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**Mondoweiss Podcast Episode 39: The UN is investigating the root causes of violence between Israelis and Palestinians**

<http://mondoweiss.libsyn.com/39-investigating-israel-itself-a-conversation-with-un-human-rights-commissioner-miloon-kothari>

DAVE REED: Welcome to the Mondoweiss podcast. I'm your host, Dave Reed.

At Mondoweiss, we cover the movements, activists, and policy makers who affect the struggle for freedom in Palestine.

In May 2021, fighting broke out between Palestinian resistance groups in Gaza and the Israeli Military. Three hundred Palestinian residents of Gaza were killed, including 66 children, and thousands more were injured. The United Nations Human Rights Council set up a commission of inquiry to identify the root causes of the violence. On June 7th of this year, the Commission presented its first report to the Human Rights Council.

Unlike past human commissions of inquiry on violence between Israelis and Palestinians, the mandate of this Commission is not time limited. It is not subject to annual renewal, and it is not restricted to examining the immediate circumstances that led to its formation. Rather, it was told to take its time and examine the underlying root causes of recurrent tensions.

In further contrast with past commissions and Special Rapporteurs on the occupied Palestinian territories, this Commission has been tasked with examining the situation in both the occupied Palestinian territories and, in the words of the Commission’s June report, Israel itself.

The Commission is led by several highly experienced leaders in international law, including Miloon Kothari, who served as the United Nations Special Rapporteur on adequate housing with the Human Rights Council.

In the wake of the Commission’s first report, Mondoweiss contributor, David Kattenburg, spoke with Miloon Kothari. His views were both candid and cutting.

DAVID KATTENBURG: Hello, Miloon Kothari. Thank you so much for joining me.

MILOON KOTHARI: Greetings, yeah.

DAVID KATTENBURG: Can you introduce yourself briefly? Tell me who you are and a little bit about the Special Commission of Inquiry and what it is. But just start by introducing yourself.

MILOON KOTHARI: Yes. Yes. It’s very good to be on this program. My name is Miloon Kothari. I'm a scholar activist from India. I’ve been working on human rights for the last 30-odd years. I’ve been primarily focusing on economic, social, and cultural rights, so the issue of housing, land displacement, evictions.

I was formerly Special Rapporteur on Adequate Housing with the UN Human Rights Council from 2000 to 2008, and I also set up several civil society organizations in India. And lately, I’ve been doing quite a lot of work on the universal periodic review, which is a peer review mechanism at the Human Rights Council, where the comprehensive human rights record of all UN Member States is assessed every four-and-a-half years, and quite a lot of training on the UN with governments, with national human rights institutions, with UN teams, with civil society. And I was appointed in July last year to the Commission. The Human Rights Council established an independent inquiry commission to investigate human rights issues in the occupied Palestinian territories, but also inside the Green Line in Israel. And there are some very unique features to this Commission of Inquiry which I can speak about later.

So we are three commissioners. The Chair of the Commission is Navi Pillay from South Africa who was formerly High Commissioner for Human Rights. And a third member is Chris Sidoti who is an expert on national human rights institutions, and he is from Australia. So the three of us comprise this Commission of Inquiry. And what I wanted to raise are there’s several unique features to this Commission.

The Human Rights Council, of course, has had commissions of inquiry on the occupied territories before. I think there were seven of them. What distinguishes our commission, and in a way, I would consider are redeeming features, is, first of all, that it’s an ongoing mandate. Earlier commissions were annual. You know, had to be renewed annually. But we are an ongoing mandate which gives us, you know, the scope to do sort of longer-term thinking, visioning, looking at historical issues. So that temporal scope is very important and that’s what has caused some concern amongst certain countries. We can get into that.

The second important aspect is that we have been asked to look at root causes of the conflict. So we are not looking necessarily at specific instances of violations, but we are looking at root causes of recurrent tensions, instability, and protraction of the conflict, including systematic discrimination and repression based on national, ethnic, racial, or religious identity. So that’s a very important aspect of our mandate which allows us to take a historical perspective, which allows us to look at the history of settler colonialism, to look at issues of discrimination and to look at issues of what are the consequences historically and what have been the accumulated consequences of occupation by Israel.

