

# international bulletin



**GIVE TO MEDICAL AID FOR PALESTINIANS**  
[www.map.org.uk/](http://www.map.org.uk/)  
 The main British medical charity providing direct medical aid to casualties in Gaza and elsewhere in Palestine

## PALESTINE

The massacre in Gaza and the callous killings elsewhere urgently remind us of our duty to secure justice for the Palestinian people. The actions of the governments of Israel and of the US now directly threaten world peace. Yet the British government continues to allow the sale of arms to the Israeli army and British banks to supply credit. Our country, allied through NATO with the US, is directly complicit in these crimes. The labour movement in Britain needs to act to: ● Strengthen measures for boycott, disinvestment and sanctions ● Demand the imposition of sanctions by the British government ● Support the call for medical aid to hospitals in Palestine Insist upon the release of Marwan Barghouti and other political prisoners ● Call for an immediate resumption of peace negotiations on the basis of UN resolutions and the creation of a Palestinian state within its pre-1967 borders with its capital in East Jerusalem

ROBERT GRIFFITHS IS  
 GENERAL SECRETARY OF  
 THE COMMUNIST PARTY

# World peace and the Rights of Palestine

**W**ORLD PEACE has suffered two devastating blows in the past six months. In December 2017 the US recognised Jerusalem as capital of Israel in violation of UN resolutions. In May 2018 the US broke with the internationally ratified agreement with Iran on a nuclear arms moratorium. These two decisions by President Trump have been accompanied by repeated air strikes by Israel against Syria, the bombardment of targets in Damascus by the US, Britain and France, an intensification of Saudi Arabian intervention in Yemen, lethal attacks by Israeli forces against unarmed protestors in Gaza and on the West Bank and military incursions by Turkish forces into northern Syria. Members of Trump's administration are now openly discussing regime change in Lebanon, Syria and Iran.

However, it has been the extreme right-wing government of Benjamin Netanyahu in Israel that has been leading the demands for action against Iran and at the same time seeking to destroy the physical basis for the internationally agreed settlement of the rights of the Palestinian people. This settlement, repeatedly endorsed by the UN, is that there should be, alongside the state of Israel, a Palestinian state within its pre-1967 boundaries, with its capital in Jerusalem and the right of return for refugees.

This is why it is currently of such vital importance to mobilise opinion in Britain to compel the British government to honour the UN resolutions to which it is party, to secure the rights of the Palestinian people and to oppose the current positions of the Israeli and US governments.

Because:  
 ● If the current policies of Israel, the US and Saudi Arabia are not challenged, there is every

danger of war in the Middle East that could have devastating consequences both there and across the world.

● Britain still holds a pivotal position in both Europe and the US in the formation of policy in the Middle East. It is a key arms supplier: the weapon systems used by Saudi Arabia and others depend on the continuing supply of British technology.

● Britain holds a direct responsibility given its historical administration of the 1919-1947 League of Nations/UN Mandate for Palestine and its authorship of the Balfour Declaration of 1917

● The current government of Israel is a prime driver for aggressive policies of regime change across the Middle East – but it is also politically weak, and is opposed by a very significant section of Israel's population, Jewish as well as Palestinian. Britain can exert critically important economic, financial and diplomatic pressure.

## UN Resolutions demand justice for Palestine

UN Security Council Resolution 242 (1967) following the Six Days war and Israel's occupation of West Bank territories required:

- Withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict;
- Termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgment of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force.

This was reiterated by UN Security Council Resolution 338 in 1973. It was ratified by the

PLO in 1993 as the basis for a permanent peace settlement as embodied by the Oslo Accords of that year. This established the Palestinian Authority and ratified a return to the pre-1967 boundaries, the status of East Jerusalem as capital for a Palestinian state and the right of return of refugees. The Oslo Accords, signed by both the PLO and Israel, agreed on the mutual recognition of Israeli and Palestinian statehood.

