

MAP
MEDICAL AID FOR PALESTINIANS



Advancing Arab-British Relations

BRITAIN AND PALESTINE: A PARLIAMENTARY FOCUS 2010-2015



“Listening to the personal stories of the people of Khan Al Ahmar brought home to me the vulnerability of Palestinian communities and the urgency of making progress.”

William Hague, 2013

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BARONESS MORRIS OF BOLTON

INTRODUCTION FROM MAP



Residents of Gaza amongst their destroyed homes



My right honourable friend Sir Alan Duncan once said that “no one who has travelled to Israel and Palestine can fail to become emotionally engaged in the rights and wrongs of the arguments between the two. The Israeli-Palestinian dispute is one of the most polarising and vexed issues in the world”.

I visited Gaza after the war in 2014 and was shocked not only by the devastation caused by the bombing but by the general deterioration. There was hardly any fuel, people couldn't keep warm, and every other mode of transport was a donkey and cart – and most of the donkeys were lame. The international donations promised at the Cairo conference to rebuild Gaza had not materialised, and young people were dying from the cold.

In the West Bank, I witnessed ever-increasing settlement building, the threatened removal of the Bedouin from their lands to townships and I also witnessed the work of and pay tribute to some amazing and dedicated Israelis who are working tirelessly for Palestinian dignity and self-determination.

I never fail to be impressed by the resilience and good humour of the Palestinian people, but it is hardly surprising that they have had enough. It is also hardly surprising, when they are constantly told that the time is not right, that they sought to take matters into their own hands at the United Nations.

In an article in the Guardian on 9 November 2011, just before the Palestinians applied for full member status at the UN, my right honourable friend Sir Nicholas Soames and I warned: “The UK cannot support the right to self-determination in every country in the Middle East and then deny the same right to the Palestinians. The World Bank, IMF, UN and EU have all assessed the performance of the Palestinian Authority and reported that it is ready for statehood”.

Recognition will bolster those Palestinians who believe that the path of non-violence will lead to a state coming into being through diplomacy and democratic expression, not destruction, a state which lives side-by-side with Israel in peace and prosperity.

There are those who seek to make recognition of Palestinian statehood dependent on the conclusion of successful peace negotiations. I believe that such negotiations will not come to fruition without Palestinian statehood. Time is running out for all the conditions to be met. How can we talk about a two-state solution when we recognise only one state?

In 2010, President Obama promised in his speech to the UN that Palestine would be a new member of the United Nations by September 2011. That promise was endorsed by the United Kingdom. We should fulfil that promise now.

Baroness Morris of Bolton is the President of Medical Aid for Palestinians (MAP) – transcript based on a speech delivered in the House of Lords on 29 January, 2015.

CHRIS DOYLE

INTRODUCTION FROM Caabu



Most conflicts are complex and the Israel-Palestine one is no exception. Even so, at the core it is a conflict about territory and two competing nationalisms, and above all, an occupier and an occupied. As one diplomat told a recent delegation, "It's the occupation, stupid." The occupation and its impact corrodes

and impinges upon every single aspect of Palestinian life in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

Even after so many visits, heading across the Green Line that separates Israel from occupied territory still hits you. Behind you is the rich first world super-state backed by the world's hyper-power. Before you is a huge barrier. Two worlds. Two peoples. Two legal systems. Two sets of rights.

It is the most extraordinary conflict involving a mix of history and religion. Everywhere you go has an ancient and modern story, all too sadly contested and bitter. We may think that the Balfour Declaration of 1917 is a historical document but one elderly Palestinian farmer, standing under a settlement sewage pipe which was polluting his land, left four MPs in no doubt that firstly, the declaration was the root of all their problems and, secondly, that Britain was solely to blame. A Jewish settler in Hebron was equally strident in slamming Britain for having in his view broken every promise to Jews from 1917 onwards. Another settler claimed Britain was about to be taken over by ISIS.

Where else would you drink a cup of tea in a Palestinian man's home whilst sitting on the exact route of the wall, with the settlement of Elkana overlooking the house? The Israeli army had created a gate through the wall solely for Hani's use. Military patrol vehicles whizzed past. Hani claimed he would never leave. Omar lives in a house on the edge of Al Walajeh near Bethlehem. His house is on the other side of the wall to the village. This means he has lost his lands but the army did build him a tunnel underneath so that he could access the village, albeit a village surrounded by the wall on three sides.

The same words were uttered by Palestinian farmers living in a village in the Jordan Valley even though they had barely any water. Periodically the Israeli army forcibly empties the village for live-fire training exercises. Crops and trees are frequently destroyed.

Taking delegations to Palestine, Lebanon and Jordan is only possible with the help of many other organisations and people who give time freely to make them a success. Above all, we think of those who host us despite their shocking circumstances in encampments, in semi-demolished houses or under the shadow of the Wall. The overwhelming majority of delegates return energised by what they have seen and with a sense of duty to address the injustices they have witnessed. More than anything, there is a desperate need to find new ways to resolve this protracted conflict.

Chris Doyle is Director for the Council for Arab-British Understanding (Caabu)

MESSAGE FROM THE PALESTINIAN AMBASSADOR



It has been 67 years on the ongoing Nakba, 48 years since the Israeli military occupation of the West Bank, Gaza Strip and Jerusalem and 22 years since the signing of the Oslo Peace Accords. Israel, the occupying power, has continued to deny my people their right to independence and self-

determination. Throughout these decades the government of Israel implemented illegal policies and practices and committed countless violations and heinous crimes of international law including humanitarian and human rights law. No one has been spared from Israel's occupation, oppression and aggression in Palestine. Our women, men, children, disabled, ill and elderly have all been subject to systematic and grave violations of their basic human rights at the hands of the Israeli occupation. This has been clearly demonstrated during the war on Gaza last summer. The tragic aftermath was a concrete example of the Israeli military occupation's brutality and disregard for international law.

The Palestinian leadership made a historic and painful compromise by accepting the two-state solution and the establishment of the Palestinian state on 22% of our historical land. We have been firmly committed to reaching peace and have fulfilled all our obligations and commitments to signed agreements. However, Israel the occupying power has worked tenaciously to undermine all international efforts that sought to bring about the two-state solution and end this illegal occupation. The government of Israel has failed to fulfil its commitments to agreements, and obligations and responsibilities towards the two-state solution. It is destroying the chances for peace and making the two-state solution implausible. The illegal practices and policies of the current government of Israel reflect its lack of desire for peace.

The climate of impunity that Israel enjoys is a result of the international community's failure to enforce international law, and hold Israel accountable for its ongoing crimes and violations of international law. The international community, particularly the UK government, which has a historical and moral responsibility towards Palestine and the Palestinian people, should be committed to ending Israel's illegal occupation and facilitating peace. In order to salvage the prospects of the two-state solution, the UK government must confront this unlawful situation and bring about justice. It must play an

even-handed role and exercise the political will necessary to end Israel's military occupation of Palestine and to safeguard the lives and rights of the Palestinian people.

What we have witnessed at parliament during its last term 2010-2015 reflects the British people's and politician's will to bring about justice to Palestine and Palestinians and to end this protracted conflict. The overwhelming support for the recognition of the state of Palestine during the vote last October; the hundreds of questions that were tabled in regards to Palestine on the situation in Gaza, forced displacement in the occupied state of Palestine, children in military custody, violations of human rights and international law; the EDMs; and the debates on Palestine are all an indication of the fundamental commitment of British politicians towards international justice and peace in Palestine. Mainstreaming Palestine into British politics has been a breakthrough and it is thanks to the efforts of the British public and civil society organisations including MAP and Caabu that have worked tirelessly to put Palestine on the agenda. I want to thank MAP and Caabu for taking delegations of MPs to the occupied state of Palestine to see for themselves the situation on the ground and experience first-hand the illegal policies and practices of the Israeli occupation. I also want to thank all the Ministers and MPs who have spoken passionately about Palestine and have supported Palestinian rights particularly the right to self-determination and statehood. The Palestinian people deserve to live in peace and dignity.

