

Ali Abunimah and Craig Mokhiber on UNSC Resn 2903, on El Livestream, 11-20-25

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[Ali Abunimah]

Thanks, Nora. And again, just a reminder, you're watching and listening to The Electronic Intifada live stream. I'm Ali Abunimah here with my colleague, Nora Barrows-Friedman.

On Monday, the United Nations Security Council adopted the so-called Trump Peace Plan for Gaza. Resolution 2803 effectively makes the United States and Israel the joint rulers of Gaza, aided by complicit governments from the region and around the world. And it authorizes the creation of a so-called international stabilization force controlled by the United States and Israel with assistance from local vassals, including Egypt.

This force is empowered by the resolution to, quote, use all necessary measures to carry out its mandate, which includes, quote, the destruction and prevention of rebuilding of the military terror and defensive infrastructure, as well as the permanent decommissioning of weapons from non-state armed groups, end quote. The resolution also provides for what it calls newly trained and Palestinian police to enter Gaza, effectively meaning a collaborator force controlled by the United States and Israel. In other words, the goal of the force is to complete the war aims that Israel, despite perpetrating genocide, was unable to achieve over two years in Gaza.

The resolution also calls for Gaza to be ruled by a so-called Board of Peace, which Trump has said he will head. A local group of Palestinians will be appointed to take orders from the board, but otherwise Palestinians will have no say in their own governance. As to a long-term political horizon, the resolution requires the Palestinian Authority, which will have no direct role in Gaza, to undertake a lengthy reform program after the United States and Israel decide that the PA has satisfactorily, the resolution's terms, implemented the reforms demanded by Israel and the US.

Only then does the resolution foresee that, quote, the conditions may finally be in place for a credible pathway to Palestinian self-determination and statehood. One Israeli official told the Israeli publication Ynet earlier this week what this means in practice. The Israeli official said, quote, that the US draft in the Security Council weakens the status of the Palestinians.

They're required to make such strict and radical changes that the chance that they will succeed in making them is zero. They need to become something like Sweden in order to get a state, end quote. Resolution 2803 has been universally condemned by Palestinian civil society and resistance factions, including Hamas, except the Palestinian Authority, which as a close ally and subordinate of the United States and Israel, welcomed the resolution.

Today, many Palestinian human rights and civil society groups published a joint paper condemning Resolution 2803 for establishing what they call a joint US-Israel illegal occupation of Gaza. You can find that paper at the website of the Palestinian human rights

group Al-Haq. The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine said, quote, the administration of Gaza must be purely Palestinian and any international force should be under a clear UN mandate with its exclusive mission being the protection of civilians, disengagement, and securing humanitarian corridors.

And in line with other resistance factions, the PFLP said, we reject the clauses related to disarmament, condemn the labeling of resistance as terrorism. The resolution has also been roundly condemned by international human rights experts, including UN Special Rapporteur Francesca Albanese. Balakrishnan Rajagopal, the UN Special Rapporteur on the right to housing, stated, this shameful resolution on Gaza by the UN Security Council is fundamentally inconsistent with international law.

It is a colonial fantasy which has little precedent in the UN's history. It will likely fail and must be rejected by all states and individuals. In addition to the Palestinian Authority, the resolution is supported by Qatar, Egypt, the United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, Indonesia, Pakistan, Jordan, and Turkey, all close allies of the United States and or Israel, and in the case of Turkey, a member of NATO.

Algeria and Pakistan, both currently members of the Security Council, voted for the resolution as well. We cannot understand how Arab and Islamic states could agree to a resolution rejected by all the people. By what right?

Who gave you the right to hand Gaza over to America and Israel, said Mohammed al-Haj Musa, spokesperson for the Palestinian Islamic Jihad resistance faction, in response to the resolution. He added, we want all states who said they might send forces to Gaza to understand something. We do not want to clash with any of these states, especially the Arab and Muslim states.

They must not allow anyone to place them in a confrontation with the Palestinian people. They must reverse course and we will deal with any force that enters Gaza as an occupation force. In fact, 13 of the 15 Security Council members voted for the resolution.