In 2012 the UN General Assembly accorded rights of statehood to the Palestinian Authority in resolution 67/19.

## Current PLO position

The position of the PLO, as affirmed at the meeting of its highest body, the Palestinian National Council in May 2018, remains that as agreed in 1993 of a 'two state' solution:

"This Council confirms that the immediate goal is the independence of the state of Palestine, which requires transition from the stage of the authority of self-government to the stage of the Statehood

For the sake of its independence, and initiating the embodiment of the sovereignty of the State of Palestine with East Jerusalem as its capital on the borders of 4 June 1967

In implementation of previous resolutions of the National Councils, including the 1988 Declaration of Independence and relevant United Nations resolutions, including General Assembly resolution 19/67 of 29 November 2012 as the political and legal basis to deal with the existing reality and on the basis of adhering to the territorial integrity of the State of Palestine,

The National Council rejects any contrary positions." CONTINUED OVERLEAF

## Key dates in the development of the current crisis

**1917** Balfour Declaration by British Foreign Secretary: Palestine should become a 'national home' for the Jewish People; Britain occupies Palestine 1917-22

**1922** Palestine becomes a British mandate: Britain suppresses Arab risings in 1920s and 30s; Jewish population increases from 84,000 to 630,000 1922-1947.

**1947** UN resolution 181 recognises the feasibility of 'two states'

**1948** British mandate ends; 'Nakba' expulsion of Palestinian populations from Western Palestine and unilateral declaration of a sovereign Israeli state

**1956** Secret treaty between Britain, France and Israel for joint attack on Egypt: Israel annexes Sinai peninsular but later withdraws under UN pressure

**1967** Six Day war: Israel annexes West Bank, Golan Heights (Syria), Gaza and reoccupies Sinai

**1973** Yom Kippur war: Egypt's defeat used by US to consolidate its control over the Egyptian government.

**1978** Camp David Accord between Israel and Egypt by which Egypt recognises Israel and Israel withdraws from Sinai

**1978** Israel occupies much of Lebanon and retains South Lebanon till 2000

**1982** Second Israeli invasion of Lebanon: massacres at Sabra and Shatila refugee camps



1987 First Intifada begins

**1993** Oslo Accords between PLO led by Arafat and Israel led by PM Yitzhak Rabin recognising Palestinian National Authority in Gaza and West Bank in return for PLO recognition of Israel (Rabin assassinated 1995)

**2000** Second Intifada

**2000** Israel orders withdrawal from Gaza and begins construction of Wall through West Bank to 'protect' illegal settlements

**2006** Third Israeli invasion of Lebanon

**2009** Israeli invasion of Gaza

**2012** November UN recognises Palestine as having observer status and recognises the Palestinian Authority as representing the State of Palestine; Israeli announces settlements on El area to complete territorial division of West Bank – further Israeli attack on Gaza

**2013** Obama convenes peace talks between Israel and the PLO; Israel announces 20,000 new settlement units cutting off East Jerusalem from the West Bank.

**2013** November EU issues a statement condemning the new settlements and Israeli attacks on Palestinians.

**2014** April Israel withdraws from US-brokered peace negotiations when Abbas announces talks between PLO and Hamas

**2015** July Israeli invasion of Gaza

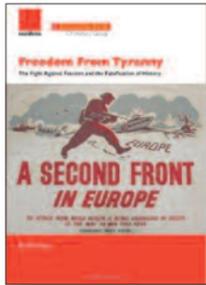
**2017** March Entrance to Israel or Occupied Territories barred to any supporter of BDS

**2017** September reconciliation process between Hamas and PLO

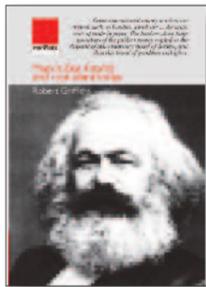
**2017** December Trump recognises Jerusalem as Israel's capital

**2018** March Israel shoots down unarmed protest marchers in Gaza killing 17 and injuring 773

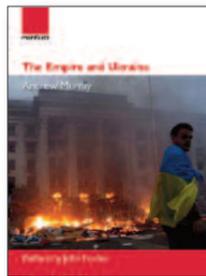
**2018** May 14 Israeli army kills 59 and injures over 2000 shooting down unarmed Palestinians in Gaza protesting over the 70th anniversary of Nakba and the opening of the US Embassy in Jerusalem. Last year the British government provided exports licences for the sale of sniper rifles to the Israel Army.



