A PODCAST SHARING TRUE STORIES OF COURAGE AND PURPOSE

FINDING HUMANITY PODCAST EDUCATION TOOLKITS Season 2: Seeking Justice on the Frontlines

EPISODE 4 Resistance and the Evolution of Nonviolent Activism | Issa Amro

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Our goal is to share our insights, research, policy analysis and key findings with hopes to inspire continued engagement and learning around the podcast episodes and the substantial content and topics unearthed in each episode.

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About the Finding Humanity Podcast | Season 2:

For some, fighting for change means risking it all, one's own life. As history has taught us, fighting grave injustice requires courage, perseverance and grit. In season 2 of Finding Humanity Podcast, we unpack the stories of people on the frontlines of change. People who put their bodies on the line to create an equitable and just world. Learn More.





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EPISODE

Main topics in Episode: Human Rights in Palestine/Israel, apartheid, non-violent resistance

Short Description of Episode: This episode tells the story of an activist, Issa Amro, on the frontlines of the nonviolent resistance movement in the West Bank. The story is told through the Israel/Palestine conflict, but is applicable in other non-violent resistance struggles globally. Issa is among a growing number of Palestinians who have embraced non-violent means of protesting Israel's military occupation and expanding settlements, and who are increasingly finding those avenues of dissent blocked. The right to freedom of expression is enshrined in Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which sets out in broad terms the human rights of all people. Exercising these rights - without fear or unlawful interference - is central to living in an open and fair society; one in which people can access justice and enjoy their human rights. Yet governments around the world routinely punish and imprison people for speaking out, even though almost every country's constitution refers to the value of 'free speech'. In this episode, we lay down the backdrop of Issa's story: the history of the Palestine-Israeli conflict and how the establishment and expansion of the State of Israel resulted in the expulsion of 325,000 Palestinian residents. We unpack the creation of a two-tiered system by the State of Israel (some would argue apartheid) in the West Bank between Israeli settlers and the existing Palestinian population. We dive into trends in silencing non-violent resistance, and unpack how 'active citizenship' is fundamental to building a just, peaceful and prosperous society for all.

Glossary

International humanitarian law - is the law that regulates the conduct of war (*jus in bello*)

Occupation law - is a recognized branch of international humanitarian law

Hague Regulations of 1899 and 1907 - series of international treaties that contain rules regulating warfare. They contain provision on the protection of civilians and occupied territory.

Geneva Conventions - comprise four treaties and three additional protocols, that establish the standards of international law for humanitarian treatment in war. Article 1 of Protocol I clarifies





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that armed conflict against colonial domination and foreign occupation also qualifies as an international conflict

Apartheid - is the Afrikaans word for 'apartness', originally used to describe the system of racial discrimination that existed in South Africa until 1994. The term apartheid is not only a reference to South Africa's former regime; it is used in international law to describe a category of regime, defined in the United Nations (UN) International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid (1973), to which more than 100 states are a party. The definition was refined in Article 7 of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (2002). (See more on apartheid below)

Occupied territory - territory is considered occupied when it is actually placed under the authority of the hostile army. The occupation extends only to the territory where such authority has been established and can be exercised (Article 42 of the 1907 Hague Regulation)

Occupation - International law provides that a situation of occupation arises when, in a situation of international armed conflict, a territory, or parts thereof, comes under the effective provisional control of a foreign power, even if it is not met with armed resistance. Occupation is deemed to be temporary and does not give the Occupying Power sovereignty. The United Nations Charter strictly prohibits the acquisition of territory by force.

Occupying power - International law distinguishes provisional belligerent occupation from territorial acquisition by invasion and annexation, both of which are illegal under international law

Colonialism - a practice of domination, which involves the subjugation of one people to another.

Settlements - are Jewish communities established in the West Bank and Gaza Strip after these territories came under Israel's control at the end of 1967. They are considered illegal under international law. (See more below)

Civil resistance - nonviolent actions that demonstrate opposition to a policy, law, or government, usually presented as a lawful action

Civil disobedience - is an act of intentionally breaking the law, a refusal to cooperate with unjust laws, policies, or government demands.





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Resistance movement - an organized effort to withstand the legally established government or an occupying power.

Nonviolent resistance (NVR) - also known as nonviolent action is the practice of achieving goals through civil disobedience, economic or political noncooperation, while being nonviolent.

Ethnic religion - religion or belief associated with a particular ethnic group. Ethnic religions are often distinguished from universal religions, such as Christianity or Islam, which are not limited in ethnic, national or racial scope. Ethnic religions (e.g. Judaism, Druidism, Alevism) are distinctive in their relationship with a particular ethnic group.

Judaism - it is an ethnic religion comprising the religious, cultural and legal tradition and civilization of the Jewish people. Within Judaism there are a variety of movements, such as Orthodox, Conservative and Reform Judaism

Zionism - Jewish nationalist movement that has had as its goal the creation and support of a Jewish national state in Palestine. Zionism originated in Eastern and Central Europe in the latter part of the 19th and it is in many ways a continuation of the ancient attachment of the Jews and Jewish religion to the historical region of Palestine, where one of the hills of ancient Jerusalem was called Zion.

Balfour Declaration - was a statement issued by the British government in 1917 during the First World War announcing support for "the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people" in Palestine. It instigated enthusiastic hopes among Zionists and seemed the fulfillment of the aims of the World Zionist Orgnization. The declaration had many long lasting consequences - it greatly increased popular support for Zionism within Jewish communities worldwide and is considered a principle cause of the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Sources/Extracted from: Diakonia, IHL, <u>link</u> Casebook, Hague Convention, <u>link</u> Plato, Stanford, Colonialism, <u>link</u> ADL, Settlements, <u>link</u> Study,com, Civil resistance v disobedience, <u>link</u> Britannica, Zionism, <u>link</u> Britannica, Balfour Declaration, <u>link</u>

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Non-violent resistance: overview



Rosa Parks: Montgomery bus boycott, source

Non-violent resistance (NVR) is a method of social change, that employs strategies such as strikes, sit-ins, boycotts and civil disobedience. The nonviolent theory was developed by Henry David Thoreau in his famous essay - *Civil Disobedience* in 1849. His argument that it was morally justified to peacefully resist unjust laws inspired Americans involved in the struggle against slavery and the fight for trade union rights and women's suffrage. NVR highlights the

desires of an individual or group that feels that something needs to change to improve the current condition of the resisting person or group. It is often linked to civil disobedience, but they are not synonymous with one another.