The third aspect, which is very important, is the geographical scope. We have—previous commission of inquiry and the work of the UN Special Rapporteur on the occupied territories were limited to the occupied areas, essentially West Bank and Gaza, but our mandate includes Israel, so it includes all areas inside the Green Line. So essentially, we are looking at the human rights situation from the river to the sea, which is also very important because that’s a critical aspect of what has gone wrong in a sense.

DAVID KATTENBURG: In your report, you refer—there’s a phrase in there about Israel itself. Some refer to kind of quaintly as Israel Proper when, in fact, I mean, anybody who goes and travels there, as I have just recently, knows that the Green Line is largely fictitious; it’s been erased and Israel is really, for all intents and purposes, a single state from the river to the sea. And your Commission, in your report, you talk about the compelling linkage between what goes on in the “occupied territories” and what goes on inside Israel itself. So it is—thoughts on this?

MILOON KOTHARI: Well, yeah. I think you’re absolutely right, of course, but in terms of the sort of governance issues, the functioning of the state, the national laws in terms of what Israel itself recognizes as the state, in terms of what the United Nations recognizes as the state of Israel as a member of the United Nations, I think there is a distinction that has to be made.

Now, you’re absolutely right that when we look at the kinds of discrimination inside the Green Line, when we look at the historical sort of occupation issues, there are many, many similarities. But we have to treat it differently. And the reason we are, obviously, wanting to make the linkages is precisely because of the point you raise, that actually, what has transpired in the occupied territories since ’67 is something that had already been happening inside the Green Line since ’48: the levels of discrimination; the different laws; the dispossession of Palestinian-Israelis. So I think it’s important to make that distinction, but then also to draw the parallels because that’s something that the UN has not successfully been able to do because the earlier mandates only included the occupied territories, except for the work of the United Nations treaty bodies. You mentioned the committee on—the Human Rights Committee. But then, they were limited to only looking at inside the Green Line.

And so we have an opportunity to make that historical link and to see how the entire area has to be treated in terms of redressing the violations that are there.

DAVID KATTENBURG: Now in your interim report, which you presented to the Human Rights Council in early June, this was essentially a review of past findings, determinations and findings and recommendations from a host of other UN human rights bodies and mechanisms and so forth. This was not a work of your own analysis so much as it was a review of past findings.

Could you comment on that, like methodologically? The bottom line is that none of the findings and recommendations, the myriad of recommendations made by past human rights bodies and mechanisms have been abided by by Israel. Israel’s ignored everything and it’s done so with complete impunity.

MILOON KOTHARI: Right. That’s correct. But first of all, the resolution from the Human Rights Council that created our mandate explicitly asked us to draw out the essence from all the earlier work that had been done by the human rights bodies. So we actually went beyond. We didn’t look at only the commissions on inquiry, but we also looked at the work done historically by the mandate of the Special Rapporteur on the Occupied Territories; we looked at the work done by treaty bodies that are monitoring different treaties that Israel has ratified and is reporting on.

But I just want to say that that was not the only part covered in the report. We also had done a mission to Amman, we had taken—you know, we had heard testimonies from 30 individuals who came from inside the Green Lane, who came from Gaza and the West Bank. We had leaders of both Jewish and Palestinian civil society. We had ministers from the Palestinian Authority. We had academics from inside Israel. And so it was partly based on that. We also did quite a few online interviews because we are not allowed to go into the areas.

DAVID KATTENBURG: Israel would not allow you into the country, nor would Egypt allow you entry into Gaza.

MILOON KOTHARI: So far, they haven’t, but we keep trying. But Israel from the beginning has said they will not cooperate with the mandate and even our attempts to meet with the Israeli ambassador in Geneva have received no response. So that is there.

So we have to collect our data and our evidence based on people that we can interview in the surrounding countries, and we will be visiting Lebanon, we’ll be visiting Egypt, possibly Syria continuing to do this work, and we’re hoping that we will be allowed into Gaza at some point. And we haven’t—we are hoping also that Israel will allow us in, inside the Green Line, and to go to the West Bank because we feel that our mandate also asks us to look at violations on the other side, so we’ll look at violations by the Gaza authorities, violations done by the Palestinian authorities. And we can only look at that, you know, systematically and with some level of accuracy if Israel allows us in and we can visit the areas where the rockets have created damage and where people have suffered.

And we are also hoping—you know, Israel keeps talking about well our mandate is not accurate, our perspective is not correct. So we—you know, the Commission if they feel they have a story to tell, they should let us in and tell us their perspective on the whole situation. So we are hoping. We keep trying. We’ll keep trying. And we hope that they will allow us in at one point.