Russia and China, two veto-wielding permanent members, abstained, in effect allowing the resolution to pass. But both were highly critical of the resolution. Russia said it sidelines the United Nations, excludes the Palestinian Authority, imposes U.S.-driven governance under Trump, and gives Israel no obligations. Russia argues that the rushed process under U.S. pressure ignored alternatives, undermined international law and a two-state solution, and risked enabling unilateral experiments in the occupied Palestinian territories. China rejected the resolution for similar reasons, stating that it offered no detailed explanation of the structure, mandate, or participation criteria of either the Board of Peace or the International Stabilization Force. But both superpowers said they abstained rather than cast a veto because of the positions of the Palestinian Authority and other Arab states supporting the American draft.

One critic of the resolution is international human rights lawyer Craig Mokhiber. He wrote this article for Mondoweiss titled, ["The UN Embraces Colonialism, Unpacking the Security Council's Mandate for the U.S. Colonial Administration of Gaza."](#) Craig Mukhiber joins us now.

Welcome, Craig.

[Craig Mokhiber]

Hi, Ali. Hi, Nora.

[Ali Abunimah]

Good to have you back. Craig, you begin your article with this observation. "More than two years into the genocide in Palestine, the UN Security Council has finally acted, but rather than acting to enforce international law, protect the victims, and hold the perpetrators accountable, it adopted a resolution that openly flouts key provisions of international law, disempowers and further punishes the victims, and rewards and empowers the perpetrators."

Give us an overview of why you and others are reacting so strongly to the resolution in these terms.

[Craig Mokhiber]

Well, I mean, obviously this resolution is a real direct assault on the Palestinian people, on their human rights, on their hopes of liberation. It is an atrocity with a UN insignia on it. I've never seen anything like that in all the years that I've been following the UN.

Of course, I wasn't alive when the UN General Assembly purported to recommend partition of Palestine against the wishes of the Palestinian people, which was a completely unlawful move on their part, although that ultimately wasn't adopted and was ignored subsequently by all actors. But this is the closest historical parallel that I can imagine. What the UN Security Council has done here is not only an assault on the Palestinian people and their rights, but it is a threat to the entire world in a very real way.

The Security Council has awesome power. It is empowered to even use force and to impose action against countries, against the will of the people living in those countries under Chapter 7. And so I've said when the Security Council acts outside the bounds of international law and beyond the powers that it has received from the UN Charter, it is an instrument of repression and a very dangerous one.

And what the Security Council has done here is they have completely pushed aside all the requirements of international law and their own limitations in the UN Charter on advancing only action that's consistent with the purposes and principles of the UN. And they have dismissed all of the recent findings of the International Court of Justice on what international law says and proceeded with what was clearly unlawful and *ultra-vires* beyond the power of the Council to do this, but with real threats to the rights of the Palestinian people. Just recently, the International Court of Justice has ruled that the Palestinians have the right to self-determination and that Israel has to be held accountable.

Despite those findings of the court, the resolution strips away the right to self-determination. And not only does it do that, it empowers hostile foreign forces, including the US, a co-perpetrator of the genocide, to govern the Palestinian people. The court found

that all of the West Bank, East Jerusalem, and Gaza are illegally occupied and that that occupation must end quickly and completely.

That's the requirement of international law. This resolution explicitly extends the Israeli occupation of Gaza. It endorses the indefinite presence of Israeli regime troops at least in the perimeter inside of Gaza.

And then I've said it superimposes a second US-led occupation on top of the Israeli occupation, not just in violation of what international law and the International Court of Justice has said, but driving it significantly in reverse in that case. The court has historically, last year, said that after 30 years plus of Oslo, in which the Palestinians were told they didn't have any rights and they had to negotiate for their rights with their oppressor, the court said, no, that's not true. Those rights are inalienable and they're not subject to any political process or conditions or agreement.

This resolution nullifies all of those rights and then it assigns Palestinian rights to the discretion of the United States in consultation with the Israelis and other partners as well. And, you know, in the midst of the genocide and the findings of the courts, there's not a single mention of the crime of genocide, no mention of the apartheid that the court has found or the colonization, no mention of the thousands of Palestinians that are still held in Israeli torture and death camps. And here's another requirement of international law.

International law requires accountability for perpetrators and redress for victims. And none of that is covered here. And then, you know, just one more outrageous element here.