Satyagraha, a term coined and developed by Mahatma Gandhi, is a particular form of nonviolent resistance. Gandhi's satyagraha became a major tool in the Indian struggle against British imperialism and has since been adopted by protest groups in other countries.

Recent research suggests that nonviolent civil resistance is far more successful in creating broad-based change than violent campaigns. In fact, nonviolent campaigns are twice as likely to achieve their goals as violent campaigns. Although the exact dynamics will depend on many factors, the research shows that **it takes around 3.5% of the population actively participating in the protests to ensure serious political change.**

Major nonviolent resistance advocates include: Mahatma Gandhi, Te Whiti o Rongomai, Tohu Kākahi, Rosa Parks, Leo Tolstoy, Martin Luther King Jr., Václav Havel, Lech Wałęsa, Gene Sharp, Nelson Mandela and many more.

Sources/Extracted from: Harvard Gazette, Nonviolent resistance, <u>link</u> BBC Future, 3.5% rule, <u>link</u> Spartacus, Nonviolent resistance, <u>link</u> Britannica, Satyagraha, <u>link</u>





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Quick Facts & Data

NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE IN NUMBERS:

Historical movements:

- From 1900 to 2006, major nonviolent resistance campaigns seeking to overthrow dictatorships, throw out foreign occupations, or achieve self-determination were more than twice as successful as violent insurgencies seeking the same goals. [1]
- The recent past alone suggests as much; even before the Arab Spring, nonviolent campaigns in Serbia (2000), Madagascar (2002), Ukraine (2004), Lebanon (2005), and Nepal (2006) succeeded in ousting regimes from power. [1]
- There has been a patchy increase in the number of new nonviolent campaigns since Gandhi's struggle against British colonialism in India, which set on in 1919. But onsets of nonviolent uprisings began to accelerate in the late 1960s, during a wave of anti-colonial struggles that dominated the times. [2]
- In the late 1980s, we see the dramatic rise of nonviolent uprisings as a function of the iconic Eastern European revolutions, as well as a number of movements against US-backed right-wing military regimes in Latin America. [2]
- The number of nonviolent uprisings has steadily increased since then, featuring a sustained period of "color revolutions" against post-communist regimes between 2000 and 2010, followed by a geographically diverse set of cases since then. [2]
- Since 2010 alone, we have seen well over 50 new major nonviolent uprisings around the world, including the Arab Uprisings of 2011. [2]
- Recent cases of new campaigns include places as diverse as Guatemala, Burkina Faso, and Hong Kong. As nonviolent resistance goes, we live in the most contentious decade witnessed in the past 100 years. [2]

In Palestine:

- Israel's twelve-year closure of Gaza, limits access to educational, economic and other opportunities, medical care, clean water and electricity for the nearly 2 million Palestinians who live there. Eighty percent of Gaza's population depend on humanitarian aid. [3]
- According to the Palestinian rights group al-Mezan, Israeli forces killed 34 Palestinians and, according to Gaza's Health Ministry, injured 1,883 with live ammunition during these protests in 2019 as of October 31. [3]

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- As of October 31, according to Prison Services figures, Israeli authorities held 4,731 Palestinians in custody for "security" offenses, including 2,840 convicted prisoners, 1,061 pretrial detainees, and 460 in administrative detention based on secret evidence without charge or trial. Excluding Jerusalem residents, West Bank Palestinians were tried in military courts, including those charged with nonviolent speech or protest activity. Those courts have a near-100 percent conviction rate. [3]
- Although Palestinian nonviolent resistance dates back to the early 1900's, the image of armed and violent Palestinians still prevails. [4]
- In the 1970's and 80's, Palestinian refugees from camps in foreign countries, seeing no resolution after decades of displacement, chose armed struggle and more recent suicide bombings in Israel reinforced the pelsraeli policies are repressive and brutal. The use of live ammunition, beatings, destruction of property, rejection of building permits, constant threats, repeated administrative detentions and the escalation in arrests is discouraging and has been effectively obstructiverception. [4]
- Many Palestinians have been killed while taking part in nonviolent protests including Basem Abu Rahme who was killed during a protest in Bil'in. Internationals have also been killed, including Rachel Corrie and Tom Hurndall. Tristan Anderson, an American, lies in a coma after being shot with a teargas canister.[4]
- Rachel Corrie was killed on March 16, 2003 while staging a peaceful protest to protect the home of a Palestinian family from demolition. During her stay, she engaged with members of the International Solidarity Movement, a pro-Palestinian NGO. On March 16, Corrie defied an Israeli bulldozer in hopes of stopping it from demolishing the home of a Palestinian family. [5]
- [1] Foreign policy, Think again: nonviolent resistance, link
- [2] Diplomatic courier, NVR on the rise, <u>link</u>
- [3] HRW, Israel and Palestine, <u>link</u>
- [4] Amnesty, Palestinian nonviolent resistance, link
- [5] AA, American hero, <u>link</u>

Topical Background Information & Context

NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE:

\Image source: datawrapper

Between 1900-2019:

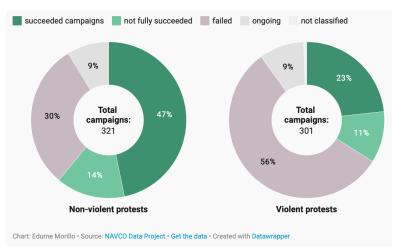
• half of the 321 non-violent campaigns succeeded, while only a quarter of their 301 violent counterparts did



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• 56% of violent campaigns failed, compared to 30% of non-violent ones.

Erica Chenoweth, a researcher on violence and co-author of the NAVCO Data Project, found even more evidence that non-violent protests are more successful: "Countries in which there were nonviolent campaigns were times likelier to about 10 transition to democracies within a five-year period compared to countries in which there were violent campaigns – whether the campaigns succeeded or failed".



Using violence also tends to reduce public support for an uprising. Chenoweth thinks this is because a violent uprising is more physically demanding and dangerous and thus scares off participants, but I'd add that violence is controversial and can engender sympathy for police and soldiers at the other end of dissidents' rifles. A violent uprising can end up polarizing people in support of the government, whereas a government crackdown against a nonviolent uprising will often reduce public support for the regime.