**▲ Freedom From Tyranny** The fight against fascism and the falsification of history by Phil Katz commemorates the 65th anniversary of the defeat of fascism in Europe is a celebration of that victory and also a warning of the continuing dangers posed by fascism and the attempts to re-write history. £5.95 (£1.50 p&p) 114pp illustrated,



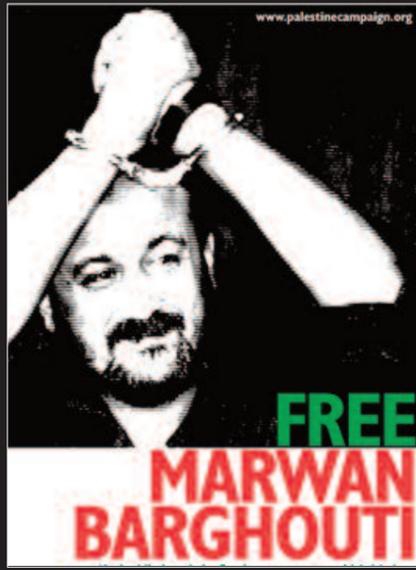
**▲ In Marx's Das Kapital and capitalism today** Robert Griffiths takes us back to the foundations of Marx's critique of capitalism and demonstrates its relevance. Published to mark the 200 anniversary of Marx's birth the book shows how reading Das Kapital sheds light on the reality of capitalist crisis today. £8 €9 (plus £2 €2.5



**▲ The Empire and Ukraine** by Andrew Murray sets the Ukraine crisis in its global and local context, and draws the lessons needed for the anti-war movement as great power conflict returns to Europe and threatens a new cold war or worse. Murray examines the fascist forces activated in Ukraine and explores the essential links between the crises of contemporary capitalism and war. £11.95 (+£1.50 p&p)



manifestpress.org.uk



**Marwan Barghouti was leader of the first and second Intifada and has been imprisoned by the Israel government since 2002. In 2017 he led a hunger strike by 2,000 Palestinian political prisoners in Israeli jails.**



**Support the PSC campaign for the boycott of all Israeli goods and services, for financial disinvestment from Israel and for governmental sanctions against Israel and shows the strength of feeling to those living in Israel.**

## Israeli Occupation of the West Bank

Since 1967 the Israeli government has bulldozed 48,000 Palestinian homes, seized 50 per cent of the land for settlements, restricted water supplies to Palestinians and planted 600,000 settlers. There are currently 6,000 Palestinian prisoners in Israeli jails of whom 300 are children. Gaza has been under continuous blockade by Israel since 2008.

The 'one state solution' for Palestine/Israel is no solution

## One state solution for Palestine/Israel?

### A critique of Jeff Halper's arguments

International Law allows the full attainment and exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right of return of Palestinian refugees and the right to national independence and sovereignty in Palestine within the framework of the United Nations, its Charter and its Resolutions. Jerusalem's status is to be negotiated as part of the peace settlement. Donald Trump's recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's capital in December 2017 has caused consternation amongst supporters of the Palestinian cause.

### A dangerous idea compromising the right of return and legitimising illegal settlements

Siren voices clamour that achieving two states is now impossible and the only solution is one state, a dangerous idea which would legitimise illegal settlements, compromise the right of return and sideline the United Nations.