The court has also found that Israel is responsible for compensation and reparations for all of the harms and damages that it has caused. This resolution, adopted by the Security Council, takes that responsibility away from the Israeli regime as perpetrator and it gives it to international donors, the World Bank, international financial institutions. And what I've said is a multi-billion dollar bailout of the Israeli regime as it perpetrates a genocide.

It's outrageous for Palestinians, but it's also a threat to the rest of the world. And it has to be opposed every step of the way by anyone who believes in the rule of law. Sadly, 15 member states of the United Nations, all members of the Security Council have bowed down to the U.S. empire, rejected every principle of international law and their own responsibilities in the Security Council to allow this atrocity to pass.

[Nora Barrows-Friedman]

Craig, let's talk about your interpretation of what this resolution actually creates on the ground and what this international security force could be comprised of. Israel and the U.S. can plan all these things, but implementation and enactment of these policies are a completely different thing. What happens now after this resolution is passed?

I was seeing today the CENTCOM center in the middle of Kiryat Gat, I think, in occupied historic Palestine, with all of these U.S. army officials there. They're going forward now that they have the blessing of the U.N. Security Council. What does it mean?

What are we going to see on the ground in the coming days, weeks, months in Gaza?

[Craig Mokhiber]

Well, it's not a very realistic plan to be sure. I think they're going to have a hell of a time getting a lot of countries to sign on to provide their troops to be proxy occupation forces on behalf of the Israeli regime and the Americans and ostensibly to do battle with the Palestinian resistance. By the way, international law says that the Palestinian people have a right to armed resistance against foreign occupation, colonial domination, and racist regimes.

That has been the source of legitimacy in struggling against the Israeli regime because it meets all three of those criteria. What's been set up here is an extension of the unlawful occupation of Palestine in breach of all of that. These countries all are put on notice from the Palestinian resistance that don't join into the occupation and oppression of the Palestinian people.

I think they're going to have a challenge there. There are so many pieces of this, so many points at which it could come completely unraveled, but it can do a lot of damage in the meantime. It's already doing political damage because like the lie of the ceasefire, which there has been no ceasefire in Palestine since the very first day that this so-called ceasefire was declared, Israel has murdered Palestinians every day in their hundreds, destroyed hundreds of Palestinian homes and civilian infrastructure, blocked thousands of trucks of food.

There has been no ceasefire. There is no peace process, but those lies, and now with the lie of this Trump plan as if this is some sort of relief, is taking the wind out of the sails of a lot of initiatives to get a response that would actually provide some modicum of protection to the Palestinian people and some modicum of accountability to the Israeli regime because people are saying, well, now we have this thing, let's see how it goes, the ceasefire, the peace process, and now the Trump plan.

So it's already doing damage there, but to the degree that is implemented, including by this proxy occupation headquarters being set up inside the Green Line to direct the oppression of the Palestinian people, not from Washington, but from just over the Green Line, it can do a lot of damage to people on the ground as well. I mean, you cannot believe, even as you're reading it, the terms of this unlawful proclamation by the UN Security Council. They actually adopt Trump's proposal for a Donald Trump-headed, it's not even the US, a Donald Trump-headed so-called Board of Peace in Orwellian terms, which is to serve as a transitional administration governing all of Gaza, controlling all services and aid, controlling the movement of people in and out of Gaza, controlling all of the funding for the reconstruction of Gaza and the reconstruction itself. I mean, any chance for corruption there that Donald Trump and Tony Blair and Jared Kushner are going to be controlling the money that they will be pressing for from the Gulf and from Europe to bail out the Israelis?

Where is that money going to go? We know very well where it's going to go. And it's given this very broad remit that is just unprecedented, I think.

Vaguely formulated lines like any other task that may be required. Donald Trump can do whatever he wants in Gaza in this colonial grant of authority. ***It's not even colonial, it's King Leopold-esque.***

It's his private domain in that regard. It grants him upfront authority to establish whatever operational entities, transactional authorities at its own discretion.

[Ali Abunimah]

And immunities, correct? Does it not also give this so-called international force immunity?

[Craig Mokhiber]

Well, these are not UN bodies, so they explicitly didn't want to have a UN force. It is an external Trump-led body that has a UN stamp of approval. The closest parallel might be this force that was deployed, I'm sorry, a proxy occupation force that was deployed to Haiti.