Chenoweth goes on to make an important point: **Violent resistance movements, even if they do succeed, can create a lot of long-term problems**. "It turns out that the way you resist matters in the long run, too," she says, explaining that her data suggest that countries with nonviolent uprisings "were way more likely to emerge with democratic institutions." They were also 15 percent less likely to "relapse" into civil war. After all, **a nonviolent movement is often inherently democratic**, a sort of expression of mass public opinion outside of the ballot box. A violent movement, on the other hand, no matter what it's driving ideals, is all about legitimizing power through force; it's not hard to see how its victorious participants would end up keeping power primarily through violence, as well.

HISTORICAL NONVIOLENT RESISTANCE MOVEMENTS AROUND THE WORLD

Peaceful stances against unequal civil rights have been successful throughout history, which proves that nonviolent movements can lead to meaningful changes.



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Over 100 years ago a peaceful protest Suffrage Parade took place in 1913. This movement shared the voices of over 5,000 courageous women speaking out for the right to equal political participation.

During the transition between the wet to dry season of 1930 Mahatma (Mohandas) Gandhi led a peaceful protest against Britain's imposed law dictating no Indian could collect or sell salt in the country. Followed by dozens, Gandhi walked over 240 miles leading protesters to the Arabian Sea to pick up a small handful of salt out of the muddy waters of the sea.

Cesar Chavez advocated for peaceful boycotts, protest, and a grueling yet nonviolent 25-day hunger strike which led to legislative changes to end exploitative abuse of America's farm workers in the late 1960s. He led a five-year strike in Delano, Calif., bringing together over 2,000 farmers to demand minimum wage primarily for underpaid overworked Filipino farmworkers. This caused more than 17 million Americans to boycott California grapes, which helped secure unions, better wages and security for farmworkers.

There are times when one person's peaceful actions can bring about more change than anyone can imagine. Rosa Parks' refusal to give up her seat to a white passenger on a bus in Montgomery, Ala., is one such example. Her defiant act symbolized greater civil rights, spreading the message that all people deserve equal seats. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled a year later in 1956, segregation on public buses unconstitutional.

In 1988, more than 100,000 Estonians gathered for five nights to protest Soviet rule. This was known as the Singing Revolution. For Estonians, music and singing acted as a way to preserve culture while the small but fierce country held its own during invasion from Germany, Sweden, Denmark and others. The Singing Revolution in Baltic states led to the Dissolution of the Soviet union in 1991.

Perhaps one of the most famous examples of peaceful activism in U.S. history, the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom took place on August 26, 1963. More than 200,000 Americans marched to promote racial equality and justice led by Martin Luther King Jr., who concluded the march by giving his famous speech, "I Have a Dream."

Current nonviolent resistance includes the Jeans Revolution in Belarus and Black Lives Matter in the USA.



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NONVIOLENT RESISTANCE IN PALESTINE

HISTORY

Palestinian nonviolent resistance dates back to the Ottoman and British Mandate periods during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. While the story of armed Palestinian resistance is known, the equally important history of nonviolent resistance is largely unacknowledged.

While nonviolent protests are often mentioned in the media, they received far less attention than acts of violence and delegitimization of nonviolent actions is the norm. As a result of this situation, nonviolent popular resistance in the occupied Palestinian territory is often ignored. However, the reality is that Palestinian resistance to occupation and injustice is overwhelmingly nonviolent. This nonviolent popular resistance is pushing for a new reality in which the occupation is ended, refugees' rights are realized, and all people are treated with equality and justice.

Following 1967, popular resistance was most often coordinated by "Popular Committees" comprised of local social and political leaders in towns and villages across the occupied Palestinian territory. The 1970s and 1980s also saw the rise of grassroots organizations including women's committees, trade unions, relief committees, youth and student movements, and human rights organizations which provided alternate service systems and leadership to resist the occupation.

The peace process years (1993 to 2000) saw a move away from popular resistance with wide support across the towns, villages and refugee camps of the occupied Palestinian territory for diplomatic negotiations led by a handful of key leaders. However, with the start of the second Intifada in late 2000 and the breakdown of the Oslo process, popular and nonviolent resistance again took a prominent position in the struggle to end the occupation. Palestinian activists launched legal challenges to the occupation at the U.N. and International Court of Justice, formed grassroots movements to challenge the Wall and settlements, reorganized popular committees, started weekly protests against land confiscation, and developed other new and creative forms of protest that continue into the present.



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RESISTANCE IN PALESTINE TODAY

Popular resistance in Palestine takes many forms. At times it conforms to a traditional view of what nonviolent protest looks like - protest marches, hunger strikes, work stoppages, boycotts, etc. At other times resistance is more subtle. This is the daily resistance of laborers who circumvent checkpoints to find work, of children who cross checkpoints to go to school, of families who build homes despite being denied permits knowing that they risk having their homes destroyed, of villagers who remain on their land despite being denied access to water, electricity, health and education services, and other basic needs. This is the resistance of countless, unnamed people who refuse to accept and cooperate with discriminatory policies and laws.

Recent examples:

- Village Protests: Israel began construction of the Wall within the West Bank in 2002, isolating 9.4% of all West Bank land on the Israeli side of the Wall. In response the Palestinian Anti-Apartheid Wall Campaign formed and Palestinian villages in the path of the Wall such as Nil'in, Bil'in, and Budrus launched regular nonviolent demonstrations. Several villages have succeeded in rerouting or delaying construction of the Wall. Today, popular committees across the West Bank continue to resist Israel's confiscation of land for the Wall and settlements through weekly demonstrations. The villagers are joined in their movement by an increasing number of allies throughout the world, including Israelis, Palestinians abroad, and communities in the Global South and Global North (e.g. Desmond Tutu, Jimmy Carter, Mary Robinson, some sustained injuries during the protests).
- Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions: In 2005 over 170 Palestinian civil society organizations joined together and issued a call for the use of boycott, divestment, and sanctions tactics to bring freedom, equality, and justice to Palestinians and Israelis, sparking a global BDS movement. Since the call's inception, targeted campaigns around the world have challenged corporations and cultural and academic institutions that reinforce Israel's occupation and/or help sustain the denial of Palestinian rights.
- Prisoner Hunger Strikes: Palestinians in Israeli prisons have repeatedly gone on hunger strike to protest deplorable prison conditions and Israel's use of administrative detention orders, which allow for the arrest and detention of Palestinians without charge or trial. Under these orders Palestinians can be held for up to six months and the orders can be renewed indefinitely. Individual





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strikers were released from detention over the course of the year. These strikes have resulted in Israel Israel agreeing to change prison conditions, including an end to renewal of administrative detention. However, to date Israel continues to hold prisoners in administrative detention and Palestinian prisoners therefore continued to use hunger strikes to demand change in their situations.

