

Zionist genocide and resistance in Palestine following the Al Aqsa Flood

Kutlu Dâne

Introduction

To understand better the events that took place around the line separating Gaza and the 48 territories¹ on October 7, 2023, and their aftermath, one must place these developments within the context of Palestine's colonization history and, in parallel, imperialism's long-term strategy in the region and around the world. The opposite would lead us to see the Al Aqsa Flood as a criminal incident, a terrorist attack, an act of vandalism targeting "civilians" sitting at home and "young people having fun peacefully" by those who crossed the "border", as presented by the imperialist and Zionist media. Such an approach would inevitably lead to conclusions that are disconnected from reality, such as a peaceful coexistence of Israel and Palestine, at best. This article aims to present a correct perspective on the issue, against the propaganda that imperialists, Zionists and their collaborators have been making since October 7 to justify Israel's genocide, which unfortunately has been accepted

¹ 48 lands, or what some call "Israel", is a part of the historical Palestine excluding the West Bank, Gaza, and Jerusalem. It is under direct Zionist domination formed after Israel's advances in 1948 and 1967 and its withdrawal from parts of the historical Palestine following the 1973 war.

more than ever in the Turkish press and social media, and against the fact that the perspective of a two-state solution has found support even within the socialist movement.

1. Flood and genocide

On the morning of October 7, 2023, the world woke up to shocking news from Palestine. Images of a military operation initiated by Hamas, and immediately taken over by a joint operations room of all Palestinian factions were circulating. The entire world watched in astonishment as the Palestinian resistance, which had been maintaining a defensive position for a long time, crossed the “border” and reached a depth of up to 26 km in some places in Israeli-controlled territory, seized Israeli outposts, destroyed tanks, inflicted many casualties on Israeli forces and took many hostages to exchange for Palestinian prisoners. The resistance organizations’ attacks were accompanied by a barrage of rockets that reached as far as Tel Aviv. Palestinian resistance fighters raided numerous Israeli outposts, captured the Kerem Shalom and Erez checkpoints, and launched a naval attack on a base near the Gaza border. The first response Israel was able to give was to rain down fire on Palestinian militants and Israeli civilians and soldiers they had captured in the area of a music festival near Gaza from helicopters, burning all alive, actions that would only further tarnish Israel’s image.

In the first hours, it became clear to everyone that the biggest conflict in Palestine since the 1973 war had begun. Since Hamas would not make such an attempt without making a plan regarding its aftermath, it must have made significant preparations for a long urban warfare. In addition, the existence of a right-wing Zionist and aggressive government in Israel and the criminal record of Israel’s colonial practices in general told us that a fierce war would begin.

Israel’s response from October 8 onwards was primarily an intensive air campaign against Gaza, which did not discriminate between civilians and soldiers, and in which banned white phosphorus-type munitions² were used by the Zionist army. In these attacks, during which it massacred hundreds of Palestinians every day, Israel openly targeted hospitals, schools, places of worship, infrastructure facilities and refugee camps. Zionist army systematically attacked healthcare workers working in the field to rescue the wounded and to transport the dead bodies. On October 15, four Palestinian hospitals were destroyed by Israeli attacks. Two days later, Israel attacked Palestinians who took refuge in the garden of Al Ahli Hospital, and according to a statement by the Ministry of Health in Gaza, killed more than 500 of them.³ The entire world waded into this attack, but in two days Israel launched

2 “Israel: White Phosphorus Used in Gaza, Lebanon”, Human Rights Watch, 12 October 2023, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2023/10/12/israel-white-phosphorus-used-gaza-lebanon> (date accessed: 2.5.2024).

3 Statement by Dr. Ashraf Qudrat on behalf of the Ministry of Health, October 18, 2023, <https://tin-yurl.com/y5475bwc> (date accessed: 16.4.2024). For an analysis that refutes US-Israeli claims that the explosion was caused by a rocket fired from the Palestinian side, see: “Israeli Disinformation: Al Ahli Hospital”, Forensic Architecture, 15.02.2024, <https://forensic-architecture.org/investigati-on/israeli-disinformation-al-ahli-hospital> (date accessed: 25.4.2024).

another one, this time to the Jerusalem Hospital. Previously, on October 10, Zionists had targeted the Red Cross and The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) centers in Gaza. These were the first steps of a barbaric attack on Gaza.