It's not UN peacekeepers, it's armed forces, principally from Kenya, that are deployed there with the blessing of the UN Security Council. This is similar in that respect. And that's very dangerous because it means that the methodologies, the doctrine, the rules that apply to, for example, UN peacekeepers, already imperfect, but something, would not apply to this Trump colonial occupation.

And there will be this kind of quisling body of Palestinian technocrats selected by Trump and his people. But they will exist, they will, according to the resolution itself, they will take orders from Trump's Board of Peace, and they will report to Trump's Board of Peace, you know, extensively on their own land.

[Ali Abunimah]

And talk about, sorry, this phrase also that empowers the International Stabilization Force, this Israeli-American-run military force, because the resolution is also clear that it will coordinate with Israel and the United States, and Egypt has some role, but that basically means Israel, given how Egypt behaves. And it's entitled to use all necessary measures. Talk about that phrase and how it has appeared in previous resolutions and what that has led to.

[Craig Mokhiber]

Yeah, so you have the two bodies. One is the colonial governance of Gaza, which is this Trump-headed Board of Peace. And then under that colonial governance body, you've got this proxy occupation force called the International Stabilization Force, which has nothing to do with stabilization, because it's going to destabilize the situation even further, because its plan is to go in and forcibly disarm Palestine in Gaza.

And this force is also an extension of Trump's power, because it will have a command that is approved by the Trump board. And as you say, it will explicitly operate in collaboration with Israel, the perpetrator of the genocide, as well as Egypt, of course, which is no protection for the Palestinian people either. So, and here's the other thing, Israel is given a veto over its members.

Its members are going to be identified in cooperation with the Israeli regime. Right? And then the idea is it will go in with these extraordinary powers and control the Palestinian survivors of the genocide in Gaza.

It is empowered to secure the borders, which means to cage the Palestinians and to protect the Israeli regime. That's what this means. But I mean, just to think as you're reviewing this, Ali, there is a genocide.

The UN Security Council has responded to that genocide with a resolution that for the first time is not about protecting the victims of the genocide, it's about protecting the perpetrators of the genocide. It's not about holding the perpetrators accountable. It's about disempowering and punishing the survivors of the genocide.

So it will secure the borders, meaning cage the Palestinians in Gaza and protect the Israeli regime. It will control their movement in and out just as the Israelis have done for decades and decades. It will, it's supposed to, quote, stabilize the security environment, by which they mean suppress any resistance to the occupation, to the apartheid, to the genocide.

Resistance that is the right of the Palestinian people under international law. So another breach there. It is supposed to demilitarize Gaza, but not the Israeli regime, which is the perpetrator of the genocide.

I mean, it's upside down. 1984! It's supposed to destroy Gaza's military defense capacities in the middle of a genocide, but not to touch Israeli so-called defense and military capacities. It's supposed to decommission the weapons of the resistance, the Palestinian resistance.

It will not touch the Israeli perpetrators' weapons. I mean, can you just imagine how upside down this is? It's going to also train a Palestinian police force.

Of course, that is focused on controlling the Palestinian people inside of Gaza. No measures here to control an Israeli public that has enthusiastically participated in the genocide in Palestine, and that continues, that helped to block the aid that supported persecution on the West Bank as well. No control there, but to control the supporters of the genocide.

It has given a sort of vague remit to work for the very nefarious objectives of the Trump plan, undefined defined here. And it's supposed to explicitly collaborate with Israel in doing this. And while it has a line in protecting civilians, this is a force that is set up principally to protect Israel.

It is not going to stand up to Israeli aggression and attacks on civilians. That is obvious. It's supposed to monitor the ceasefire, but what it will be monitoring is any threat to the ceasefire from the Palestinian side, while, as usual, Israel will continue, as it has, to violate the ceasefire on a daily basis.

No reference to the hundreds killed, the massive destruction of civilian infrastructure during the so-called ceasefire. So basically the mission is to control, contain, disarm, and further disempower the Palestinians victimized by the genocide without touching the regime that is perpetrating it, and to provide security, and the first time in a UN resolution, not for the victims of the genocide, but for its perpetrator. And as I said, I just finished on this point, Ali.