In conclusion, I want to say that Britain is known for its values of justice, freedom, and equality for all. I believe there is an urgency to apply those values to Palestine. The moment for the UK government to recognise the state of Palestine and the rights of the Palestinian people has come. Because only then we will be able to salvage the two state solution. The UK government must support our efforts to uphold international law at the United Nations and the International Criminal Court. It must put pressure on Israel to halt the illegal settlement enterprise by banning settlement produce and to end its illegal occupation and ongoing dispossession of the Palestinian people.

Ambassador Professor Manuel Hassassian

PALESTINIAN STATEHOOD RECOGNITION



House of Common, 2014

MPs vote for recognition of a Palestinian state

In a hugely symbolic act, in October 2014, UK MPs voted in favour of recognising Palestine as a state alongside Israel, by 274 votes to 12. The House of Commons backed the move 'as a contribution to securing a negotiated two-state solution'.¹ Labour MP Grahame Morris, Chair of Labour Friends of Palestine & the Middle East (LFPME), proposed the non-binding motion and the Labour Party leadership went on to whip its MPs to vote in favour if they attended the debate.²

"As the originator of the Balfour declaration and holder of the mandate for Palestine, Britain has a unique historical connection and, arguably, a moral responsibility to the people of both Israel and Palestine. In 1920, we undertook a sacred trust – a commitment to guide Palestinians to statehood and independence.... This sacred trust has been neglected for far too long."³

Grahame Morris MP

Prior to the vote, 300 prominent Israeli figures signed a letter urging Parliament to vote in favour of the motion. The signatories included former ministers and diplomats as well as academics, writers and activists. The letter stated that international recognition of a Palestinian state would ultimately serve Israeli interests by promoting peace, stability and security in the region.⁴

"We believe that the long-term existence and security of Israel depends on the long-term existence and security

of a Palestinian state. For this reason we urge members of the UK parliament... to recognise the state of Palestine alongside the state of Israel."⁵

Letter from Israeli signatories to UK Parliament, October 2014

MPs supporting the motion argued that recognising Palestine would promote equality between the parties, and aid negotiations by strengthening moderate Palestinian voices against violent extremists. Some added that a vote in favour of the motion would pressurise Israel into making concessions by substantiating the Government's continual condemnations of illegal settlement expansion in the occupied West Bank. Many MPs spoke of the UK's historic responsibility towards both Israelis and Palestinians, due to its status as the former Mandate power in Palestine in the decades immediately preceding the creation of the state of Israel. Others pointed out that the two-state solution needs to be implemented on the ground as soon as possible, before the opportunity disappears and the one-state possibility becomes inevitable.

"I am convinced that recognising Palestine is both morally right and in our national interests. It is morally right because the Palestinians are entitled to a state, just as Israelis are rightly entitled to their homeland."⁶

Sir Nicholas Soames MP

During the debate, opponents of the motion declared that it would be premature to recognise the state of Palestine before the conclusion of a full peace agreement with Israel. Along with some voices outside parliament, they contended that the vote risked undermining diplomatic negotiations by promoting unilateral action.⁷ Some also suggested that Palestine did not sufficiently fulfil the criteria for statehood and as such did not merit recognition. Despite such concerns only 12 MPs ultimately voted against the motion.

“Saying that recognition can only happen with the outcome of negotiations very much gives Israel the right of veto not only over a Palestinian state but over the UK Parliament’s ability to make our own decision to recognise that Palestinian state.”⁸

Richard Burden MP

The Parliamentary vote does not determine UK foreign policy and the government’s position on Palestine remains unchanged. Middle East Minister Tobias Ellwood MP said in 2014 that Britain reserves the right to recognise Palestine when it is “appropriate for the peace process” and the government has continued to oppose recognition outside of negotiations.⁹ This is in keeping with the line previously taken by William Hague, the former Foreign Secretary. Hague said in 2011 that the Palestinian Authority largely fulfils criteria for UN membership, including statehood, and that the UK would recognise a Palestinian state “at a moment of our choosing and when it can best help to bring about peace.”¹⁰

INTERNATIONAL REACTION

The Israeli government condemned the Parliamentary vote on the alleged grounds that it undermined chances for peace. The Israeli Foreign Ministry called the statehood recognition ‘premature’ and claimed that it “sent a troubling message to the Palestinian leadership that they can evade the tough choices that both sides have to make.” Meanwhile, Palestinian officials welcomed the decision. Dr Hanan Ashrawi, a member of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) executive committee, thanked the British figures and Parliamentarians who had brought about the vote, which she called “a significant step towards justice and peace.”¹¹

While critics of the move claimed that the non-binding vote was ultimately insignificant, supporters have insisted that Parliamentary decisions always hold weight on the world stage.¹² The result, although symbolic, could have international

implications. French, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese and Irish MPs have since all voted in favour of similar non-binding motions recognising the state of Palestine.¹³

“Recognition of statehood is not a reward for anything; it is a right.”¹⁴

Sir Alan Duncan MP

The vote followed a move by the Swedish government to officially recognise the state of Palestine, making Sweden the first major western European state to do so.¹⁵ In taking this step, Sweden has followed in the footsteps of the seven other EU states and 134 other UN member states that have formally recognised Palestinian statehood.¹⁶

Britain abstained from the UN General Assembly’s vote on Palestinian statehood in November 2012, along with 40 other member states. The UNGA Resolution ultimately passed by 138 to 9, making Palestine a non-member observer state at the UN.¹⁷ An earlier attempt by the Palestinian Authority to become a fully-fledged UN member state was unsuccessful after failing to pass through the Security Council in 2011.

In June 2015 President Obama warned that Israel risks losing international credibility if Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu continues to reject a two-state solution; “I think subsequently his statements have suggested that there is the possibility of a Palestinian state, but it has so many caveats, so many conditions, that it is not realistic to think that those conditions would be met any time in the near future. And so, the danger here is that Israel, as a whole, loses credibility. Already, the international community does not believe that Israel is serious about a two-state solution. The statement the prime minister made compounded that belief that there’s not a commitment there.

PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATIONS



Caabu and MAP have decades of experience in organising high-quality Parliamentary delegations to Palestine and Palestinian refugee communities across the Middle East.

During the last Parliament (2010-2015), we took 55 British politicians on delegations to Palestine, in conjunction with the British-Palestine All-Party Parliamentary Group (APPG). Delegates included former Cabinet ministers such as Jack Straw, Andy Burnham, Liam Byrne, Baroness Sayeeda Warsi, and Dame Tessa Jowell; a former Home Office minister, Nick Herbert, and Labour's Shadow Business Secretary, Chuka Umunna.

Our experience in taking these delegations is aided by excellent partners on the ground who assist in organising field trips and up to date briefings, including the United Nations, Al Haq, Breaking the Silence, Military Court Watch, Oxfam, and Terrestrial Jerusalem.

The delegations aim to give a first-class and intensive examination of the issues that impact the peace process and that Palestinians living under occupation and blockade are forced to face. They provide an opportunity to get to grips with one of the most protracted and serious conflicts in the world.