Jeff Halper, co-founder and co-ordinator of the Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions (ICAHN) an NGO that actively resists the Israeli government policy of

demolishing Palestinian homes in the Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPT), outlines "two possible one state solutions", one of them being "a democratic state with one person, one vote", the other being "a bi-national one-state".

He also proposes a further possibility: "the idea of a Middle Eastern Economic Confederation that looks something like the European Common Market of 30 years ago" that would include "Israel/Palestine, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon".

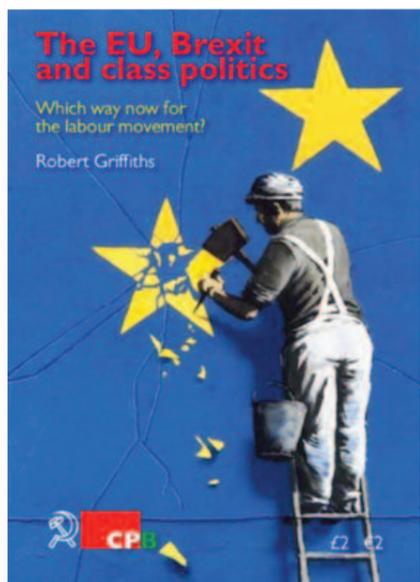
### These ideas are not new.

Halper declared in April 2012 that "a two-state solution is no longer viable". For one thing, "the facts on the ground – the settlements, the wall, the highways and the fragmentation of the territory – are all just so massive and so permanent and are constantly being expanded that there's no more place for a coherent, functional, viable, sovereign Palestinian state".

For another, he argued, "there's no political will in the international community to force Israel out of the Occupied Territories. Israel's certainly not going to leave voluntarily, so there have to be massive international pressures on Israel to get out and that's completely missing. So, if you take those things into account there's no way in which a two-state solution is viable, and we simply need to stop talking about it".

In September 2012, ICAHD endorsed a bi-national one-state solution, and in April 2013 Halper explained that a two-state solution was only possible if Israel accepted Palestinian sovereignty over the Occupied Territories, Palestinian UN membership, the Palestinian right to national self-determination within the 1967 lines, and the integration of settlements on Palestinian land. He declared that "[t]here is a remarkable, mirror-like correspondence between Hamas and the right-wing in Israel, the latter ranging from the Likud through the religious settler movement".

Halper's arguments have not changed in the



### The EU, Brexit and class politics Which way for the labour movement?

Communist Party general secretary Robert Griffiths – who chaired the Lexit campaign revisits the arguments set out in the *Left Exit from the EU* pamphlet issued during the referendum campaign which resulted in a decisive vote by the British people to leave the European Union.

Revised and republished by the Communist Party the pamphlet brings readers up to date with the manoeuvres by the banks, big business, the state and an unprincipled alliance of pro EU elements in the parliamentary parties to subvert the popular vote.

For a people's exit from the big business EU! Yes to international solidarity and cooperation! Clear the way for a left-led Labour government! £2

www.comunist-party.org.uk/shop/

## Potential opposition to Netanyahu within Israel The 2015 Israeli election: current seats in Knesset

PARTY	SEATS
Likud (Netanyahu)	30
Zionist Union (Israeli Labour Party alliance)	24
Joint List (Arab parties plus Communist Party of Israel)	13
Yesh Atid (Yair Lapid: pro peace settlement)	11
Kulani (centrist)	10
Shas (Ultra Religious)	7
Jewish Home (Netanyahu's extreme right)	6
Meretz (Israeli secular Left)	5

last five years, even though there is sound evidence that the effectiveness of the BDS (Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions) movement is growing and that 136 UN member states (70.5% of the 193 member states) plus 2 non-members now recognise a Palestinian state.

### Not supported by the Palestinian people

Solidarity organisations in Britain need to strongly resist these defeatist ideas, which are not supported by the Palestinian people and their political representatives, and be more vocal in explaining and supporting calls for meaningful negotiations with the state of Israel, under the auspices of the United Nations, in accordance with its resolutions on this issue, in order to achieve justice and a lasting peace.