DAVID KATTENBURG: But Israel has never allowed any commission of inquiry or investigating group or UN body/committee or a UN Special Rapporteur, not since Richard Falk, they don’t let them into the country.

MILOON KOTHARI: But, David, there’s one—I mean there are some exceptions. I was actually part of a four rapporteur mission in 2006, when there was a crisis with Lebanon and we visited Lebanon. We looked at the impact of Israel’s cluster bombs and then we requested Israel to allow us in. And they actually did, so four UN rapporteurs traveled. We went to Galilee. We interviewed families that had been affected by the [schooler] rockets. So there is a precedence there. So it’s not—and then Navi Pillay, when she was High Commissioner, actually did an official mission to Israel as well and she was allowed to go to the occupied territories. So, you know, I mean, if they want to, they can. It’s not unprecedented and we are hoping that they will.

DAVID KATTENBURG: And they totally ignore all the recommendations, all the recommendations made by the Human Rights Committee and the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and of the Special Rapporteurs. They just ignore them.

MILOON KOTHARI: Yeah. That was our finding that —

DAVID KATTENBURG: And they do so with impunity.

MILOON KOTHARI: With impunity and they’ve been overwhelmingly ignored. And, in fact, one of our conclusions is that because these recommendations have been consistently ignored, it has been one of the causes of fueling the conflict and a cause for great despair amongst the Palestinians.

But what is also very interesting about the recommendations, we found that overwhelmingly they have been directed towards Israel, which actually also shows the asymmetrical nature of the conflict. And it even being called conflict actually raises a lot of questions. So that’s what we are trying to show.

And the other conclusion that we’ve reached, which we think is very important to continue to stress is that Israel has no intention of ending the occupation and the persistent discrimination against the Palestinians lies at the heart of the systematic recurrence of violations in the occupied territories, in East Jerusalem, and in Israel.

DAVID KATTENBURG: And you note down here in your assessment, you wrote, “The Commission notes the strength of prima facie credible evidence available that convincingly indicates that Israel has no intention of ending the occupation and has clear policies for ensuring complete control over the occupied Palestinian territory, and is acting to alter the demography through the maintenance of a repressive environment for Palestinians and a favourable environment for Israeli settlers.” So you’ve confirmed or cited Michael Lynk’s comments that the occupation is now—it’s permanent. It’s an occupation of perpetuity. I mean this is illegal, is it not?

MILOON KOTHARI: Yes. It’s been illegal from the beginning. And, in fact, one of our mandates is to look at the role of both humanitarian law, human rights law, criminal law. And on all three counts, Israel is in systematic violation of all the legislation. And in fact, I mean, I would go as far as to raise the question as why are they even a member of the United Nations, because they don’t respect—the Israeli government does not respect its own obligations as a UN Member State. They, in fact, consistently, either directly or through the United States, try to undermine UN mechanisms.

You might know at this session of the Council, when we presented our report, the United States, which has become a member of the Council again, circulated a statement signed by 22 countries objecting to our mandate and that actually shows great disrespect for the body that the United States is a member of, because once you’re a member of a body and a body has adopted a mechanism, you have to respect it. You cannot then say, oh, you know, we were not there last year or we don’t agree with it now.

And also, it’s a—I mean, we are quite surprised. In a way, I would say, we are also glad that our Commission of Inquiry has received so much notice. As you might know, just a few weeks ago, I think in the Senate there’s a bill that’s been presented in the US which is called the Elimination of the COI Act, and the Secretary of State, Anthony Blinken, has, you know, gone out criticizing the thing. He has to report back to Congress next year on what the US has done to eliminate our commission. I mean none of that is succeeding. The US failed quite badly at the Council this year to do anything to us because we have [overwrit].

DAVID KATTENBURG: And I was going to ask about that. I mean, your chairperson, Ms. Pillay, has been specifically the target of attacks. In Canada, the Canadian government has apparently expressed its displeasure with Ms. Pillay’s presence as Chair.

MILOON KOTHARI: Yeah. That’s very—we think it’s very unfortunate to attack individual members of the Commission who have been appointed through a long and rigorous process. And I think it’s just a way to try to discredit the Council, but it’s very—I think it’s very counterproductive because, well, first of all, it brings more attention to our work and also it brings more support. I mean at the Council this year, we had overwhelming support of the UN Member States. The US got 22 states who signed, but that’s 22 out of 193. That’s not very much.