"The Israeli announcement of a massive confiscation of land in the West Bank on the day the delegation left reinforced the view that only when ending occupation is addressed will there be any chance of moving forward."¹⁸

Stephen Kinnock MP

The priority has always been to ensure that delegates are able to meet Palestinians living in contrasting areas and situations, and to learn what issues they face – not least from a human rights and development perspective.

On one delegation Andy Burnham and Seema Malhotra visited communities in Qalqilya, a Palestinian city in the north of the West Bank, completely surrounded by the Israeli separation wall. They then met with communities who live trapped on the other side of the wall in the so-called 'seam zone', which is declared a military area. Overall, this zone takes up almost 10% of the West Bank. The Palestinians living here face huge access problems, as they are not permitted to enter Israel and their ability to reach the rest of the West Bank is severely restricted by the need to pass through a checkpoint that takes time even in an emergency.

"I saw an opportunity to find out for myself what was happening on the ground; to see how ordinary people were faring and to question Palestinian and Israeli politicians. Just because this conflict is happening thousands of miles away doesn't mean it hasn't got the potential to affect us here in Oldham. I have grave concerns about the fragility of peace not just between Israelis and Palestinians but in the Middle East as a whole and consequently the world. Our all-party visit was important to show that the international community is concerned about what is going on and wants to see as well as to hear the testimony of both sides."¹⁹

Debbie Abrahams MP

Another delegation visited the West Bank village of al-Atwani to examine the impact of settlement building. They saw first-hand the daily experiences of Palestinians throughout occupied Palestine. They also witnessed harassment of the village's farmers by settlers – from the nearby outpost of Havat Maon – attempting to prevent the farmers from tending to their lands.

There are regular Friday protests, usually in villages affected by the Wall. During one visit in 2012, MPs witnessed Israeli soldiers firing tear gas canisters at protesters. The village reeked of 'skunk spray' – a foul-smelling liquid that is squirted by the army at people and property in order to disperse demonstrations (and later to identify demonstrators). The protesters were mainly young men from the village, some of whom had been throwing stones at the soldiers.

"It is pretty awful the way they are being treated... I have been to demonstrations in Britain but to have CS gas fired is a very different experience."

Mark Hendrick MP

Each delegation tries to adapt according to the specific interests of delegates. During the visit of Chuka Umunna, we visited many Palestinian businesses and met with a whole range of Palestinian business men and women. Former Cabinet Minister, Ed Davey had a specific interest in water supplies so we were able to introduce him to experts on the issue.

Many delegations have visited the Israeli military courts. A particular focus has been the issue of Palestinian child detainees. To date, ten delegations have been to the juvenile court there. Israeli lawyers explain the process and there is the chance to meet the families of Palestinians whose children have been detained.

"Thank you again for a fantastically well-planned and executed trip. It is difficult to imagine how you could have fitted more into our five days – all of it relevant and to say the least, eye-opening."

Andy Slaughter MP

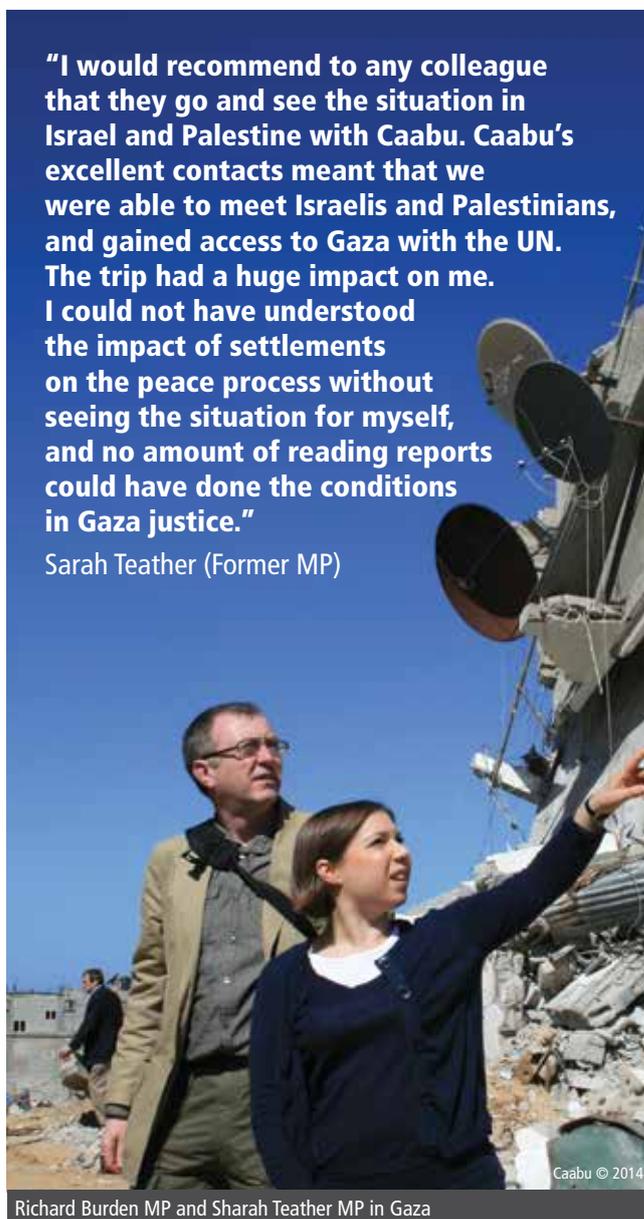
There is also an array of official meetings. Every delegation has had a chance to meet with British diplomats, usually the British Consul-General in Jerusalem and the British Ambassador in Tel Aviv. Various United Nations agencies also brief delegations on their crucial work. In Gaza, it is the UN Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) that hosts the delegations and explains the vital work they do.

Delegations have met with the Palestinian President, Prime Ministers, the Foreign Minister and the head of the Palestinian negotiations team. Delegates also hear from the Israeli government. They have met with the Prime Minister's official spokesman, Mark Regev, and a host of other Israeli officials and experts. The delegates have the opportunity to pose questions about what they have seen and heard.

In recent years, MPs who have been on these delegations have secured debates in Parliament on such issues as Palestinian statehood, development in Area C, and Palestinian child detainees. In addition, delegates frequently put down questions to Ministers.

"I would recommend to any colleague that they go and see the situation in Israel and Palestine with Caabu. Caabu's excellent contacts meant that we were able to meet Israelis and Palestinians, and gained access to Gaza with the UN. The trip had a huge impact on me. I could not have understood the impact of settlements on the peace process without seeing the situation for myself, and no amount of reading reports could have done the conditions in Gaza justice."

