"PALESTINE" AND THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE (ICJ)

Andrew Tucker

thinc. European Summit

2nd July 2024



International Courts in The Hague

- International Criminal Court (ICC)
- "Situation in Palestine"
- Crimes on territory of the "State of Palestine" since 2014
- Investigation of Israeli leaders for Rome Statute crimes
- Arrest warrants

- International Court of Justice (ICJ) ("The World Court")
- 15 judges
- Contentious cases
 - Genocide cases
 - Palestine vs USA
- Advisory Opinions
 - 2004 "Wall" Advisory Opinion
 - 2022 UNGA request for Advisory Opinion



"The Situation in the State of Palestine"

- Palestine is a state
- Palestinian Territory all of occupied territories
- settlements are war crimes
- Netanyahu and Gallant have committed crimes in Gaza since 7th October 2023







- General Assembly
- 77/247 (2022) 87 states
- 52 states at ICJ
- 3 international organisations
 - Arab States
 - Islamic States
 - African Union
- Israel not participating



UNGA Res 77/247 (30th Dec 2022)

"The G	eneral A	Assembly	•	

- 18. *Decides*, in accordance with Article 96 of the Charter of the United Nations, to request the International Court of Justice, pursuant to Article 65 of the Statute of the Court, to render an advisory opinion on the following questions, considering the rules and principles of international law, including the Charter of the United Nations, international humanitarian law, international human rights law, relevant resolutions of the Security Council, the General Assembly and the Human Rights Council, and the advisory opinion of the Court of 9 July 2004:
- (a) What are the legal consequences arising from the ongoing violation by Israel of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, from its prolonged occupation, settlement and annexation of the Palestinian territory occupied since 1967, including measures aimed at altering the demographic composition, character and status of the Holy City of Jerusalem, and from its adoption of related discriminatory legislation and measures?
- (b) How do the policies and practices of Israel referred to in paragraph 18 (a) above affect the legal status of the occupation, and what are the legal consequences that arise for all States and the United Nations from this status?"

Sponsors

Algeria, Brunei, Cuba, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Mauritania, Namibia, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Tunisia, Palestine.

Co-sponsors: Djibouti, Kuwait, Pakistan, Somalia, Venezuela, and Yemen.



Vote	States
Approve	Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Belize, Bolivia, Botswana, Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Chile, People's Republic of China, Colombia, Cuba, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Djibouti, Egypt, El Salvador, Gabon, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Indonesia, Islamic Republic of Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Jamaica, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Kuwait, Kyrgyzstan, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libya, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Namibia, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Paraguay, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Russian Federation, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Slovenia, Somalia, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Tajikistan, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Türkiye, Turkmenistan, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, Viet Nam, Yemen, Zambia, Zimbabwe
Against	Albania, Australia, Austria, Canada, Costa Rica, Croatia, Czech Republic, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Estonia, Germany, Guatemala, Hungary, Israel, Italy, Kenya, Liberia, Lithuania, Marshall Islands, Federated States of Micronesia, Nauru, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Romania, Togo, United Kingdom, United States
Abstain	Andorra, Belarus, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire, Cyprus, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Georgia, Ghana, Greece, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Japan, Kiribati, Latvia, Liechtenstein, Malawi, Monaco, Montenegro, Myanmar, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Panama, Philippines, Republic of Korea, Republic of Moldova, Rwanda, Samoa, San Marino, Serbia, Slovakia, Solomon Islands, South Sudan, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Thailand, Tanzania, Uruguay, Vanuatu
Absent	Afghanistan, Antigua and Barbuda, Benin, Bhutan, Burkina Faso, Cabo Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Comoros, Congo, Dominica, Equatorial Guinea, Eswatini, Gambia, Madagascar, Nepal, Niger, North Macedonia, São Tomé and Príncipe, Seychelles, Suriname, Timor-Leste, Tonga, Tuvalu, Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Venezuela
Total	193