The resolution explicitly authorizes Israeli regime forces to continue to occupy Gaza, unlawfully, according to the International Court of Justice, until the Americans, the U.S.-led Board of Peace, and the Israeli regime forces that are mentioned specifically as being a part of this decision-making, until they decide that the Israeli forces should leave. And even then, it envisages that Israeli forces will remain indefinitely in the so-called security perimeter, which, as you know, includes some of the most important land in Gaza, some of the most fertile land in Gaza, leaving the Palestinians in the sand of the beach overall. And it gives them not only a two-year mandate, but the possibility of an extension, once again, in consultation with Israel, but not with Palestine, Israel and Egypt, but not with Palestine.

It's absolutely insanity, it's unlawful, it's ultra-adverse, and it needs to be opposed by everybody.

[Nora Barrows-Friedman]

How can it be opposed? Is there any possibility that a different UN body, the General Assembly, you know, would be able to, is there a way to overturn it? Is there a way to hold a second vote and pressure companies, countries, member states to actually veto?

What are the recourses here?

[Craig Mokhiber]

Well, you know, this is a part of the problem. So remember that the Security Council, which has had the power to intervene in this genocide for the full two years, has failed to act to protect the rights of the Palestinian people for more than two years of this genocide. Then when it finally acts, as I said in the opening, it does so to deny the rights of the Palestinians.

It doesn't intervene to protect the rights of the Palestinians once again. And that's a problem with the Security Council. As I said, the Security Council has a lot of power and its failures so far have been failures by design, because the Council is set up in such a way to ensure the impunity of the five permanent members.

And in this case, the United States, there is no judicial review of the Security Council. If it's not following the rules of international law, it becomes a rogue mechanism that threatens the rights of all of us. And that is what has happened here.

That's what I'm saying. There's no judicial review. The International Court of Justice could take up a request for an advisory opinion and interpret the mandate in a way that is, you know, that it tries to interpret in a way that is consistent with international law, but it can't overturn it.

So that means that it's up to, you know, all the people who are horrified about this to bring pressure to bear, and member states of the UN to try to undo this first, to challenge it at every step, to discredit it the way it needs to be discredited, to push governments not to go along with this, with this ruse. For two years, it's going to be difficult to stop it because it has a two year mandate. At the end of those two years, when that mandate has to be reviewed, you could have another vote in the Security Council.

If there were a direct assault on it, the US would simply veto it and continue as it was. If there's a refusal to remove it, the US will simply ignore it if it wants to continue and do it outside of UN without the UN blessing as well. So they have created a Frankenstein monster that's not going to be easy to contain.

There are plenty of things in there that will help it to unravel on its own, as we've already discussed, trying to get troops that will participate with this insane colonial scheme, and other things as well, whether it's going to be sustainable. But what we can do is we can press states to back off. They could overturn it, but they won't overturn it because they won't be able to get a resolution through that the US will approve.

[Ali Abunimah]

Well, let's talk about that, Craig, because Russia and China have been extremely critical of this resolution for all the right reasons. I read their statements, very good statements, but they let it pass. They abstained.

Now, they're both permanent members who have vetoes, and either or both of them could have stopped this resolution. Now, they both said, they both argue that, well, we opposed it, Russia put forward an alternative. The Arab states or some of the key Arab states lined up with the Trump plan, with the Israeli Trump plan against the Palestinian people.

And so the Russians and Chinese said, well, the Palestinian Authority supported it, the Arab states supported it, so who are we to veto it? So we abstained. But I have argued that they had a bigger responsibility than that.

They know, I mean, the Chinese and the Russians aren't naive. They know that the Palestinian Authority, although they recognize them, that they're puppets of Washington. They know that Egypt, Turkey, Turkey's a NATO member.

NATO's currently effectively in an undeclared war against Russia. UAE, Egypt, Qatar, Jordan, all vassals and puppets of the United States. The Russians and Chinese know that.

They don't take their orders from these puppets. There is a bigger picture here, which is that, as you said, once this passes, it's almost impossible to undo because they're never going to get a resolution through. The U.S. uses its veto all the time. So I would argue that they had a bigger responsibility to say, no matter what the Palestinian Authority says, no matter what Egypt and the United Arab Emirates and Jordan and Qatar say and Turkey and Indonesia and Pakistan, who gave them the right to decide the fate of Palestine, no matter what they say, this resolution is so damaging to the basic principles of the United Nations and to international law that notwithstanding what those countries say, we cannot let this pass. They should have vetoed it. That's my view.