Sarah Teather (Former MP)



Richard Burden MP and Sarah Teather MP in Gaza

Caabu © 2014

POLICY TOWARDS GAZA



2,217 Palestinians were killed as a result of the Israeli military operation in 2014

THE BLOCKADE

The beginning of the last Parliament saw explicit condemnations of the Gaza blockade, which has been in place since 2007, from the new Prime Minister, Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary. David Cameron publicly called Gaza a 'prison camp' soon after becoming Prime Minister in 2010, and condemned the blockade on the grounds that it ultimately aided Hamas and undermined Israel's own interests. William Hague, the Foreign Secretary and Nick Clegg, the Deputy Prime Minister, issued similar public statements at the time, with the support of the Opposition.²⁰

"Gaza cannot and must not be allowed to remain a prison camp. People in Gaza are living under constant attacks and pressure in an open-air prison."²¹

David Cameron, July 2010

However, and although the condemnations have continued, decisive governmental actions against the blockade have been limited over the past five years. In the aftermath of Israeli offensives in 2012 and 2014, William Hague repeated his earlier comment that the blockade inadvertently served to strengthen Hamas, and emphasised that a stronger Palestinian economy in Gaza would be in Israel's security interests. He called for the blockade to be 'eased' in order to facilitate legal trade and the entry of humanitarian aid.²² Hague's successor as Foreign Secretary, Philip Hammond, has taken a broadly similar line.²³ The Government has also emphasised the need to include Egypt in talks over Gaza's future, including how to open up trade while closing down the tunnels, if negotiations are to be successful.²⁴

"The Israeli restrictions on the movement of goods and people do tremendous damage to the economy and the living standards of the people of Gaza, and, in our view, that serves to strengthen, not weaken, Hamas in the long term. An improved economy is essential for the people of Gaza, including the children of Gaza, but it is also ultimately firmly in the security interests of Israel."²⁵

William Hague, then Foreign Secretary, July 2014

MPs from all parties have repeatedly raised concerns in debates about the blockade's political, economic and humanitarian impact. In the last Parliamentary term, ten Early Day Motions have called for the urgent lifting of the blockade on humanitarian grounds.²⁶

"Gaza's unemployment and poverty figures are very troubling and the economic outlook is worrying. The current market in Gaza is not able to offer jobs leaving a large population in despair particularly the youth. The ongoing blockade and the 2014 war have taken a toll on Gaza's economy and people's livelihoods. Gaza's exports virtually disappeared and the manufacturing sector has shrunk by as much as 60 percent. The economy cannot survive without being connected to the outside world."

Steen Lau Jorgensen, World Bank Country Director for West Bank and Gaza, May, 2015

PARLIAMENTARY ACCESS

The Israeli blockade continued to restrict UK Parliamentary access to Gaza in 2010-15. No delegation of MPs has been able to visit Gaza via the Erez crossing since 2009, when the Israeli military authorities granted entry to the Britain-Palestine All Party Parliamentary Group.²⁷ Meanwhile since the Egyptian army ousted Islamist President Mohamed Morsi in 2013, Cairo has largely kept Rafah, the main gateway to Gaza, closed.

In the last term, only a small number of individual ministerial visits took place. Foreign Office Minister Alistair Burt travelled to Gaza in June 2013, when he called for a lifting of economic restrictions.²⁸ Tobias Ellwood MP, Minister for the Middle East, and Desmond Swayne MP, Minister for International Development, subsequently both visited Gaza in October 2014 to assess the situation on the ground in the aftermath of Operation Protective Edge.²⁹



"There is no substitute to visiting [Gaza] and meeting with ordinary people."³⁰

Gavin Shuker MP

The issue of Parliamentary access received renewed attention after the

Foreign Office withdrew support for a planned visit to Gaza by the Scottish Minister for External Affairs in March 2015.³¹ 101 MPs have since signed an Early Day Motion (No 827) calling for the UK government to pressure the Israeli authorities to open Gaza to delegations of MPs, in order for them to observe the situation on the ground and assess how UK aid is being applied.³²



"The people in Gaza are cut off and isolated. A change in attitudes of UK politicians depends on visits."³³

Baroness Morris, UK Trade Envoy to Palestine

ISRAELI OFFENSIVES

The last Parliamentary term has seen two major Israeli offensives in Gaza: "Operation Pillar of Defence" in November 2012 and "Operation Protective Edge" in July-August 2014. During both conflicts, the government called for sustainable ceasefires while formally defending Israel's 'legitimate right to self-defence' against rocket attacks from Gaza.³⁴ The Prime Minister refused to condemn the Israeli action and barred ministers from describing the bombings as disproportionate. However, numerous MPs took a more critical stance during Parliamentary debates, drawing attention to the unequal Palestinian and Israeli death tolls.

The events of 2014 also generated renewed attention on UK arms sales to Israel. Between 2010-14, Britain granted 131 British manufacturers £42 million worth of export licences to Israel. In the six months prior to "Operation Protective Edge", the government approved the sale of £6.96 million worth of weapons to Israel.³⁵ This included components for drones, combat aircraft, sniper rifles and targeting equipment. The government's decision not to suspend the military licences during the offensive led to a split in the coalition – with Nick Clegg calling for their suspension – and to the resignation of Foreign Office Minister, Baroness Warsi.³⁶



45 ambulances were hit during the 2014 attacks on Gaza

MAP © 2014



"Our approach and language during the current crisis in Gaza is morally indefensible, is not in Britain's national interest and will have a long term detrimental impact on our reputation internationally and domestically."³⁷

Baroness Warsi, August 2014

Ministers at the Department for Business, Innovation and Skills (BIS) went on to identify 12 licences that had potentially been put to use during Operation Protective Edge. Following a review, the government announced in August 2014 that these licences would be suspended in the event of the ceasefire being broken.³⁸ In October 2014, the "Campaign Against Arms Trade" (CAAT) mounted a legal challenge in the High Court against the UK government's decision, on the grounds that its policy did not define or explain what constituted 'breaking' the ceasefire and that the potential use of UK-manufactured arms in Gaza could be in breach of international law.³⁹



Naveen Cavale, a plastic surgeon from King's College Hospital, operating in Gaza

AID

Britain has continued to provide substantial financial support to Gaza in 2010-15, largely through the UN. Britain is the third largest donor to the UNRWA General Fund, which provides relief, healthcare and education services to over 70% of the population in Gaza (1.26 million of the 1.76 million residents there are registered Palestinian refugees).²¹ In general terms, the Department for International Development (DfID) donates around £30 million a year to Gaza.⁴⁰ More specifically, Britain has contributed approximately US\$6 million to UNRWA's Emergency Appeal for Gaza, following the Israeli offensive in 2012.⁴²

After "Operation Protective Edge" in 2014, Britain pledged £19.1 million for emergency humanitarian aid and medical assistance in Gaza.⁴³ The Prime Minister also announced an additional fund of £3 million to provide emergency food supplies for more than 300,000 people in Gaza for a month.⁴⁴ Encouraging the public to donate, in August the government pledged to match fund the first £2 million of public donations to the Disasters Emergency Committee (DEC) Gaza Appeal.⁴⁵

The government's financial support for Gaza has been ongoing. At the Cairo Conference in October 2014, the UK pledged a US\$32 million donation to help rebuild Gaza's infrastructure.⁴⁶ In practical terms, DfID has also supported MAP's continual deployment of small teams of British surgeons to Gaza, where they carry out surgical procedures and provide specialist training to local medics.