## Four reasons to back the 'two state' solution

The first concerns Israel. The 2015 election saw the victory of right-wing and chauvinist parties with the re-elected prime minister, Netanyahu taking an intransigent position of opposition to a two state solution at an early stage in the election. However, the actual outcome of the election saw a relative increase in support for parties advocating a two state solution and a quite narrow balance in favour of Netanyahu in the Knesset. Key figures in the Israeli establishment are now expressing severe reservations about Netanyahu's policies

The second concerns the loss of negotiating advances already secured by the PLO. Israel and the US have campaigned over three decades to prevent the UN recognition of the Palestine Authority as a state. Despite the Palestinian Authority having majority support at the UN since 1989, the US was able to use its veto in the Security Council to prevent formal recognition of statehood until 2012. In that year the Palestinian Authority won UN recognition as 'a non-member observer state' and slightly later the official UN designation as the 'State of Palestine'. This designation is important as it allows Palestine to raise within the UN issues, among others, concerning violations of territorial integrity and war crimes and to actively win allies against an extreme right-wing Israeli government that is losing international credibility.

The third argument concerns the one state solution itself and the lack of clarity about its character and how it is to be achieved. This varies from the peaceful establishment of a democratic and secular state to the military

defeat and destruction of Israel. It remains unclear as to how either is to be achieved in current circumstances. As an ideological position its key characteristic would appear to be negative: a rejection of the path of negotiation and of the politics of the secular and left-oriented PLO. The principal international propagandist for the one state solution, through its TV station Al Jazeera and its funding of the Muslim Brotherhood across the region, is Qatar, the main regional base of the US military, whose Emir monopolises all executive powers and imposes draconian penalties on any form of democratic dissent.

The fourth argument concerns the US. A one state position, premising the destruction of Israel as a state, legitimises the arguments of the pro-Israel lobby.

## Oppose Israel's imposition of a One State Solution. Uphold UN resolutions: the basis for lasting peace

**In the tour sponsored by Liberation Dr Aqel Taqaz will be speaking at the following venues:**

**OXFORD Wednesday 6 June 8pm East Oxford Community Centre, 44 Princes St, OX4 1DD**

**BIRMINGHAM Thursday 7 June 7pm Unite Offices, 6 Heneage Street, Birmingham B7 4AZ**

**LONDON Friday 8 June 7pm Marx Memorial Library, 37a Clerkenwell Green, EC1R 0DU**

**MANCHESTER Saturday 9 June 12.30pm Mechanics Institute, 103 Princess St, M1 6DD**

**BRISTOL Monday 11 June 6.30pm Palestine Museum and Cultural Centre, 27 Broad St, Bristol BS1 2HG**

**Dr Taqaz is the Vice Chair of the World Peace Council and Secretary of the Palestine Committee for Peace and Solidarity. He is a member of the Palestinian Peoples Party, a component party within the Palestinian Authority government coalition.**



**Workers of all land, unite!** sets out a labour movement policy on migration, labour and refugees. These issues have been kept at the centre of the political debate by a reactionary media, the main political parties and the state.

This has been the case around the referendum decision of the British people to exit the EU. This continual barrage has fostered perceptions that Britain is being 'swamped' by migrant ethnic groups and nationalities, that immigrants and asylum-seekers are 'bogus' and receive privileged access to public and welfare services. It has also helped the growth of fascist and right-wing xenophobic organisations.

Both xenophobic attitudes, and the calls for 'no borders', help conceal the role played by the capitalist state and by capital itself, which is the direct cause of war and most of the economic and social problems afflicting the working class across the world – problems that lie at the heart of mass migration. £2



**Jeremy Corbyn** "The Morning Star is the most precious and only voice we have in the daily media" £1 weekdays, £1.50 at weekends.

From newsagents or online at [morningstaronline.co.uk](http://morningstaronline.co.uk)