• **Mass Non-violent Protest:** In July 2017 Israel moved to impose new restrictions on Palestinians wishing to enter Al-Aqsa Mosque to pray. These restrictions were rejected by Palestinians. Public protests including prayer service held in the streets when Palestinian refused to enter Al-Aqsa under the new restrictive regime, business strikes, and mass popular non-violent protests in the streets all were used to call attention to the imposed changes while pushing for change. As a result of these protests and the attention the garnered, the new regime of restrictions was removed.

Sources/Extracted from: Datawrapper, Peaceful protests more successful, <u>link</u> Washingtonpost, Peaceful protests much more effective than violence for topping dictators, <u>link</u> Global Citizen, Peace protests, <u>link</u> DM, Protests made difference, <u>link</u> ADSC, Popular resistance in Palestine, <u>link</u> Open democracy, Nonviolent resistance in Palestine, <u>link</u>

Background information on the humanitarian crisis

OCCUPATION

Overview

Occupation has been a recurring condition in the history of armed conflict. Belligerents have often resorted to the effective control of a foreign territory (or parts thereof) in order to subjugate their adver- saries and achieve their objectives. Long-standing legal efforts to regulate these situations have produced the rules that now govern belligerent occupation and form an important area of international humani- tarian law (IHL). In fact, belligerent occupation is regarded as a species of international armed conflict and treated as such by





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the relevant instruments of IHL, particularly the Hague Regulations of 1907 and the Geneva Conventions of 1949.

Occupation was initially perceived as being a matter of inter-State relationships. Based on the premise that occupation was a temporary situation neither causing nor implying any devolution of sovereignty, occupation law, as reflected in the Hague Regulations of 1907, was geared mainly towards preserving the interests of the occupied State and its institutions. It also presumed a state of peaceful coexist- ence between the occupant and the local population and insisted on the former involving itself as little as possible in managing the lives of those temporarily under its rule. Occupation law - in its early stages - was not aimed primarily at ensuring comprehensive protection for the individuals living under occupation; it concentrated on maintaining the sovereign rights of the ousted government until the conditions for its return were agreed upon by the belligerents.

Recent occupations have demonstrated that even when States consent to be bound by occupation law in the course of their military operations abroad, they sometimes take a self-serving approach to its application. Some States have even taken the view that occupation law cannot cope with the political, humanitarian and legal challenges created by contemporary occupation; they argue that these situations are very different from classical occupation and should be governed by rules that are more specific than those contained in occupation law at present.

Sources/Extracted from: ICRC, Occupation, link

Temporary nature of occupation

A fundamental concept in IHL is that occupation is a temporary situation at the end of which control of the territory will return to the original sovereign. During this limited period, the occupant administers the territory on behalf of the sovereign. The status of the Occupying Power can therefore be compared to that of a trustee that is supposed to introduce as few changes (demographical, geographical, political) as possible, to preserve the status quo that existed at the beginning of the occupation.

The temporary nature of occupation is very different to the idea of annexation, which results in the incorporation of the occupied territory to the territory of the Occupying **Power.** The rationale behind occupation and its rules is to prevent measures that could lead





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to annexation, which is strictly forbidden under international law. The prohibition of annexation by use or threat of force stems from Art 2(4) of the UN Charter and it has been reiterated in the Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States .

Rights and duties of the Occupying Power and the protected population

Occupation is provisional in character, and does not award the Occupying Power sovereignty over the occupied territory. Therefore, one should be careful not to make false comparisons between the rights of a state sovereign and an Occupying Power. Article 43 of the Hague Regulations and Article 64 of the Fourth Geneva Convention define and delimit the general nature of an Occupying Power's authority in occupied territory. Namely that the Occupying Power is under an obligation to restore and ensure, as far as possible, public order and safety while respecting, unless absolutely prevented, the domestic laws in force in the occupied territory; Moreover, the occupant is to administer the occupied territory for the benefit of the local population while ensuring the security of its own armed forces. Human rights law, simultaneously and extraterritorially applicable, should guide the Occupying Power in exercising obligations not limited to the minimum defined by IHL, but also encompassing the complementary rights and privileges codified by human rights treaties.

Respect for the local law

Amending or introducing new legislation in occupied territory by the occupant is inherently restricted, and must conform to the following reasoning:

- Restoring and maintaining public order and civil life and the functions of orderly government
- The genuine security of the (forces of the) Occupying Power.
- To enable the occupant to fulfill its IHL and IHRL obligations
- Enhancing civil life and the wellbeing of the protected population during prolonged occupation

In addition to these general rules there are other **specific obligations and prohibitions**, **namely:**

• The obligation to provide for the basic needs of protected population;





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- The obligation to facilitate humanitarian aid by third actors;
- The strict prohibition on transferring your own population into the occupied territory;
- The strict prohibition on forcible transfer of the protected population, while allowing for temporary evacuation for military operations;
- The obligation to respect private property;
- The destruction of property is prohibited except where rendered absolutely necessary for military operations.

HISTORY OF CONFLICT: PALESTINE AND ISRAEL

More than a century ago, a small group of American and European Jews - known as Zionists - decided to establish a Jewish state. By doing this, they hoped to escape discrimination and outright pogroms against Jews in much of Europe. While they considered various locations for this new state, they ultimately chose the area of historic Palestine in the Middle East for their envisioned nation-state. There was only one problem with this Zionist plan for a Jewish homeland – the land they chose to "call their own" was already home to around half a million Muslim and Christian Palestinians.

In November 1947, the UN General Assembly decided to divide Palestine into two separate states. Under the UN plan (Resolution 181), the Jews (who made up 30% of the population at that time, and owned 6% of the land) were to be given 55% of Palestine, while Muslim and Christian Palestinians – the majority of the population – got 45%. The Palestinians had no input into the conception and development of the plan at the UN.

With nothing to gain through agreeing to the partition, the Palestinians rejected the new state of Israel as did the neighbouring Arab countries. In the war that followed, Jewish troops seized 75% of Palestine and expelled 800,000 of its inhabitants – almost all the Arab population – into Gaza, the West Bank and neighbouring countries. They also occupied the western half of Jerusalem (which, under the UN plan, was to be an "international city") and claimed it as their own. What was left of Palestine – Gaza and the West Bank – was taken by Egypt and Jordan respectively. It is not surprising that many Palestinians now refer to this 1947 partition as "al-Nakba" – The Disaster.