"The vital work of these British surgeons is an important part of the UK effort to help the people of Gaza rebuild their lives. However none of the underlying causes of the conflict have yet been addressed. The UK is playing its part to help those caught up in the conflict, but it is clear the need for a political solution for Gaza is more urgent than ever"

Justine Greening, International Development Secretary, February 2015

POLICY TOWARDS THE WEST BANK



Part of Israel's 420-mile barrier

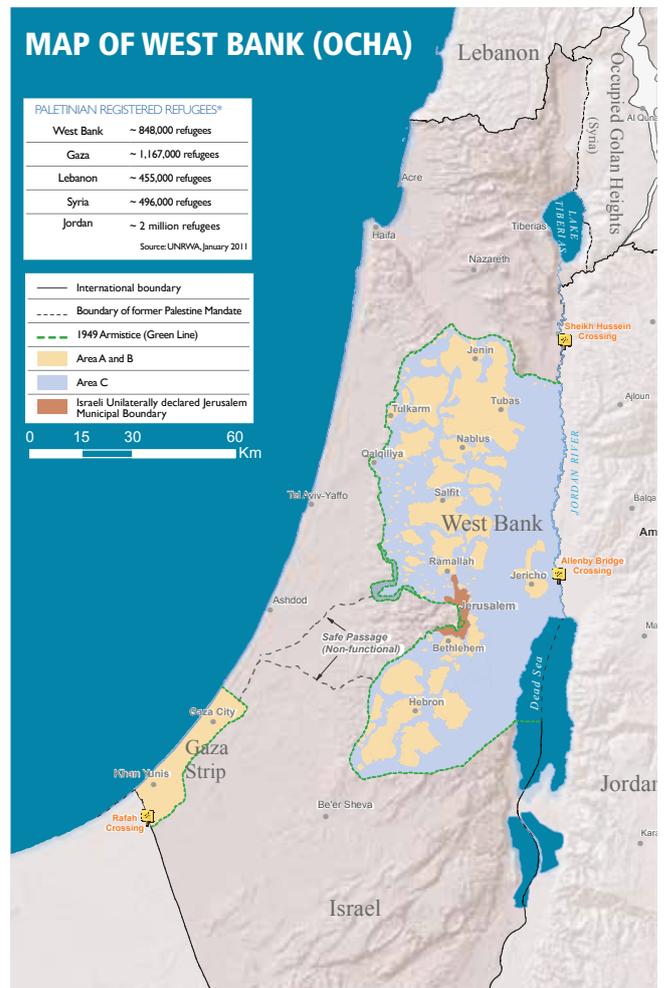
The UK's consistent position is that the West Bank, which Israeli forces seized and occupied in June 1967, constitutes occupied territory in its entirety.

Under the Oslo Accords, the West Bank was divided into different categories: East Jerusalem, Areas A, B and C, as well as areas H1 and H2 in Hebron. The Oslo Accords were a temporary arrangement and the lands in Area C were due to be gradually transferred to the control of the Palestinian Authority (PA). This never happened and there are increased fears that the division of the Palestinian territory is becoming permanent, 16 years after the Oslo process was due to finish.

As the only contiguous area of the West Bank, Area C will form the backbone of any future Palestinian state. It also includes most of the West Bank's fertile land and natural resources. The fate of the two-state solution is therefore linked inextricably to the fate of Area C.

SETTLEMENTS

Each successive Israeli government has advanced the settlement project in the West Bank, confiscating Palestinian land in occupied territory and settling Israeli-Jewish citizens on it. Settlements are illegal under international law, as they constitute a grave breach of the Fourth Geneva Convention that prohibits the transfer of the occupier's 'own civilian population into the territory it occupies'. The 1998 Rome Statute that set up the International Criminal Court states that this type of transfer is a war crime.



In the 22 years since the signing of the Oslo Accords in 1993, the Israeli settler population has more than doubled from 262,500 to over 540,000. The international community has coalesced around promoting a two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

“The settlements are no longer being occupied by crazy people on the fringe of society. There are actually Cabinet ministers who now live in very plush houses that are in the settlements. These are huge structures with swimming pools and schools and health clinics and thousands of homes. These are proper towns. They are butted up against Palestinian towns – and the settlements have got water and electricity and all the modern facilities and yet right next to them you have villages with people living like they would have done a couple of hundred years ago.”⁴⁷

Baroness Sayeeda Warsi

Settlers have also engaged in violence against Palestinians. For instance, an International Development Select Committee delegation “saw a group of Israeli settlers destroying Palestinian-planted crops, with Israeli forces watching on.”⁴⁸

THE UK POSITION ON SETTLEMENTS



Israeli settlement construction in the West Bank

British Prime Ministers and Foreign Office Ministers have routinely condemned the building and expansion of settlements as illegal, and as an obstacle to peace and the two-state solution. The UK government has acknowledged that settlement expansion “contributed to the most recent round of peace talks stalling.” However, many commentators have argued that rhetorical condemnations of settlements, even by the US, have yielded little result and that more concrete steps are required to halt their expansion.

Britain has also issued guidelines for labelling agricultural products from settlements, but this is not yet an EU-wide policy. Many products sold in the EU are still misleadingly labelled as ‘made in Israel’. Official governmental advice to businesses now warns of the potential legal and reputational damage if doing business with settlements.⁴⁹

Britain is a leading state in defining EU policy towards Israel and Palestine. The conclusions of the EU Foreign Affairs Council of 10 December 2012 stated that, “all agreements between the State of Israel and the EU must unequivocally and explicitly indicate their inapplicability to the territories occupied by Israel in 1967.”⁵⁰ Following this, guidelines were issued in June 2013 that ensured settlements could not benefit from any EU ‘grants, prizes and financial instruments’.

MAP and Caabu were two of 22 organisations that published “Trading Away Peace: How Europe helps sustain illegal settlements” in October 2012.⁵¹ The report found that the EU imports 15 times more from illegal Israeli settlements than from Palestinians. The Israeli government estimates the value of EU imports from settlements to be around €230m a year, compared to €15m a year from Palestinians.

On 16 November 2014, a document was circulated to the 28 EU members outlining the sanctions to be imposed on Israel if it takes action in the West Bank that makes the two-state solution impossible. According to the document, the advancement of construction in the E1 area, as well as other areas sensitive areas within the Green Line in Jerusalem, constitute a red line for the EU.

“The appropriation of nearly 1,000 acres of land in the West Bank near Bethlehem is utterly deplorable. Settlements are illegal under international law and will do nothing to create the kind of peace process we all want, and we urge the Israeli government to reverse this decision.”⁵²

David Cameron, 31 August 2014

AREA C – BUILDING A MATRIX OF CONTROL

The Israeli Civil Administration has zoned only 1% of Area C (the 60% of the West Bank that is under full Israeli control) for construction by the local population of 297,900 Palestinians. 70% of Area C is allocated for Israeli settlement or military activity and the remaining 29% is heavily restricted for Palestinians.

In October 2013 the World Bank issued a report estimating that if Palestinian businesses and farms were granted access to Area C it would reduce Palestine's budget deficit by half and add as much as 35% to the GDP. The report stated that "without the ability to conduct purposeful economic activity in Area C, the economic space of the West Bank will remain crowded and stunted, inhabited by people whose daily interactions with the state of Israel are characterised by inconvenience, expense and frustration."⁵³

Israel's control of Area C adversely affects all Palestinian West Bank residents. Scattered throughout the vast expanses of Area C are 166 'islands' of Areas A and B, which are home to the major concentrations of population in the West Bank. The land reserves that surround the built-up sections of West Bank towns and villages are often designated as Area C, and Israel does not allow construction or development on these reserves. Israel thereby stifles many Area A and B communities, denying them the opportunity to develop.

The UK has funded the development of 32 master plans for Palestinian communities in Area C. Israel has frozen the approval process for these master plans in response to the formation of the new Palestinian unity government.



There are 182 children being held in Israeli military detention

USE OF VIOLENCE AND HOME DEMOLITIONS

One of the greatest concerns expressed to delegations by Palestinians, especially over the last 12 months, is the increasing use of lethal force by Israeli armed forces in the West Bank. According to Amnesty International's report "Trigger-happy: Israel's excessive force in the West Bank" (February, 2014), at least 41 Palestinians were killed as a result of the shooting of live ammunition by Israeli soldiers between January 2011 and December 2013. Hundreds of others were injured, some seriously, according to data from the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs.⁵⁴

During the same period there was also a rise in the number of Palestinian homes demolished. In 2014, Israel revived its policy of punitive destruction of the homes of the families of suspected Palestinian militants.