And also, I think that it’s not only governments, but we are very disheartened by the social media that is controlled largely by whether it’s the Jewish Lobby or it’s the specific NGOs. A lot of money is being thrown in to trying to discredit us.

But, David, the important thing is that our mandate is based on international human rights and humanitarian standards and we are all seeking the truth. And we feel that based on the evidence that we have, overwhelming evidence, I think it’s one of the most well-documented conflicts in the world historically, based on that evidence, based on the international law. If people feel that we are biased, then we are biased. But for us, that’s the job we have been given to do and that’s what we are doing.

DAVID KATTENBURG: But international law is not a term of reference in the context of what’s referred to as the peace process. Since the early 1990s, international law is completely off the table.

MILOON KOTHARI: Yeah. Well, that was a serious flaw in the Oslo process and so on, but I think it’s not—it’s very much been on the table with all the UN Human Rights bodies and it’s very much the standard by which the behavior of Israel is assessed all over the world. So it’s very, very relevant.

DAVID KATTENBURG: But it’s not a term of reference for the US government, nor for the Canadian government, nor for the European Union. The EU talks with greater conviction about the role of international law in this “conflict”, but international law is completely off the table in Ottawa and in Washington.

MILOON KOTHARI: Yeah. But that’s—I would consider that a problem with Canada and the United States. It’s not a problem for the world. I mean, we have all come together in the UN and Israel itself has ratified this instrument. It’s not—I mean if there was not a terms of reference, why would Israel ratify? Why would they report to the UN treaty bodies, you know? Why would they come to the Human Rights Council?

So I think there’s a duplicity there; there are double standards. When it comes to Ukraine, David, international law becomes very, very important. In fact, it’s used as the standard even by the United States, but most certainly by the European Union, also by the International Criminal Court, and they are pushing ahead and pointing out all the violations done by Russia. But the same violations of occupation and dispossession done by Israel do not receive the same treatment, so there is a serious double standard here which needs to be exposed.

DAVID KATTENBURG: I'm wondering, Professor Kothari, if the apartheid idea came up in the course of your deliberations leading to this interim report, because the term apartheid doesn’t appear anywhere. Although you do at paragraph 45, there’s a quote from the Human Rights Committee concluding observations on the covenant on civil and political rights that “Israeli domestic legal framework maintains a three-tiered system of laws affording different civil status, rights, and legal protections for Jewish Israeli citizens, Palestinian citizens of Israel, and Palestinian residents of East Jerusalem.” This is apartheid.

MILOON KOTHARI: Yes. Well, there’s actually been a lot of pressure on us to give our opinion on that, and we deliberated on it. We felt that we were not ready because we need to reach our own conclusions after deep study and analysis which we haven’t had time. We also feel, and I think we’ve stated that, that we do not think —it’s the Commission a useful paradigm, it’s a useful framework, but we don’t think it’s sufficient to capture the enormity of what has happened in the area. So it doesn’t look, for example, at the whole history of settler colonialism, it doesn’t look at the whole issue of occupation, it doesn’t look at many other dimensions which I think when we are asked to look at root causes, are very important to draw the full picture. Just saying apartheid, just ending apartheid, is not going to end occupation. So there is a much, much deeper and a much more comprehensive review that has to be done and that’s what we’re doing.

We will get to the apartheid question, at some point in the future, because we will be looking at discrimination in general, from the river to the sea. So I think we will, but at this point, we felt we were not neither we were ready, nor in our initial assessment did we think it was a sufficient paradigm that we should only focus on that.

DAVID KATTENBURG: You talked in your interim report about developing a database or a repository of evidence that could be used in subsequent judicial processes, without getting too specific. Can you talk about that, about this repository and what your thoughts are about building a case that could be taken to a judicial instance?

MILOON KOTHARI: Well, yes. We have been actually explicitly mandated to collect data/information, forensic material Because we are an accountability body, we have to seek accountability but we don’t—and so we have to also work with other international bodies. So, for example, we will be working closely with the International Criminal Court which, as you know, has opened a file on Palestine. We will also be looking at other methods of universal jurisdiction, perhaps a role for the International Court of Justice. So our work is to collect a repository of all the evidence that we gather, and then, at a particular time, hand it over to the judicial bodies that can take action.