Sources/Extracted from: Diakonia, Occupation, <u>link</u> CJPME, Brief history of conflict, <u>link</u>

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ZIONISTS AND PALESTINE

Zionism, Jewish nationalist movement that has had as its goal the creation and support of a Jewish national state in Palestine, the ancient homeland of the Jews(Hebrew: Eretz Yisra'el, "the Land of Israel"). Though Zionism originated in eastern and central Europe in the latter part of the 19th century, it is in many ways a continuation of the ancient attachment of the Jews and of the Jewish religion to the historical region of Palestine, where one of the hills of ancient Jerusalem was called Zion.

Upon the outbreak of World War I, political Zionism reasserted itself, and its leadership passed to Russian Jews living in England. Two such Zionists, Chaim Weizmann and Nahum Sokolow, were instrumental in obtaining the Balfour Declaration from Great Britain (November 2, 1917), which promised British support for the creation of a Jewish national home in Palestine. The declaration was included in Britain's League of Nations mandate over Palestine (1922).

In the following years the Zionists built up the Jewish urban and rural settlements in Palestine, perfecting autonomous organizations and solidifying Jewish cultural life and Hebrew education. In March 1925 the Jewish population in Palestine was officially estimated at 108,000, and it rose to about 238,000 (20 percent of the population) by 1933. Jewish immigration remained relatively slow, however, until the rise of Hitler in Europe. Nevertheless, the Arab population feared that Palestine would eventually become a Jewish state and bitterly resisted Zionism and the British policy supporting it. British forces struggled to maintain order in the face of a series of Arab uprisings. The strain of suppressing the Arab revolt of 1936–39, which was more extensive and sustained than earlier uprisings, ultimately led Britain to reassess its policies. In hopes of keeping the peace between Jews and Palestinian Arabs and retaining Arab support against Germany and Italy in World War II, Britain placed restrictions on Jewish immigration in 1939. The new restrictions were violently opposed by Zionist underground groups such as the Stern Gang and Irgun Zvai Leumi, which committed acts of terrorism and assassination against the British and organized illegal Jewish immigration to Palestine.

During the next two decades Zionist organizations in many countries continued to raise financial support for Israel and to encourage Jews to immigrate there. Most Jews, however, reject the view propagated by some very Orthodox Jews in Israel that the Jews outside Israel were living in "exile" and could live a full life only in Israel.

Sources/Extracted from: Britannica, Zionism, link

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HEBRON - A MICROCOSM OF THE ISRAEL-PALESTINE CONFLICT

The ancient city of Hebron has been at the center of the conflict since the early 1900s. Like Jerusalem, it is a site considered holy and immeasurably important to Jews, Muslims, and Christians. Events that occurred there are, in many ways, where the differing narratives start and where much of the persisting animosity simmers and boils over. The city is so contentious that even after the 1993 Oslo Accords brought an end to the First Intifada — a Palestinian uprising against Israeli occupation in the West Bank and Gaza — a separate negotiation process was required to deal with Hebron.

Hebron is located 20 miles south of Jerusalem in the West Bank. With a population of 200,000+ Palestinians and around 1,000 Israeli settlers, Hebron is the biggest city in the Palestinian territory. Its name in both Hebrew (Hevron) and Arabic (Al-Khalil) translates to "friend." The city is religiously significant to Jews, Christians, and Arabs because it is considered the burial site of biblical patriarchs and matriarchs. Jews and Arabs lived together in Hebron in the early 1900s, but Arab-led riots in 1929 left approximately 67 Jews dead and drove the remainder out of the city.Jordan controlled Hebron after the 1948 Arab-Israeli War and lost it, along with the rest of the West Bank, to Israel after the Six-Day War in 1967. The city has been under some kind of military occupation ever since. In 1968, the first Israeli settlers moved into the city and, in effect, started the settler movement, where Israelis establish communities on lands within the Palestinian territories.

The city is so contentious that it required a second peace agreement between Israel and Palestine in the mid-1990s. Ever since the 1997 Hebron Agreement, the city has been divided into two sectors: H1 and H2. H1 is controlled by the Palestinian Authority and is where the vast majority of Palestinians live. H2 is under Israeli military control and is where about 30,000 Palestinians and about 1,000 Israeli settlers live. When tensions start to rise, as happened earlier this year when the US moved its embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, they often boil over in Hebron first. The kidnapping and murder of three Israeli teenagers near Hebron became the spark that started the Gaza-Israel conflict in 2014.

There have been numerous attacks at or near the Ibrahimi Mosque since 1967, many targeting Jews. But the worst attack happened in February 1994, when an Israeli-American settler opened fire on the mosque, killing 29 Palestinians and injuring 125 others. The man was beaten to death by survivors in the mosque. While the attack was condemned by the Israeli government, their response still looms large in the minds of Palestinians, according to Al-Mohtaseb. The Israeli Defense Force (IDF) closed the mosque for nine months, imposed a



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months-long curfew on Palestinian residents, closed the main business street in Hebron to Palestinians, and built up military checkpoints. The mosque was then divided into a Muslim side and a Jewish side. Following the 1994 massacre and the official splitting of the city in 1997, the military shut more than 500 shops in the Old City. In the intervening years, an additional 1,100 shops closed due to restrictions on access for both customers and suppliers. The neighborhood has started to come back in recent years due to the efforts of the Hebron Rehabilitation Committee, which has helped open and renovate more than 1,000 homes and 120 shops. After the 1994 massacre, the mosque/temple was divided into a Jewish and a Muslim side. The cenotaph of Abraham is visible to both sides through a bullet-proof glass. McLean visited the mosque for the first time three weeks before the massacre. At the time, Jews and Muslims often prayed together.

Outside the Old City, Hebron is still bustling. The city's economy makes up more than 30% of the West Bank's GDP, much of which comes from limestone quarries and local agricultural products.

Sources/Extracted from: Businessinsider, Israel and Palestine, <u>link</u>

SETTLEMENTS AND INTERNATIONAL LAW

Settlements violate international humanitarian law (IHL) by their very existence. The UN Charter clearly prohibits the acquisition of territory by force, and IHL reinforces this protection during occupation when territories are at a higher risk of annexation, by strictly prohibiting the transfer of an occupying powers' population into occupied territory. This prohibition is set out in Article 49(6) of the Fourth Geneva Convention.