"The UK is seriously concerned by this revival of the policy of punitive demolitions, which was suspended by the Israeli authorities in 2005. The Geneva Convention stipulates that demolitions are only legal in the context of military necessity. In addition, collective punishment is prohibited under the Geneva Convention."⁵⁵

FCO Report, Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPTs) – country of concern: latest update 31 December 2014

PALESTINIAN CHILD DETAINEES

Approximately 750,000 Palestinians have been imprisoned by Israel since the occupation began in 1967. Many have been children, some as young as 13 or 14, usually held on stone-throwing charges. As of 31 March 2015, there are 182 children being held in Israeli military detention, 46% of which are held inside Israel in violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention and the Rome Statute.⁵⁶

Following Parliamentary pressure, the Foreign Office funded an inquiry into child detention, led by the former Attorney-General Baroness Scotland. Its report of July 2012 included 40 specific recommendations, including that a parent or guardian should be present at interviews.⁵⁷ Overall the report stated that 'military law and public administration should deal with Palestinian children on an equal footing with Israeli children.'



Area C is 60% of the West Bank that is under full Israeli control

The then Foreign Office Minister Sir Hugh Robertson said, "We not only funded that report, but entirely support it. During my time as a Minister, I will do everything I can to ensure that its recommendations are properly and correctly implemented."⁵⁸

"How can you ask a young juvenile to sign a confession, or a statement... in a language they don't understand and tell me that is acceptable? You would never be allowed to do that in a UK court, and I say that as someone who has practiced as a solicitor for almost a decade."

Chuka Umunna MP, Shadow Secretary of State for Business

PALESTINIAN BEDOUINS UNDER THREAT OF EVICTION

Parliamentary delegations have focused on the threat to Bedouin communities in the West Bank, especially in the Jerusalem envelope and the Jordan Valley. Israeli government proposals would see 12,000 Bedouin forcibly transferred from their lands to the east of Jerusalem, as they fall under the huge settlement project of E1. As Foreign Secretary, William Hague visited one such community at Khan Al Ahmar in 2013.

In a visit in August 2014, Jon Ashworth and Stephen Kinnock were told about the latest confiscation by Israeli forces.

"This Palestinian community recently erected swings for their children to play on. But without the relevant permit this is considered a 'construction' because the frame is wedged 10 cm into the ground, so the Israeli authorities confiscated the swings in the full view of horrified children. As we leave, the family ask we don't forget them. Sadly since returning to the UK we have learnt that the authorities have now demolished three homes in Khan Al Ahmar."⁵⁹

Jon Ashworth MP

JORDAN VALLEY

The Jordan Valley and the Dead Sea area make up 30% of the West Bank, but is increasingly off-limits to Palestinians.

According to UNOCHA, 6,200 Palestinian residents of communities in the northern Jordan Valley live in closed military zones. There is a significant impact on agricultural trade, with an area of around 5,000 dunams being off-limits to Palestinians even though Israeli settlers are allowed to cultivate the land.

Water is one of the biggest issues being faced by Palestinian communities in the Jordan Valley. While there are no restrictions on Israeli settlers, Palestinians are only allowed to extract water from their wells up to a depth of 80 metres. In January 2015, British Parliamentarians saw the impact this was having on the quality of life of these communities.

The EU has condemned what it has described as the forcible transfer of Palestinians out of the valley. Caabu-MAP delegations have seen demolished homes as a feature of the Israeli occupation. Israel continues to attempt to concentrate Palestinians into 'permanent sites'. The planned settlement of Ramat Nu'eimeh is slated to house 12,500 people from Bedouin communities in the Jordan Valley.

Medical Aid for Palestinians has a mobile clinic that provides vital health services to remote communities in the Jordan Valley. On a delegation in December 2014, Baroness Warsi and Baroness Morris saw the important work of the mobile clinic.

"The moment we arrived with the mobile clinic, all the women of the community rushed to the clinic to have the monthly check up for their babies and toddlers. You can see that the services are valued."

Baroness Warsi, December 2014

HEBRON

Hebron is the tensest city in the West Bank, with Palestinians effectively banned from the historic centre – some 20% of this ancient city. The area is under exclusive Israeli control and has been described as a ghost town. Israeli forces have declared many of the streets 'sterile' – meaning that Palestinians cannot use them either by foot or in cars. Palestinian unemployment is reportedly as high as 70% in H2. The settlers in Hebron number around 850 but effectively dominate the centre of the city. In 2015, the Israeli government approved the first new settlement inside the city of Hebron for 30 years.



The city centre in Hebron

Dylan Collins/DCIP

"One should not use the word apartheid lightly, but as a description of Hebron it is both accurate and undeniable."⁶⁰

Sir Alan Duncan MP

SOUTH HEBRON HILLS

In the south Hebron Hills, Palestinian shepherds have lost their land and traditional dwellings. The caves they lived in were demolished and the same fate has befallen many of their cisterns. Palestinians who have applied for building permits have been turned down.



"On a visit this month I was shocked by what I saw of the Israelis' actions towards Palestinian shepherd families in the South Hebron hills. The Israeli daily Haaretz described its Government's

explanation for these actions, as 'sugar-coated lies', which had won 'this month's George Orwell Prize for misleading language.'"⁶¹

Rt Hon Jack Straw, December 2013

UK AID

DfID has aimed to support the Palestinian Authority in its preparations for statehood. It has also pushed for support for Palestinian businesses. This includes the Palestinian Market Development Programme, a new five-year programme aimed at demonstrating the ability of Palestinian firms to compete internationally. DfID also tries to address Israeli measures that impinge on trade, including in Area C.

"I saw the wasted potential of Area C, which is potentially the backbone and space for growth of a future Palestinian economy. We consistently call upon the Government of Israel to work with the Palestinian authorities to implement a more predictable and fair system for planning and issuing permits for Palestinian activity in Area C."⁶²

Sir Alan Duncan MP, then Minister of State for International Development

POLICY TOWARDS EAST JERUSALEM



Jerusalem

The international community does not acknowledge any state's de jure sovereignty over any part of Jerusalem. The original UN General Assembly Partition Plan of 1947 (Resolution 181) intended to place Jerusalem and Bethlehem under international trusteeship. Currently the UK accepts Israel's de facto control over West Jerusalem and categorises East Jerusalem as occupied territory. Along with almost the entirety of the international community, Britain has refused to move its embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

During the Six Day War in June 1967, Israel annexed 70km² of occupied East Jerusalem in contravention of international law. The international community including the UK government considers it to be occupied territory subject to the Fourth Geneva Convention. The UK considers that Jerusalem should be the shared capital of both states.

Israel insists Jerusalem will remain its "eternal, undivided capital". Palestinians want a shared solution with East Jerusalem as their capital. The reality is that the city is divided into Palestinian and Israeli areas, and there is little mixing between the communities.

SETTLEMENTS IN JERUSALEM

Israel has established 12 illegal settlements in occupied East Jerusalem as well as numerous enclaves of settlers including in the Old City. The number of settlers is around 250,000. One of Israel's most controversial projects is the planned new settlement of Givat Hamatos in the southern part of Jerusalem. If built, it will effectively complete the cutting off of the city from Bethlehem and the southern part of the West Bank. In 2014 Israel gave final approval to build 2,610 homes in the settlement.

"The UK deplores the Israeli government's decision to advance plans for 2,610 settlement units in Givat Hamatos."

UK Foreign Secretary Philip Hammond

AL AQSA

The Al-Aqsa mosque compound contains the third most sacred place in Islam. It is also the holiest site for Jews because of the two temples that stood there in biblical times. Under current rules, Jews are allowed to visit but cannot pray at the compound, which they know as the Temple Mount and Muslims know as al-Haram al-Sharif. Most Palestinians in the West Bank cannot pray there as they are not permitted to enter Jerusalem.