I've heard all sorts of counter-arguments. Oh, the U.S. was threatening this and threatening that. If Russia and China think the U.N. has any value at all, if they don't just want to withdraw from the U.N. and wrap the whole thing up, then they had to veto this and they failed. That is my contention. What's your view?

[Craig Mokhiber]

Well, absolutely. Russia and China have, for transactional reasons, thrown the Palestinian people under the bus, thrown international law under the bus, and abdicated their responsibility as P5 members in the Security Council. They could have and they should have vetoed it.

They know what the problems are. They said those in their own statements and yet they went along with it. Let me just finish my point on Nora's question and then I'll answer this one as well.

I just wanted to say that there are alternative tracks that can be pursued. Of course, many of them are in the streets and our own mobilization, but if we can create an alternative track, as you've heard me say before, in the U.N. General Assembly, under Uniting for Peace, that focuses on accountability of the Israeli regime, which has been completely ignored here, and build political support for member states to try to get that passed in the GA and to frame a protection force for that moment in the future when it becomes possible, that political work can continue. But ***in the immediate term, we are up against quite a tall brick wall with what they have created here.***

Now, why did they do it? As you know, the way that the United States functions in diplomacy is not with skilled diplomats. Their diplomats are usually not very skilled because they don't need to be.

They have power. They have carrots and sticks and they always deploy threats and inducements in order to get their way in this voting. I'm told by diplomats that this was the most extreme badgering and threatening and bribing action by the United States that they have seen.

They really turned up the heat in typical Trump style in all of this and deployed whatever carrot and sticks they have. So Russia, in the middle of sensitive discussions with the Americans on Ukraine and wanting to get the U.S. to ratify its retention of certain parts of Ukraine and so on, that clearly was deployed. China, in the middle of sensitive negotiations with the U.S. on trade and tariffs that they have prioritized, they have thrown the Palestinians under the bus in favor of those transactional reasons. Then you have, and that goes straight across the 15 members, the other 14 members of the council where all of these things were deployed. Then you have the threat that was unleashed by the Americans and Ambassador Waltz himself and repeated privately and publicly, that if you don't agree to this, we are going to unleash the dogs of genocide on Gaza. So it was a mafia shakedown in classic Trump Roy Cohn style.

And many diplomats have commented that they believe that was true. That would have been the next move, was to simply return to the accelerated genocide in Gaza. So they used that as a threat.

Then you have the betrayal of the Palestinian Authority, which was very active in telling Russia and China and the Arab group and the Europeans and others to please support this proposal. So the Palestinian Authority, as you know, Ali, and this is an issue for the Palestinian people to reform their own institutions, but you're supposed to have a state of

Palestine represented in the UN. You're supposed to have the PLO in charge of foreign policy.

And then you the Palestinian Authority as this local body working out of Ramallah. In fact, those bodies, as you know, are merged, which means that the Palestinian Authority, which has no legitimacy vis-a-vis its own people, which operates under occupation, which operates under the boot of the Israelis, that has its own personal interest involved, which relies on funding from the Europeans and the Gulf, is directing the foreign policy of Palestine and therefore of what they say in the UN. And so member states will always go to the Palestinian mission and say, what should we do? And here they're told, you have to, you have to support this.

Don't veto it, support it. And then to complete what I've called the perfect storm of complicity, the Arab states also had a major push to get this thing supported. Remember the Saudis, who were very active here, were in the middle of their discussions with MBS in Washington, in the middle of their discussions for security guarantees with the Americans.

And now they have been identified by Trump as a major non-NATO ally, which means that the U.S. will come to the defense of the regime when it's threatened. And advanced weapon sales deals, including advanced fighter jets from the United States. So the Saudis once again, and not for the first time, threw the Palestinians under the bus.