According to Article 49(6) of the Fourth Geneva Convention, reflective of customary international law , any kind of transfer of the "occupying power's population" to the occupied territory is prohibited, regardless of whether the transfer was voluntary or forced.

The ICJ states in the Wall Advisory Opinion that any measures taken by an occupying power in order to organize or encourage transfers of parts of its own population into the occupied territory is forbidden according to Article 49(6). The can include both acts and omissions.



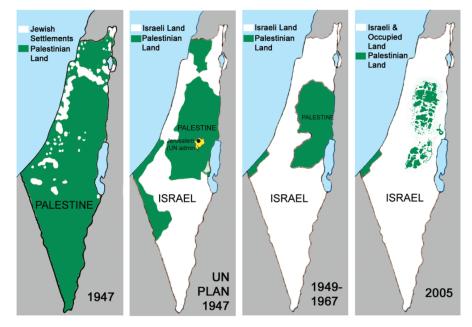
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The prohibition stems from a need to prevent practises adopted during the Second World War by certain powers, which transferred portions of their own population to occupied territory for political and racial reasons or in order to colonise those territories.

The United Nations Security Council has expressed that the Fourth Geneva Convention is applicable to the oPt and called upon Israel not to transfer its own civilian population into the occupied territory nor to take any other action that would result in changing the legal status, geographical nature or demographic composition of the occupied territory.

Sources/Extracted from: Diakonia, Administration of Occupation, <u>link</u>



HISTORY OF SETTLEMENT POLICY IN ISRAEL

Only a few months after the Six-Day War in 1967, Israeli the first settlement, Kfar Etzion, was established in the West Bank. As of the end of 2012, 250 Israeli settlements have been constructed in the West Bank, either with our without Government authorization. In 2005, 16 settlements in the Gaza Strip, together with four settlements in the northern West Bank were evacuated by Israel of as part the

"Disengagement Plan". Prior to the evacuation 7,595 settlers controlled 38 percent of the Gaza Strip.

In addition, Jerusalem is surrounded by 12 settlements, considered by Israel as neighbourhoods within the Jerusalem municipality. According to international law, the





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Jerusalem neighbourhoods on the east side of the Green Line, which until 1967 belonged to Jordan ("East Jerusalem"), are built on occupied territory .

The built-up area of settlements consists of less than 3 percent of the area of the West Bank, but the area under their municipal and Regional Council jurisdictions, constitute around 10 and 34 percent of the West Bank area respectively.

	Settlers	Palestinians
Different courts	Tried in civil courts within sovereign Israeli territory. Detainees and defendants receive all legal defenses afforded citizens of a democratic state.	Tried in military courts, even when charged with criminal or traffic offenses. Unlike civil courts, designed to protect civilians, the objective of the military legal system is to protect the occupation authorities. The military court system violates the right to due process and contravenes the principle of a public trial.
Minors in criminal proceedings	Receive the protections enshrined in Israel's Youth Law with regard to interrogation, detention and trial. Police may not detain, interrogate or arrest minors under the age of 12 – the age of criminal responsibility.	Martial law affords Palestinian minors far less protection than that afforded to Israeli minors. Palestinian minors are regularly interrogated and arrested in breach of their rights.
Planning and construction	A modern planning system in place for the settlements facilitates the growth and development of roads, infrastructure and industry for the benefit of residents.	Palestinian construction in Area C is intentionally obstructed by the Civil Administration, thereby preventing Palestinian development in other areas of the West Bank as well.
Use of land	Settlements receive generous land allocations: the government declared tens of thousands of hectares in the West Bank "state land" and allocated them almost exclusively to settlements.	Most land reserves for Palestinian agricultural and economic development, including privately owned Palestinian land, are in Area C. All construction there must be authorized by Israel, which rarely does so.
Nater	Receive the same allocations granted citizens within Israel, enough to satisfy all needs. Receive generous allocations of water for agriculture.	Suffer chronic shortage. Water grid repairs and starting new drilling – crucial to the entire Palestinian population – must be authorized by Israel, which stipulates its consent on Palestinian agreement to promote projects to benefit settlements.
Freedom of movement	Free to travel in and out of the West Bank and on most West Bank roads, with the exception of the prohibition on entering Area A that applies to all Israeli citizens.	Entering or leaving the West Bank must be authorized by Israel. Movement within the West Bank is governed by the security establishment. Several dozen internal checkpoints are still extant in the West Bank, although few are regularly staffed.
Freedom of expression and freedom to protest	Enjoy the right to demonstrate and protest as enshrined in Israeli law.	As martial law prohibits virtually all forms of Palestinian protest against the occupation, protest participants and organizers can be put on trial. Security forces disperse even non-violent demonstrations with force and crowd control measures.
Political participation	Entitled to full participation in general elections to Israel's knesset, despite living outside of Israel's sovereign territory.	Cannot vote in general elections to the knesset, although decisions by the Israeli government affect their lives. The Palestinian Authority lacks powers in many spheres.

The West Bank: Two populations, two regimes

image source





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By the end of 2012, the number of settlers has reached about 320,000 in the West Bank and around 200,000 in East Jerusalem. The annual growth rate of the settlers in the West Bank (excluding East Jerusalem) is 5.3 percent compared to a population growth rate of 1.8 percent inside Israel.

There are approximately 100 settlements, referred to in the media as "outposts" that are unrecognised even under Israeli law. The term describes a relatively new, small settlement with a few residential structures, or caravans. Often outposts are built on hilltops close to a recognised veteran settlement, although others have been established in more remote locations. These outposts fill in the space between official settlements and create big settlement blocks, which will render future evacuation more complex. 60 percent of the outposts were established under Ariel Sharon's Cabinet in 2001.

Most outposts aim at becoming recognised settlements. The Israeli Ministry of Interior does not grant them formal recognition, municipal status or building permits, however the State usually does not enforce demolition orders against outposts. Furthermore, public authorities have in some cases issued permits for connection to water and electricity networks . Residents of outposts are entitled to IDF protection. Also inside recognised settlements structures built without building permits are to be found. Also for this construction, illegal even under Israeli domestic law, the implementation of demolition orders is exceptional.