Item 47 - A/77/400 DR I

Israeli practices affecting the human rights of the Palestinian people in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East X FINLAND **AFGHANISTAN X** CAMEROON **KUWAIT** NEPAL SAUDI ARABIA UKRAINE ALBANIA CANADA **X** FRANCE KYRGYZSTAN NETHERLANDS **SENEGAL** UNITED ARAB EMIR.. ALGERIA CENTRAL AFR REP.... **GABON** LAO PDR X NEW ZEALAND SERBIA UNITED KINGDOM **X** ANDORRA X LATVIA CHAD **GAMBIA** NICARAGUA SEYCHELLES UNITED REP TANZA... **LEBANON** ANGOLA CHILE K GEORGIA NIGER SIERRA LEONE UNITED STATES **E**CHINA **SINGAPORE** GERMANY **LESOTHO NIGERIA X**URUGUAY ANTIGUA-BARBUDA ARGENTINA COLOMBIA GHANA LIBERIA **X** SLOVAKIA UZBEKISTAN NORTH MACEDONIA LIBYA SLOVENIA ARMENIA **COMOROS** GREECE NORWAY × VANUATU CONGO **■ GRENADA X** LIECHTENSTEIN **MANO** X SOLOMON ISLANDS **VENEZUELA AUSTRALIA** COSTA RICA LITHUANIA **PAKISTAN** SOMALIA VIET NAM **AUSTRIA** GUATEMALA AZERBAIJAN COTE D'IVOIRE **GUINEA** LUXEMBOURG PALAU SOUTH AFRICA **YEMEN** ZAMBIA BAHAMAS CROATIA **■**GUINEA-BISSAU MADAGASCAR X PANAMA X SOUTH SUDAN BAHRAIN CUBA **GUYANA X**MALAWI PAPUA NEW GUINEA × SPAIN ZIMBABWE X HAITI **MALAYSIA** BANGLADESH **X**CYPRUS PARAGUAY SRI LANKA BARBADOS **CZECHIA X**HONDURAS **MALDIVES PERU** SUDAN BELARUS DEM PR OF KOREA HUNGARY MALI **X** PHILIPPINES SURINAME BELGIUM DEM REP OF THE CO... X ICELAND MALTA POLAND **X**SWEDEN BELIZE **X** DENMARK X INDIA MARSHALL ISLANDS PORTUGAL SWITZERLAND MAURITANIA BENIN **DJIBOUTI INDONESIA QATAR** SYRIAN ARAB REP... X REP OF KOREA BHUTAN **DOMINICA** IRAN (ISLAMIC REP... **MAURITIUS TAJIKISTAN** X DOMINICAN REP... IRAQ X THAILAND BOLIVIA **■ MEXICO** REP OF MOLDOVA BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA X ECUADOR **IRELAND** ROMANIA MICRONESIA (FS) TIMOR-LESTE **EGYPT** BOTSWANA ISRAEL **X**MONACO RUSSIAN FED... TOGO **X**RWANDA X BRAZIL **EL SALVADOR** ITALY **MONGOLIA** TONGA **EQUATORIAL GUINEA H**JAMAICA **X** MONTENEGRO SAINT KITTS-NEVIS TRINIDAD-TOBAGO BRUNEI DARUSSALAM **X** BULGARIA **X**ERITREA **X**JAPAN MOROCCO SAINT LUCIA **TUNISIA BURKINA FASO** ESTONIA JORDAN MOZAMBIQUE SAINT VINCENT-GRE... TURKIYE **X**BURUNDI **ESWATINI KAZAKHSTAN X** MYANMAR **X**SAMOA **TURKMENISTAN**



CABO VERDE

CAMBODIA



KENYA

XKIRIBATI



TUVALU

UGANDA

X SAN MARINO

SAO TOME-PRINCIPE

NAMIBIA

NAURU

XETHIOPIA

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Information and arguments presented to the court

- United Nations reports
- 52 states
- 3 international organisations
 - Arab States
 - Islamic States
 - African Union
- Israel not participating
- Other organisations excluded
- No amicus curiae



"The State of Palestine"

- Palestinian right to selfdetermination on Palestinian Territory
- Occupation of Palestinian Territory
- "settlements" and "annexation"
- Discrimination



Palestinian demands

- "total, immediate and unconditional" end to the occupation
- Recognition of Palestinian right to statehood
- Third states are obliged to pressure Israel to comply – boycotts, divestment and sanctions





- 22 member states + 55 member states
- Khartoum 1967: "The Three No's":
 No peace with Israel, no recognition of Israel, no negotiations with Israel.
- Establishment of Jewish national home is illegal
- Jewish State of Israel is illegitimate
- ALL of Palestine belongs to the Palestinians – from the River to the Sea
- Total, unconditional and immediate end to the occupation



Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC)

- 57 member states
- Al Quds
- All of Palestine
- Occupation



Palestinian/Arab/Islamic/African position

- ➤ Palestinian right to self-determination is absolute
- ➤ All of Mandate Palestine territory belongs to the Palestinians
- ➤ Israel's occupation of Palestinian territory has become illegal
- ➤ Israel's discriminatory practices and policies are illegal
- > Oslo Accords irrelevant

Israel's position

- Israel complies with the humanitarian provisions of the law of occupation, but the West Bank is not occupied de jure
- Sovereignty over the West Bank and the Gaza Strip is currently in abeyance
- The Palestinians have a right to self-determination but the Palestinian entity does not meet the established criteria for statehood under general international law.
- Oslo Accords remain applicable

States *supporting Israel* include:

- USA
- Hungary
- Czech Republic
- United Kingdom
- France
- Zambia
- Togo
- Fiji





The Republic of Fiji

Main arguments -

- Oslo Accords
- Peace process / negotiations
- One-sided questions ignore legal and factual realities:
 - Withdrawal/security
 - Territory
 - Self-determination





San Remo, 25th April 1920

FOUNDATIONS OF ISRAEL UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW (1917-1948)

COVENANT LEAGUE OF NATIONS

ARTICLE 22.