SETTLEMENTS IN THE OLD CITY

Israeli extremist settler groups such as Elad have taken over Palestinian homes in East Jerusalem as well as digging under the foundations of Palestinian buildings. Many homes in the Palestinian neighbourhood of Silwan, just south of the Old City, have been demolished and many are under future threat of the same fate.

"We are aware of the link between the Elad [settler] group and the Israel Antiquities Authority. We are concerned that this link has led to Israel Antiquities Authority's support of radical settler activities in and around the Old City under the guise of tourism and protection of Jewish history."

Baroness Anelay, Foreign Office Minister, March 2015

POLICY TOWARDS PALESTINIAN REFUGEES



MAP © 2014

50% of the registered Palestinian refugees in Syria have been forced to leave their homes

RESETTLEMENT

The UK government continues to call for a 'just, fair and agreed settlement for refugees' as part of its official support for a two-state solution based on the 1967 borders.⁶³ During the last parliamentary term it did not go into more detail over what form such a settlement might take.

AID AND UNRWA

From 2010-2015 the UK government has continued to provide significant financial support to Palestinian refugees. Funding is largely channelled through UNRWA, which is the largest welfare organisation serving registered Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, Jordan and Syria, as well as the West Bank and Gaza. UNRWA provides large-scale relief, health and education programmes within and outside the Palestinian refugee camps in the region. It relies entirely on voluntary donations to fund its operations.⁶⁴

The UK is consistently the third largest contributor to UNRWA's General Fund, behind the US and the European Commission.⁶⁵ A multi-year funding agreement in the last term meant that the UK Government donated £107 million to the Agency's General Fund from 2011-2015.⁶⁶ In April 2015, DfID pledged £30 million of funding to UNRWA for the financial year 2015/16.⁶⁷

The UK has also donated to specific appeals for Palestinian refugees. In 2011, DfID announced a contribution of £1.5 million to UNRWA in response to the UN's emergency appeal for Palestinian refugees living in Lebanon.⁶⁸

THE SYRIAN CRISIS

The ongoing crisis in Syria had led to a renewed focus on the plight of the Palestinian refugees. Aid workers in the region have described the exodus from Syria as the worst refugee crisis since the Second World War.⁶⁹ This has had a devastating impact on the 560,000 registered Palestinian refugees in Syria, who had previously been better-off than many of their counterparts in neighbouring countries. Since the conflict began, more than 50% of the registered Palestinian refugees in Syria have been forced to leave their homes as a result of the fighting.⁷⁰ An estimated 80,000 Palestinians have fled the country altogether, with many of the remaining 480,000 displaced internally. Nearly all are in desperate need of aid.⁷¹

The situation in Yarmouk refugee camp in Damascus has become particularly desperate. Yarmouk was previously one of the largest Palestinian camps in the Middle East, home to more than 150,000 registered refugees.⁷² In 2012, it became the scene of major clashes between pro and anti-government forces. As a result, first the Syrian Army and then the rebel Al-Nusra Front besieged the camp almost continuously. Most camp residents have fled, but 18,000 civilians are trapped inside with little access to food, water or medical supplies.⁷³ In April 2015, the situation worsened further when ISIS fighters seized some of the camp.⁷⁴ They have since been pushed back but conditions in Yarmouk remain dire and clashes continue.⁷⁵

The UK Foreign Office condemned the siege of Yarmouk and the actions of the various parties fighting there. It called for the protection of civilians and for uninterrupted access to the camp for the provision of essential relief services.⁷⁴

“The UK is deeply concerned by the terrible situation in the Yarmouk refugee camp in Syria..... We condemn in the strongest terms the grave crimes committed by ISIL and Jabhat al-Nusrah (the Al-Nusra Front) against civilians in the camp, and call on all parties to the conflict to protect civilians, ensure humanitarian access to the area, and allow the safe passage and evacuation of civilians.”

Statement from UK Foreign & Commonwealth Office, April 2015⁷⁷

In practical terms, the government has provided significant financial support to Palestinian refugees in Syria. Since the crisis began, the UK has pledged £28 million to UNRWA's Emergency Appeal for Syria.⁷⁸ This has helped provide food parcels, blankets, hygiene packs, education and cash assistance to Palestinian refugees affected by the violence in Syria, including those who have fled to Lebanon and Jordan.

However, the UK has been criticised for failing to play its part in resettling refugees from Syria, including Palestinians. Having declined to join the EU's programme to resettle Syrian refugees, the UK government set up its own Vulnerable Persons Relocation Scheme in 2014. By the end of that year, only 90 refugees from Syria had been resettled in the UK, compared to 30,000 in Germany and 9,000 in Sweden.⁷⁹ As of May 2015, the UK had given shelter to 187 Syrian refugees. The British Government has consistently refused to participate in the EU's resettlement scheme, a programme which has meant that 30,000 Syrians have been resettled in Germany.

International observers are calling on the UK to urgently house many more refugees in order to contain the crisis. Meanwhile the government argues that funds are better spent helping refugees in the region.

“The [British] numbers are pitiful, and dwarfed by the need in the region. By their own rules they could admit more people: the scheme is meant to be based on need rather than filling an established quota. But the number of places offered so far do not reflect this. The need is clearly much greater.”⁸⁰

Karla McLaren, Government and Political Relations Manager, Amnesty international, December 2014