The Egyptians, the second largest recipient of U.S. foreign aid after Israel, playing a similar role in telling everyone that they have to support it, and many in the broader Arab group. ***So if you are Russia or China or somebody from Latin America or Africa, and you go to the Palestinians and you go to the Arabs and you ask, what should we do? You're being told, support this resolution, otherwise they will unleash the dogs of genocide.***

And that's how you explain that there were four Muslim countries on the council that voted in favor, including Algeria, which had been the tip of the spear in defending the Palestinians in the Security Council, as well as Pakistan and Somalia and Sierra Leone, which is a Muslim majority country. So there's your perfect storm of complicity. It doesn't excuse anyone.

This was an act that was, they exceeded the power of Security Council. They violated international law. They abandoned the Palestinians and they created a Frankenstein monster.

That's going to take a lot of work to now dismantle. Nobody gets an excuse for having done so.

[Ali Abunimah]

And it's also notable that Russia and China have good relations with the Palestinian resistance factions and were in touch with them. And we had Osama Hamdan, the senior member of Hamas, who said the day before the resolution was adopted, that his organization had communicated very clearly the objections and concerns of the resistance groups to all the members of the Security Council, including Russia and China. So they were very aware of what the problems were.

And as you said, they reflected them in their statements. So the PA were not, the Palestinian Authority, the collaborators in Israel's guys in Ramallah, were not the only Palestinians that the Security Council members were hearing from. So it really is, to me, just, you know, the Russians had said that after they allowed the Americans to pass a resolution on Libya in 2011, which basically allowed, which the U.S. then interpreted as allowing them to carry out a NATO regime change war, that they would never allow that again. And yet here they have, they have not learned the lesson and they have allowed this again. And the same could be said about Haiti, which, as you said, they authorized a rogue force, not a U.N. peacekeeping force. This International Stabilization Force are not blue helmets.

They're not coming under a U.N. flag. They are an ad hoc force under the control of the United States and Israel. And tell me if I'm wrong about this, Craig, but under the resolution, any country that's willing and that the U.S. says is okay, could join the ISF. The U.S. can put this ISF together any way it wants. So if it doesn't find volunteers, the U.S. can say, we're joining the ISF. And under the clause of all necessary measures, the United States Air Force could start bombing Gaza and say, we have a U.N. mandate to bomb Gaza. Trump has said no boots on the ground, no American boots on the ground, but they could say the U.S. Air Force is part of the ISF, that U.S. cruise missiles are part of the ISF, and they could start bombing Gaza themselves, claiming that they're doing so with a mandate from the U.N. Security Council. And it will have been Russia and China, the only two countries who could have stopped this atrocity, who once again allowed it to happen. And to me, it's inexcusable.

[Craig Mokhiber]

It is inexcusable. And the scenario that you point out is correct. You could also see them using it as a justification for their CIA thugs to be deployed on the ground, they're mercenaries that they're so fond of using that they built the whole Gaza Humanitarian Foundation on, and who are now still hanging out in the region, waiting for the next orders.

And all indications are that they will be involved in this new monstrosity as well. So it is a real threat, the Russians and the Chinese knew better. There is a theory out there that the other powers like the idea of the U.S. being drawn deeper and deeper into a quagmire in Western Asia to exhaust its resources and it's standing even further while they continue to focus on their own priorities as well. I mean, I think that's not totally insane as a motivation in the end, but they have abandoned, they have abandoned the Palestinian people. There was no-- Yes, they consult with the PA's representatives. But before this thing was adopted, we already had very clear statements of the Palestinian people, which in three manifestations, the Palestinian civil society and their networks of NGOs and so on, the human rights organizations, but also the political factions, except for Mahmoud Abbas's Fateh, and the active resistance groups as well.

So Palestine had spoken, they knew very well that this isn't something Palestine wanted. And you remember, you and I spoke about on this show, these proposals under Uniting for Peace and so on for a force that would have been based on the consent of the Palestinians who could decide who's included in that force, when they come, how long they stay, and when they have to leave. This flips it totally on its head because this force, in the terms of the resolution itself, is to be consulted with the Israeli regime and not with the Palestinians.

So it is an occupation force. It is a force that is empowered to be violent, impose itself against the will of the indigenous people, to carry out acts that are by definition a violation of international law, as reaffirmed by the International Court of Justice just months ago. So it is as bad as it sounds.

