718) 499-7416 (t) (718) 832-8930 (f) kegarrett@compuserve.com	Human Rights
Overkil, Arnstein	Head of Mission for Temporary International Presence in Hebron	(47) (67) 576-252	Security Expert, Policing Issues

Name	Association	Contact Information	Expertise
Peerwani, Nizam	Chief Medical Examiner, Tarrant County, Texas	(817) 920-5716 (t) npeerwani@tarrantcounty.com	Forensics
Stuebner, William A.	Head of Advocacy Department, United Nations Association	(202) 462-3446 (t) (202) 462-3448 (f)	Weapons Expert, Legal and Illegal Uses of Weapons
Tanke-Holm, Tor	Police Advisor, Norwegian Institute for International Affairs	(47) (22) 056-549 (t) (47) (22) 177-015 (f)	Security Expert, Counter-terrorism issues.
Van Zyl, Paul	Director, Transitional Justice Program, Human Rights Institute, Columbia University School of Law	(212) 989-1442 (t) paulvanzyl@hotmail.com pvanzy@law.columbia.edu	Transitional Justice Issues including Truth Commissions, Special Tribunals, and Other Reconciliation Initiatives
Walsh, Mark Richard	Professor, Political-Military Sciences, United States Army Peacekeeping Institute, United States Army War College	(717) 245-3199 (t) walshm@csl.carlisle.army.mil	United Nations Zone Operations; Humanitarian Affairs
Williams, Paul	Professor, School of International Service & Washington College of Law, The American University	(202) 885-3486 (t) Ghrt5700@aol.com	Public International Law