To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilisation and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant.

The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as Mandatories on behalf of the League.

The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions and other similar circumstances.

Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory.



FOUNDATIONS OF ISRAEL UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW (1917-1948)

The Mandate for Palestine 22 July 1922

"The Council of the League of Nations:

Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have agreed, for the purpose of giving effect to the provisions of Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, to entrust to a Mandatory selected by the said Powers the administration of the territory of Palestine, which formerly belonged to the Turkish Empire, within such boundaries as may be fixed by them; and

Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have also agreed that the Mandatory should be responsible for putting into effect the declaration originally made on November 2nd, 1917, by the Government of His Britannic Majesty, and adopted by the said Powers, in favor of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing should be done which might prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country; and



"recognition has thereby been given to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the grounds for reconstituting their national home in that country" ...

The Mandate for Palestine

- 1. "Jewish national home"
- 2. Close settlement of the land
- 3. Jewish immigration
- 4. Protection of civil and religious rights of all inhabitants of Palestine







SAN REMO, MANDATE FOR PALESTINE AND TREATY OF LAUSANNE

"... in 1945, Professor Hersch Lauterpacht wrote that "self-determination is an enlightened and beneficent ideal to which the formation of States must conform if both justice and the peace of the world are to be secured". That is the beating heart of self-determination. The idea that a people must be able to determine for themselves their lives and their futures. And Hersch Lauterpacht personally knew of what he spoke and we know that he was right. Israel's actions, as you have heard already today, and will hear in the coming days, are manifest, grave and continuing violations of the right of which Lauterpacht spoke and we invite this Court to so declare, to help bring to an end this affront, to allow the Palestinian people to determine the conditions under which they will live, in their territory, under their government, under the law, and to do so fully and to do so forthwith. That is what international law requires, no more and no less."





Prof. Hirsch Lauterpacht

- human rights
- the need for accountability by reference to new international crimes
- an effective system of international courts.





THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION of Human Rights

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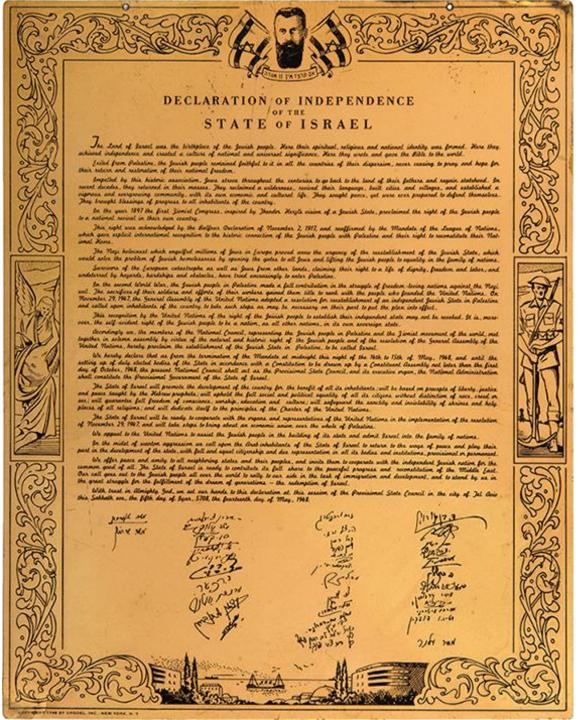
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Gt. Brit. Colonial Office.

PALESTINE

Termination of the Mandate 15th May, 1948

> Statement prepared for public information by the Colonial Office and Foreign Office

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Continuing relevance of the Mandate for Palestine

- 'Uti possidetis juris`
- Article 80 UN Charter

Security Council Resolution 242 (22 November 1967)

The Security Council,

Expressing its continuing concern with the 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 fulfilment 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 acknowledgement 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 ...



The PLO agreed to divide the West Bank into three areas (A, B and C).

 The PLO agreed Israel would retain exclusive control over Area C (approx. 60% of West Bank).

The PLO agreed Israeli settlements could remain, pending permanent status negotiations.

The PLO/PA obtained no rights to statehood or self-determination.

Oslo Accords (1993-1995)

WHY IS THE UNGA REQUEST PROBLEMATIC?

- 1. The UN/Palestinian claims rewrite legal history of Jewish people and the land
- 2. A Palestinian state will be a failed state
- 3. Palestinians have consistently rejected two-state solutions
- 4. The international courts are becoming involved in politics not legal jurisdiction
- 5. The proceedings are unfair and imbalanced
- 6. The Palestinians are by-passing the internationally-sanctioned solution for this conflict: negotiations
- 7. The UN/Palestinian/Arab/Islamic legal claims distort International law







ICJ: What next?

- When will the court make a decision?
- Discretion to issue an opinion
- The legal and factual issues
 - Palestinian right to self-determination / statehood
 - Territorial sovereignty
 - Israeli annexation / settlements
 - Occupation / withdrawal
 - Discrimination / apartheid
 - "The Holy City of Jerusalem"