So our role is much beyond just reporting and so on. We have a very explicit investigative role, and our staff, our Secretariat, has very senior experts on investigation, on legal jurisprudence and so on. Yes, we are beginning to collect that information.

DAVID KATTENBURG: And are members, or have members, of your staff been in touch with people in the International Criminal Court? Are there linkages now that have been established?

MILOON KOTHARI: Yes. Yes. Actually, we have ourselves visited there last month and met with the Deputy Prosecutor, so the three commissioners have been to The Hague and we are exploring possibilities of working with them. Yes.

DAVID KATTENBURG: Then spoken with Ms. Khan?

MILOON KOTHARI: That’s right. Yes. And her team.

DAVID KATTENBURG: And her team?

MILOON KOTHARI: Yes. That’s correct.

DAVID KATTENBURG: You also speak in your interim report about trying to convince state parties to the various legal instruments, that they have a duty under, for example, Article 1 of the common to the Geneva Conventions that country state parties must respect and ensure respect for the convention in all circumstances, which they’ve not been doing.

I mean, there’s no better example than Canada. Canada’s official position is that Israel’s an occupying power in the West Bank, including East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights and Gaza, and that settlements are, therefore, illegal; it knows that settlements are there for a presumptive crime under the Rome statute but Canada extends aid and assistance to Israel’s settlement enterprise, economic, fiscal, and diplomatic. And, of course, the United States does as well and so does the European Union.

So how does the Commission see its role in trying to get state parties to abide by their own obligations?

MILOON KOTHARI: Yeah. That’s a very good point. Well, first of all, our role is to identify the obligations of—we have been, again, given explicitly the mandate to look at third-party accountability which means to look at the higher contracting parties of the Geneva Conventions, I mean all the human rights instruments, whether they’re complying with their obligations, including what are called extraterritorial obligations. And we will be doing that in one of our subsequent reports.

And we will also be examining, and that’s—we have been asked, the whole question of arms, arms transfer, which is a very, very serious issue that countries—you named some of them, there are others who continue to supply arms to Israel, which are obviously also being used to suppress and to damage the Palestinian population.

So that’s something we will be looking at, at third-party accountability. And I think that will be a—and it’s not only arms and, you know, it’s also the business interests. As you know, there’s a business database on companies that operate in the occupied territories. So that’s also a part of the third-party accountability that states allowing businesses that are registered in their countries to operate and to promote development in these areas, primarily benefiting the Jewish populations, including the work in the settlements. So yes, we will be looking at that. That’s absolutely part of our remit.

DAVID KATTENBURG: And how do you go about doing that? How does the Commission of Inquiry go about procedurally getting state parties to abide by their obligations?

MILOON KOTHARI: Well, I think the first step is to identify what is the nature of that involvement and to identify the extent of the damage being done by that involvement. And that’s the first step we would take. And then to, obviously, to discuss with the committees, to raise the issue at the Human Rights Council and see what their response is.

As you know, the BDS movement is there. As you know, some countries have taken steps to label products from the occupied territories. Other countries are considering that. So I think our role is to expose the extent of third-party culpability in the occupied territories and that’s what we will do, including the arms issue, which we think is very important.

DAVID KATTENBURG: And so your next step, Professor Kothari, is to move forward into your own investigation and legal analysis, with a view to identifying those bearing individual criminal responsibility. When will this work begin?

MILOON KOTHARI: Well, we’ve already started. I mean, we have started collecting information and as I was mentioning, we will be visiting areas, taking testimony and slowly proceeding with that work. It’s not something that will suddenly appear in a report. It’s something we have to accumulate over some years and see when it is time to share that information with the relevant authorities. But our work has already begun.

DAVID KATTENBURG: And toward—at the very end of your report, you say that the Commission will seek to engage with the wider Palestinian diaspora. This is—50% of the Palestinian population reside outside of the occupied territories. This is interesting. You propose to speak to Palestinians in United States and Canada and throughout the Middle East and Australia and all those places?

MILOON KOTHARI: Yes. Yes. Very much. So we will be speaking to the Palestinian diaspora in Lebanon, in Jordan, in Egypt, in Syria and also wherever we go, possibly in the US as well. And that’s one way for us to collect the information that we need because there are refugees that have, of course, historically, been dispossessed from the occupied territories, but there are even recent arrivals who can give us a lot of information.