It is extremely dangerous. And the world has abandoned Palestine now. You know, you see how we've come full circle after the partition against the will of the indigenous people of Palestine, getting a UN stamp of approval, so-called.

And then, you know, when the UN changed in the 1960s and 70s to include all formerly colonized countries who built a coalition of the global south to fight against Israeli oppression, to fight against apartheid in South Africa, to work for decolonization of countries, then the unipolar moment in which the U.S. consolidated its control over these issues, and now the entire world bowing down to the empire against international law because either they don't care or they're afraid of Caligula, who has now taken over the empire as a madman that can bring consequences to bear on them if they don't go along. It is a dangerous moment in history.

As always, the Palestinians are on the front line, but these risks extend to all of us in the world. ***We have a rogue Security Council operating outside the bounds of international law, with the powers that it's given under the charter to deploy force against the will of indigenous people.***

[Ali Abunimah]

I'll just say one thing in addition to that, Craig, which is that this is as bad as it looks. It is, as you said, for all those reasons. But it's not the first betrayal, of course.

There was the Balfour Declaration in 1917, where Britain, which had League of Nations mandate, supposedly to give Palestine to its own people to self-govern, instead promised to hand it over to foreign colonizers, and that's what they did. We had the UN partition plan, totally illegal, to deny the Palestinian people their self-determination, partition their country against their will. We have so many other betrayals, and now we have this.

But through all of it, the Palestinian people have never surrendered. They have always said, we will endure and we will stay on our land. I have no doubt that that's what will happen now, as horrific and costly as this.

The whole world turning against this small people, who just want to live on their land, free, and to leave the world alone. They didn't invite the whole world to come and fight with them. The world picked a fight with Palestine, and the Palestinian people are defending themselves and fighting for their freedom, which is their right, and they will continue to do so despite this great betrayal.

[Craig Mokhiber]

Yeah, except I would say one caveat to that. The governments of the world have again betrayed the Palestinian people. The international institutions have again betrayed the Palestinian people.

The people of the world, the whole world is on the side of Palestine, now more than ever. And what this reveals is, and I think this is really the call to action, is that the governments of these 15 countries and other countries around the world do not represent us. These are cowed, corrupted, captured governments that are operating in interests that have nothing to do with the will of the people, or the needs of the people, and those governments have come together to perpetrate atrocities in our name.

And we really have to redouble the struggle against all of these governments, beginning with the 15 members of the Security Council in all regions, including in the Arab region, in the world, and elsewhere, because this is not what the people want. This is clearly not what the world wants. This is what these corrupt institutions want, and we have to continue to fight against this.

And most of that is going to be in the street. It's going to be boycott and divestment and sanctions, as we say, legal prosecutions of Israeli perpetrators. It's going to be mass demonstrations, strikes, which are increasingly showing themselves to help.

It's going to be direct action and civil disobedience and education. It's going to be all of those things, but it's also going to be to try to take back these institutions that can influence the situation. The Security Council is the problem.

It's not going to be fixed. Let's use what we have to try to challenge it, including in the UN General Assembly, but especially in the streets. We have a duty to ourselves, as well as to Palestine, to take back our own countries from the grasp of these nefarious forces that are making us all complicit in mass murder.

And this should be the latest wake-up call. They corrupted our governments. They've now corrupted international institutions, and they've climbed all the way to the top to take the levers of power of the Security Council, which is a danger in the end to all of us.

So, yeah, the world needs to stand up against those who have captured governments and institutions. I've lost audio...

[Ali Abunimah]

Okay, well, hello. There seems to have been a technical glitch where we lost our connection briefly, but I think we're all back now. So, Craig, thank you so much for your sharp and incisive comments.

Again, I just want to remind people that your article on Mondoweiss titled "The UN Embraces Colonialism, Unpacking the Security Council's Mandate for the US Colonial Administration of Gaza" is there, just published yesterday at Mondoweiss, and is a fantastic summary of many of the points you made. We're so grateful to you for speaking out, for helping us clarify all this, especially for coming on at short notice, Craig, when I know you've

already had a very busy morning, but we need to hear your voice. So, thank you so much for doing that.

Let's have you back again soon.

[Craig Mokhiber]

Always honored to be with you. Thank you all very much.

[Ali Abunimah]

Thank you, Craig.