Sources/Extracted from: Diakonia, Occupied Palestinian Territory, <u>link</u>

APARTHEID

Apartheid in South Africa was a direct result of racial inequality and imperialism in the 1900's that led to extensive political, social, and economic struggles. Translated from the Afrikaans meaning 'apartness', the National Party (NP) government's apartheid ideology called for separate development of different racial groups in South Africa. Apartheid laws forced different racial groups to live and develop separately, disadvantaging the majority of the nation's population - who were not white. Although on paper the legislation appeared to call for equal development and freedom of cultural expression, the implementation of these laws was grossly unequal. Resistance to apartheid came from all circles, and not only, contrary to public assumption, from those victimized by widespread discrimination. Criticism also came from other countries, who would eventually support the South African freedom movements.





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Through a combination of non-violent and armed struggle, international pressure and boycott, the system was brought to an end in 1990 (when ban on the African National Congress and other political parties was lifted) and Nelson Mandela was elected president of the country in 1994, after an overwhelming victory of its party, the ANC in the universal elections.

In the early 70s, many countries opposed to the regime, decided that something of a legal nature was needed to put even more pressure on the South African government. The International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid (ICSPCA) was ratified by the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) in 1973.

It defined the crime of apartheid as "inhuman acts committed for the purpose of establishing and maintaining domination by one racial group of persons over any other racial group of persons and systematically oppressing them."

In 2002, the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, defined the crime of apartheid as inhumane acts of a character similar to other crimes against humanity "committed in the context of an institutionalised regime of systematic oppression and domination by one racial group over any other racial group or groups and committed with the intention of maintaining that regime."

Sources/Extracted from: Wantedinafrica, History of apartheid, link Aljazeera, Crime of apartheid, link

ISRAEL AND THE APARTHEID ANALOGY

There is overwhelming evidence that the system instituted by the Israeli government against the Palestinian people meets the UN definition of Apartheid.

In effect, Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territory constitute one territorial unit under full Israeli control. As of 2016, of the total population of people that live in Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territory, around 6.45 million are Jewish Israelis and about 6.41 million are Palestinians.

Under Israeli law, and in practice, Jewish Israelis and Palestinians are treated differently in almost every aspect of life including freedom of movement, family, housing, education,





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employment and other basic human rights. Dozens of Israeli laws and policies institutionalise this prevailing system of racial discrimination and domination.

Segregation is carried out by implementing separate legal regimes for Jewish Israelis and Palestinians living in the same area. For example, Jewish Israeli settlers living in the illegal Israeli settlements in the occupied West Bank are governed by Israeli civil law, while Palestinians also living in the occupied West Bank are governed by Israeli military law.

Israel carries out various acts that are prohibited by the UN Apartheid Convention including:

- Forcible transfer of Palestinians to make way for illegal Israeli settlements
- Preventing Palestinians from returning to their homes and lands.
- Systematic and severe deprivation of fundamental human rights of Palestinians based on their identity.
- Denying Palestinians their right to freedom of movement and residence.
- Murder, torture, unlawful imprisonment and other severe deprivation of physical liberty, especially of Palestinians living in Gaza.
- Persecution of Palestinians because of their opposition to Apartheid.

Sources/Extracted from: War on want, Israeli apartheid, <u>link</u>

INTERNATIONAL REACTIONS TO THE ISSUE

Israel's treatment of Palestinians has been regularly cited by UN Special Rapporteurs on the Human Rights Situation in Palestine as evidence of an Apartheid system in action. For example:

Richard Falk, emeritus professor of law at Princeton University and UN special rapporteur 2008-2014, wrote in a report to the UN Human Rights Council that Israel is guilty of racial discrimination, apartheid and torture in its "systematic oppression" of the Palestinian people. (UN document A/HRC/25/67)

John Dugard, South African law professor and Falk's predecessor in the post of UN Special Rapporteur, wrote a detailed study in 2013 on whether the charge of apartheid applies to Israel, concluding: "On the basis of the systemic and institutionalized nature of the racial domination that exists, there are indeed strong grounds to conclude that a system of





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apartheid has developed in the occupied Palestinian territory. Israeli practices in the occupied territory are not only reminiscent of – and, in some cases, worse than – apartheid as it existed in South Africa, but are in breach of the legal prohibition of apartheid."

The UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination censured Israel in 2012 for implementing "two entirely separate legal systems and sets of institutions for Jewish communities grouped in illegal settlements on the one hand and Palestinian populations living in Palestinian towns and villages on the other hand." The Committee declared itself "particularly appalled at the hermetic character of the separation of two groups, who live on the same territory but do not enjoy either equal use of roads and infrastructure or equal access to basic services and water resources". It called on Israel to eradicate all policies and practices of "racial segregation and apartheid" affecting the Palestinian people (UN document CERD/C/ISR/CO/14-16).

In March 2017, the UN Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (ESCWA) commissioned and published a report called 'Israeli Practices towards the Palestinian People and the Question of Apartheid' which concludes, "on the basis of overwhelming evidence, that Israel is guilty of the crime of apartheid, and urges swift action to oppose and end it." The report also recommends that national governments and civil society actors should support boycott, divestment and sanctions activities in response to Israel's Apartheid regime.

Proposed Discussion Questions

- What are the biggest challenges to the nonviolent resistance movements?
- How can we support communities around the world engaged in nonviolent resistance?
- What is your opinion about the right of people to self-determination?
- As it has been pointed out in the toolkit, the occupying power does not have sovereign authority, therefore in your opinion where does it draw its legal authority from?
- Who guarantees human rights during an occupation? What role does the international community play.
- What more can be done to end illegal occupations globally?
- The issue of Palestine/Israel is tense and politically charged. How can we ensure a focus on human rights for all is central to conversations?