In mean, we are getting a lot of information already from—with all the new technology available. We are using—we are working with the UN Satellite Agency. We’re looking at other forms of getting information if we cannot travel there. There’s quite a lot of geospatial data that is available which very clearly shows, for example, which we hope to share in our report to the General Assembly, which shows the evolution, the extent to which the occupation has been solidified in the West Bank, and the damage that has been done by, for example, the blockade on Gaza.

DAVID KATTENBURG: My last question, Miloon Kothari, and thank you so much for your time, there’s a yawning gulf, a huge chasm between the ideas that are conveyed in this interim report from the Special Commission of Inquiry and from other reports that have been produced by UN Human Rights bodies and Special Rapporteurs. There’s a huge gulf between what they say, talking about profound systematic comprehensive chronic violations of international humanitarian and human rights law by the state of Israel, on the one hand, and on the other hand, statements that we hear from—well, Joe Biden was asked just the other day, what do you think about Israeli apartheid? And he said he denies it and he insists that Israel is a shining democracy, a light unto the world. And, of course, Justin Trudeau in Canada says the same thing, the governments of the European Union say the same thing.

So on the one hand, you see the international human rights community saying one thing and it’s completely at odds with what the state parties are saying. So how does the Committee or the Commission wrap its head around this? Is this demoralizing? Is this disconcerting?

MILOON KOTHARI: No, no. It’s not demoralizing, David. It’s disconcerting. It’s an obstacle that we face. But it’s the point I was making earlier. When you have truth and universally accepted legal standards on your side, you have to keep pursuing. And we are hoping that the more evidence we collect and we present and, as I was mentioning, we have sort of a wider and a different mandate than the ones that have passed before, we are hoping to convince these countries to go beyond ideology, to go beyond just a blind sort of faith in whatever Israel does. We want to continue to expose that you cannot allow a country in the world to get away with this kind of—we’re also, you know, beginning to tackle this issue of how far you can take anti-Semitism, for example.

So I think that the more work we do, the more we present. And I don’t think it’s—I mean, I can tell you that we have had meetings at very high levels with different European Union countries and we see a change. We see a number of countries—I don’t want to name them all here—but we see a number of countries who are now very critical, very critical of Israel. But what we would like to see is to go beyond just statements, to actually take action. And we are hoping that the evidence we produce, we are hoping that the issues that we raise will—and the dialogues that we have with not only these countries but with their parliaments, which we will be doing, and their media and so on and their academics, we are hoping that that will change.

And I can tell you that we see a perceptible change. It’s not something where you can be sort of just immediately optimistic. You see the changes on the campuses in the United States as well. So we are going to try to reach across the aisle. We are hoping to also meet with people who don’t agree with us. We are having regular roundtables. As I mentioned to you, we had a roundtable just two weeks ago with 20 leading academics and journalists and former diplomats from Jewish, from inside the Green Line, who came to Geneva to speak to us. We asked them what they thought about our first report. We asked them what do they think are the issues we should cover. We will continue to do this.

DAVID KATTENBURG: What did they say?

MILOON KOTHARI: Well, they generally agreed with us. They generally agreed with us. They generally encouraged us to continue. As you know, there are very strong voices inside Israel, including leading journalists and academics who are writing and are speaking out on all these issues. And in fact, what is striking to us is that some of the articles and analyses that you read in some of the Israeli media is very forthright and very direct. It’s things that you would never read anywhere in the United States, for example. So there is a voice emerging and that’s the voice we are trying to reach out to. That’s the voice we are trying to learn from.

Now the political process is a much more bigger obstacle inside Israel as you know, but we are, you know, trying to cross the aisle. We are even willing, and we’ve had some communication even with Congress people and senators in the United States. So we are going to try to do as much work as we can, which is well beyond just our reports. Our mandate is much beyond that.

DAVID KATTENBURG: And so your next report will be issued in October?

MILOON KOTHARI: Yes. It will be available, should be available by the end of September. We will present it in October—it’s the third week of October we’ll present it to the General Assembly. We’ll have press conferences. We’re also going to have—try to have roundtables in the US. We will be visiting some of the campuses to speak to the students and we’re hoping to do some other public meetings and work when we are in the—we are going to be in the United States for about two weeks.

DAVID KATTENBURG: Miloon Kothari, thank you so much for joining me today.

MILOON KOTHARI: Yeah. Thanks very much for your work.

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