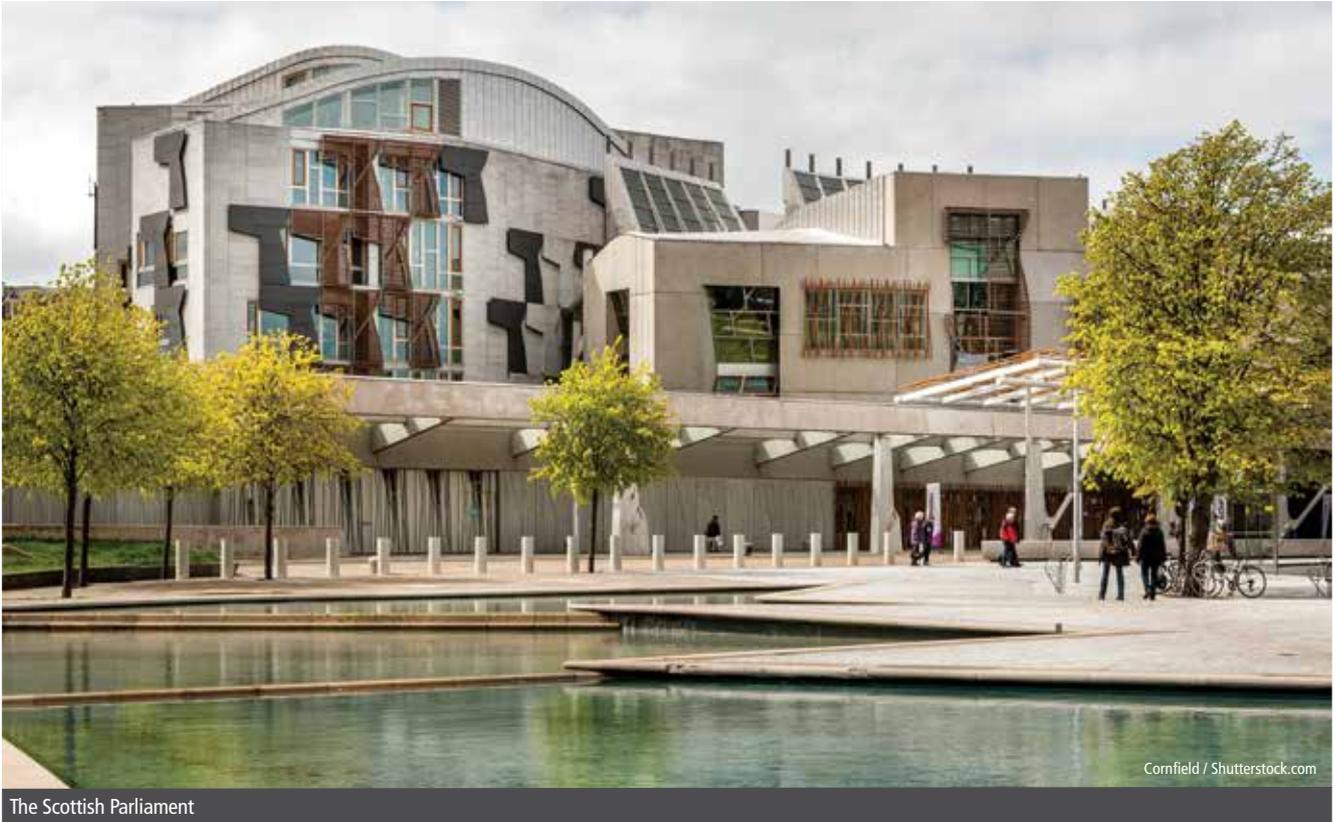
PARLIAMENTARY ACTIVITY OVER PALESTINIAN REFUGEES

The last Parliamentary term also saw some activity regarding the plight of Palestinian refugees elsewhere. An Early Day Motion in January 2013 called on the UK Government to ensure that Jordan and Lebanon continue to host and support Palestinian refugees, especially in the context of the Syrian crisis.⁸¹ More recently, a motion tabled in March 2014 expressed concern over discrimination against Palestinians in Lebanon. The motion called on the Lebanese government to ensure the safety and security of its Palestinian population, while also acknowledging the regional impact of the ongoing war in Syria.⁸²



Queuing for food in Yarmouk camp

THE VIEW FROM THE SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT



The Scottish Parliament

SCOTTISH GOVERNMENT

In common with the UK government, the Scottish government supports a two-state solution for Israel and Palestine. While not endorsing the boycott of Israeli goods, it does not encourage trade with Israeli settlements.⁸³ Holyrood, which does not control foreign and defence policy, has continued to condemn the blockade of Gaza in 2010-15, calling on Westminster to exert further pressure on the Israeli government to lift it.⁸⁴

The Scottish Government became particularly active in Palestinian issues in response to the high death toll in Gaza during Operation Protective Edge in 2014. Ministers condemned the Israeli offensive as 'heavily disproportionate', while also calling for an end to rocket attacks from Gaza.

"Rocket attacks being fired by militants in Gaza is wrong, and must stop, however the Israeli response has been heavily disproportionate as demonstrated by the unacceptable and mounting loss of civilian life."⁸⁵

Humza Yousaf, Scottish External Affairs Minister, July 2014

During Operation Protective Edge, Scotland's First Minister Alex Salmond wrote to the Prime Minister, calling for the UK government to take a stronger line on the Israeli offensive and to support a UN investigation into potential war crimes.⁸⁶ The Scottish Government also officially backed calls for Westminster to impose an arms embargo on Israel.⁸⁷

"The Scottish Government believes that the continuation of the blockade in Gaza is exacerbating the suffering experienced by the people there and tantamount to collective punishment. For that reason, I reiterate the Scottish Government's offer to accept our share of any refugees from the conflict arriving in the UK."⁸⁸

Alex Salmond, Scotland's then First Minister, July 2014

In July 2014, Scottish External Affairs Minister Humza Yousaf wrote to the UK Home Office declaring that Scotland was prepared to accept Palestinian refugees from Gaza.⁸⁹ The Scottish government also donated £500,000 to UNRWA's Flash Appeal for Gaza, enabling the agency to provide water, food, shelter and medical assistance.⁹⁰

Yousaf planned to visit Gaza in early 2015 to observe the impact of this aid money on the ground. However, he was unable to proceed after the UK Foreign Office withdrew its support for the visit on security grounds.⁹¹

In October 2014, Holyrood called on Westminster to recognise the state of Palestine ahead of the non-binding Parliamentary vote. The SNP reiterated its support for a Palestinian state in its 2015 manifesto, calling on the UK government to support the 'formal recognition of a Palestinian state'.⁹² The same month, the Scottish Government formally invited Palestine to establish its first European Consulate in Edinburgh.⁹³

"Recognition of Palestine's right to self-determination is a vital step in advancing the Peace Process. The support of influential nations like Scotland provides legitimacy to our claims under international law, forces Israel to think twice before committing acts of aggression and will enable us to sit at the negotiating table as an equal state. Scotland's recognition of Palestine and the support we receive from its people has long been way ahead of what we are seeing from Westminster today."⁹⁴

Manuel Hassassian, Palestinian Ambassador to the UK, October 2014

SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT

In April 2015, the Scottish Parliament debated a motion to recognise the state of Palestine. The motion, which was not subject to a vote, received cross-party support from most MSPs in attendance.⁹⁵ The debate lasted an hour due to the unusually high number of speakers. Israeli government officials condemned the discussion as 'shameful'.⁹⁶

The Scottish Cross-Party Group on Palestine has continued to operate over 2010-15, with membership of 11 MSPs representing Scottish Labour, SNP, the Scottish Liberal Democrats, as well as independent MSPs. The Group's stated objective is to establish a forum for Palestinians living in Scotland and to promote a just solution for the Palestinian people.⁹⁷

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ABOUT Caabu

Caabu has been working tirelessly since 1967 to raise public awareness on Palestine. We are a cross-party organisation, with over 100 Parliamentary members, aiming to advance conflict resolution, human rights and civil society in the Arab world through informed debate and mutual understanding. Caabu has an extensive and hugely important Parliamentary delegations programme, to Palestine, Jordan, and Lebanon (we act as the Secretariat for the Britain-Palestine All-Party Parliamentary Group and the All-Party Parliamentary Jordan Group).

Between 2010 and 2015 Caabu has taken 55 prominent British politicians on delegations to Palestine, and has organised 50 delegations to the Middle East since 1997. MPs who have been on Caabu delegations have secured debates on such issues as Palestinian statehood, development in Area C, and Palestinian child detainees. In addition Caabu Parliamentary Members frequently put down questions to Ministers. For more information please visit www.caabu.org.



Advancing Arab-British Relations

Caabu
1 Gough Square
London
EC4A 3DE

+44 (0)20 7832 1321
info@caabu.org
www.caabu.org

ABOUT MAP

Medical Aid for Palestinians (MAP) works for the health and dignity of Palestinians living under occupation and as refugees.

MAP delivers health and medical care to those worst affected by conflict, occupation and displacement.

Working in partnership with local health providers and hospitals, MAP addresses a wide range of health issues and challenges faced by the Palestinian people.

With offices located in Beirut, Ramallah, Jerusalem and Gaza City, MAP responds rapidly in times of crisis, and works directly with communities on longer term health development.

To contact MAP visit www.map.org.uk, phone 020 7226 4114 or email info@map-uk.org



Medical Aid for Palestinians
33a Islington Park Street
London N1 1QB
United Kingdom

+44 (0)20 7226 4114
info@map-uk.org
www.map.org.uk

Registered Charity no: 1045315