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Additional Reading & Follow up

Issa Amro's work:

- Youth Against Settlements, link
- Front Line Defenders, link

Omar Shakir's work:

• Human Rights Watch, link

Avner Gvaryahu's work:

• Breaking the silence, link

Nonviolent resistance:

- Nonviolent conflict summaries, link
- 3.5% rule: How a small minority can change the world, link

Palestine nonviolence resistance against Israeli occupation of the West Bank:

- The Boycott National Committee, link
- Kairos Palestine, link
- Stop the Wall, link
- Yesh Din, link
- Taayush, link
- Boycott from Within, link

Episode Speaker Biographies

[Main Story Biography] ISSA AMRO | Human Rights Defender, Activist & Founder, Youth Against Settlements

Issa Amro is a human rights defender from the West Bank city of Hebron, where violent extremist Israeli settlers have occupied the heart of the Palestinian city since 1967. Just in 2012, he was arrested



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more than 20 times for his human rights work, and Amro is currently facing 18 charges in Israeli military court for his nonviolent activism against the Israeli occupation, for which he may spend years in Israeli prison. In 2017, he was arrested and tortured by the Palestinian Authority over the questionable Electronic Crimes Act, yet was released after hunger strike and international campaigning. Currently, Israel as well as the PA are attempting to persecute and imprison Amro. In 2017, 36 British MP's and 30 Members of the U.S. Congress including Senator Bernie Sanders wrote letters calling on Israel to end its persecution of Amro. Amro trains youth in Hebron to document human right abuses and engage in nonviolent direct action resistance. In 2007, he established the Youth Against Settlements center, after preventing settlers from occupying the property, and in 2014, he helped establish a kindergarten for children who otherwise had to cross a checkpoint to reach school. In 2019, he established a group of volunteers to monitor kids going to school and to protect them from harassment from soldiers and settlers. Same year, he founded the Karamti women's empowerment community center in a heavily occupied part of Hebron. Amro has been campaigning continuously to challenge the closures, restrictions and human rights violations in the city. Amro has been officially recognized as a Human Rights Defender by the UN, EU, Amnesty International and more. Amnesty International is calling on Israel to drop the charges against Amro and says if convicted he will be declared a prisoner of conscience. Amro has been published in the Guardian, the Nation, the Hill, the Forward and more. Twitter: @Issaamro

[Expert Biography] OMAR SHAKIR | Israel and Palestine Director at Human Rights Watch

Omar Shakir, Israel and Palestine Director at Human Rights Watch, investigates human rights abuses in Israel, the West Bank, and Gaza. Prior to his current role, he was a Bertha Fellow at the Center for Constitutional Rights, where he focused on US counterterrorism policies, including legal representation of Guantanamo detainees. As the 2013-14 Arthur R. and Barbara D. Finberg Fellow at Human Rights Watch, he investigated human rights violations in Egypt, including the Rab'a massacre, one of the largest killings of protesters in a single day. A former Fulbright Scholar in Syria, Omar holds a JD from Stanford Law School, where he co-authored a report on the civilian consequences of US drone strikes in Pakistan as a part of the International Human Rights & Conflict Resolution Clinic, an MA in Arab Studies from Georgetown University's School of Foreign Affairs, and a BA in International Relations from Stanford. He speaks English and Arabic. Twitter: @omarsshakir, @hrw

[Expert Biography] AVNER GVARYAHU | Executive Director at Breaking the Silence

Avner Gvaryahu, 1985, was born in the Israeli city of Rehovot and raised in the religious- Zionist community. During his army service, he served in the special forces of the paratroopers brigade, where he attained the rank of staff sergeant. A year after he was discharged he joined Breaking the





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Silence as a researcher and tour guide with a focus on working with world Jewry and later became director of the Public Outreach. Since August of 2017 he is the organization's Executive Director. Avner holds a B.A. in Social Work from Tel Aviv University and an M.A from the Institute for the Study of Human Rights in Columbia University NY. Twitter: @AGvaryahu, @BtSIsrael

[Elders Expert Biography] HINA JILANI | Member of The Elders, Pioneering Lawyer and Human Rights Advocate

Hina Jilani is a member of The Elders, an independent group of global leaders founded by Nelson Mandela in 2007, who work together for peace, justice and human rights. Hina Jilani is a pioneering lawyer and human rights defender. As an Advocate of the Supreme Court of Pakistan, she has conducted many landmark cases setting new human rights standards in the country. She created Pakistan's first all-women law firm and co-founded Pakistan's first legal aid centre. She also founded its national Human Rights Commission and the Women's Action Forum, a prominent pressure group at the heart of Pakistan's democracy movement. She was the first Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General on Human Rights Defenders from 2000 to 2008. Hina Jilani currently serves as President of the World Organisation Against Torture, co-chair of the World Refugee Council and co-chair of the Task Force on lustice.

[Host Biography] HAZAMI BARMADA | Founder & CEO, Humanity Lab Foundation; co-Executive Producer & Host, Finding Humanity Podcast

Hazami is a social entrepreneur, thought leader, and public affairs and social impact expert recognized by Forbes as an "inspirational agent of change." She has consulted for many leading global brands including the United Nations, United Nations Foundation, Aspen Institute, and the Royal Court of the Sultanate of Oman. Among her posts at the United Nations, she served as the Coordinator for the United Nations Secretary General's World Humanitarian Summit, an Advisor to the first-ever United Nations Secretary-General's Youth Envoy, as a member of the United Nations SDG Strategy Hub for the launch of the 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda. Hazami has a Masters from Harvard University where she was an Edward S. Mason Fellow in Public Policy and Management. She studied social and public policy at Georgetown University and has a BA in Anthropology and Sociology. Twitter: @hazamibarmada

PODCAST PRODUCTION ORGANIZATIONS & TEAM

Humanity Lab Foundation is a disruptive empathy-driven movement at the intersection of public policy and people power. As a collective of enablers, the Humanity Lab facilitates public engagement





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and social innovation to drive progress on human development and create an equitable and just world. Through a diverse portfolio of programs and initiatives, the Humanity Lab enhances global development systems by convening, connecting and collaborating with everyday people to solve complex challenges and drive social change. The Humanity Lab aims to: unlock human potential, break down barriers, provoke thought-leadership and knowledge sharing, facilitate partnerships, catalyze action, and democratize access to the power that shapes the world. The Humanity Lab has collaborated with a large array of partners including the Office of the President of the United Nations General Assembly, United Nations Office of Partnerships, United Nations, Qualcomm, The Elders, Warner Music, MTV and the Washington Diplomat.

Hueman Group Media ("HGM") is an award-winning podcast company for social change. HGM produces impactful and high-caliber podcasts for leading nonprofit organizations, purpose-driven companies and thought leaders, amplifying conversations around today's most important causes and issues — including gender inequality, climate change, racial injustice, and mental health. HGM podcasts cater to diverse, socially conscious, and deeply curious audiences. With the power of storytelling and expert-driven conversations, HGM activates listeners to take action and make a positive impact in their communities. HGM has worked with notable organizations including UN Women, The Elders, SAP, GoDaddy, CORE Response, and MIT Solve.

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