

international bulletin



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 United States 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

WORLD 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."

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 of 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 E1 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

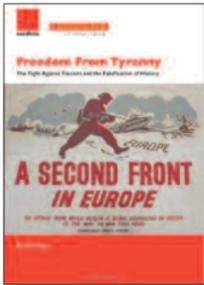
2017 March Entrance to Israel or Occupied Territories barred to any supporter of BDS

2017 September reconciliation process between Hamas and PLO

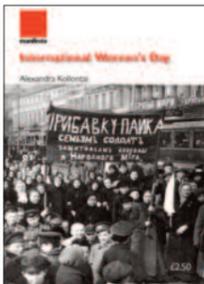
2017 December Trump recognises Jerusalem as Israel's capital

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

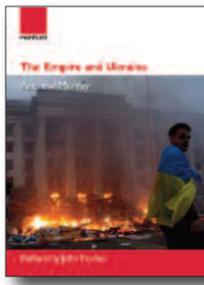
2018 May 14 Israeli troops kill 70 and injure over 2,000 unarmed protestors on the 70th anniversary of Nakba and the day of the opening of the US Embassy in Jerusalem



▲ **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.



▲ **Alexandra Kollontai** (1872 –1952) was an active socialist and fighter for women's rights in Russia from 1899. She joined the Bolsheviks in 1915. The only woman member of the Bolshevik central committee, she also served as Commissar of Welfare and head of the Women's Section of the Bolshevik Party. £2.50 (+£1.50 p&p)



▲ **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)



manifestopress.org.uk

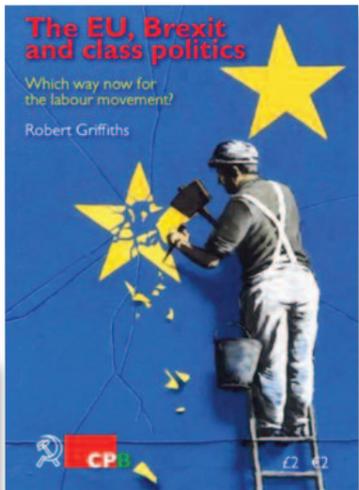
Workers of all lands, unite!

A labour movement policy on migration, labour and refugees



▲ **Workers of all land, unite!** sets out what should be a labour movement policy on migration, labour and refugees. These issues of have been kept at the centre of the political debate by reactionary elements in the media, the main political parties and the state. This has been particularly the case in the run-up to, and since, 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, although these remain small and largely ignored by working class people.

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



SINGLE MARKET THREAT

THE LABOUR movement should beware the drive to present continuing alignment with the EU Single Market as a 'unifying' post-Brexit policy, Britain's communists have warned.

General secretary Robert Griffiths branded it "a 'one-nation' Tory and big business approach that would obstruct the progressive policies of a future Labour government."

EU single-market rules enforced by the overbearing EU Commission and the unaccountable European Central Bank would not only stop Britain negotiating its own economic relations with other developed and third-world countries, but would also restrict or outlaw many of the measures in Labour's general-election manifesto he said.

Single-market rules are at odds with state-backed infrastructure investment, aid for industry, VAT reform, fairer public procurement policies, renationalisation of the railways and water supply and a regulated labour market that puts an end to super-exploitation.

The party reiterated its support for a 'people's exit' from the EU, with no submission to EU single-market rules, a minimum divorce bill and regulation of the movement of capital and labour rather than a 'capitalist free market to maximise corporate profit'. ★

▲ **The EU, Brexit and class politics**

Which way for the labour movement?

by Robert Griffiths £2

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

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

A critique of the position advanced by Jeff Halper

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. 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 side-line 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 onestate 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, "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 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.

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 lasting peace.

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 (Nefthali Bennet) extreme right	6
Meretz (Israeli secular Left)	5

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 Palestine 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.



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



Support BDS

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

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

Details of the tour by Akel Taqaz sponsored by Liberation

Dr Taqaz will be speaking at the following venues:

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

BIRMINGHAM Thursday 7 June
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, Manchester M1 6DD

BRISTOL Monday 11 June 7pm
The Palestinian Museum and Cultural Centre, 27 Broad Street, 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



★ **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