Meanwhile, on October 8, Lebanese Hezbollah began harassing the Israeli army from the north, launched a missile attack on the Shebaa farms under Israeli occupation. As Israel responded, tensions on the border reached their peak. As a result of two weeks of reciprocal attacks, Hezbollah lost more than 20 militants, but also managed to inflict significant losses on the other side. More importantly, as a result of Hezbollah attacks, the Zionists were forced to evacuate 48 Israeli settlements they had established near the Lebanese border within two weeks.

As the conflict began, Israel also expanded its attacks into Syria. It wanted to prevent not only Hezbollah but also the Iranian forces in Syria from making any attempts to assist Palestinian resistance organizations. On October 12, Zionists attacked the Aleppo and Damascus airports in Syria, rendering them unusable, and the day after, they bombed the Lebanese city of Ramya. On October 15, the Aleppo airport was once again targeted by the Zionists.

As can easily be guessed, the West Bank was also among the Zionists' targets from the very beginning. However, since this area had already been disarmed by the Palestinian Authority in line with Israel's interests, and therefore only light weapons could be brought in by the resistance organizations. Israel's work there was not so much intense urban warfare, only killing or capturing large numbers of resistance fighters through house raids. In the two weeks following the Al-Aqsa Flood, Israel killed more than a hundred Palestinians in the West Bank in these operations.

US imperialism has provided great support to Israel since the beginning of the Al-Aqsa Flood. On October 8, 2023, it assigned the US Navy's largest warship, USS Gerald R. Ford, and its accompanying ships to support Israel. On October 14, the US Marines stationed in Kuwait were ordered to suspend their training missions there and stand by ready to rush to Israel's aid at any time. Immediately afterwards, it was announced that another US aircraft carrier would be sent to the region. While the US provided direct military support to Israel on the one hand, it also supported the Zionists in achieving their goals in Gaza by obstructing attempts at the United Nations to allow humanitarian aid to enter Gaza. Thanks to the US's obstructions, the first aid truck could enter the Rafah Gate only on October 21, and in this case, Israel would only allow 20 trucks of supplies to reach Gaza, which is home to over a million people.⁴

Palestinians trapped in Gaza began to migrate south of the strip in anticipation of a ground offensive following the airstrikes. On October 13, the Israeli army called on Palestinians to leave their homes and move south of the Gaza Valley, and a day later, Netanyahu's statements that they would sooner or later launch a ground operation accelerated the migratory flow. When Israel launched its ground operation in Gaza

4 Nidal Al-Mughrabi and Aidan Lewis, "First Aid Convoy Enters Gaza Strip from Egypt", Reuters, 22.10.2023, <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/trucks-enter-gaza-carrying-medical-supplies-food-hamas-2023-10-21/> (date accessed: 18.4.2024).

on October 27, the Zionists had already killed more than 7,000 Palestinians, nearly 3,000 of whom were children, with airstrikes. In the ground operation, they first aimed to occupy northern Gaza. The first major massacre of Israel there was a result of an attack on the Jabaliyah camp, in which more than 100 Palestinians lost their lives. This was followed four days later by another one on an apartment building in central Gaza, in which the same number of civilians were killed. In addition to the clear targeting of civilian settlements, hospitals in Gaza and other cities, which provide services under very difficult conditions, were frequently targeted by the Israeli army during the ground operations and accompanying airstrikes, as they were targeted during the air campaign. On November 3, 2023, an Israeli aircraft targeted ambulances around the Al-Shifa hospital. The attack was protested by large demonstrations around the world, forcing Israel to shift its focus from Shifa. However, in late March 2024, the hospital became a target of the Zionists again. In late May, the upper floor of the Indonesian Hospital in Tel Es-Sultan was targeted by the Israeli army.⁵ Not only hospitals, during the ground campaign in Gaza, the Israeli army frequently targeted schools, places of worship, and civilian infrastructure.

On November 22, 2023, Palestinian resistance organizations and Israel agreed on a one-week ceasefire. The conditions of the ceasefire included the release of 50 Israeli hostages in exchange for 150 Palestinian captives. Photographs and videos of the moments were taken when Palestinian organizations released their hostages and the positive attitudes of the hostages towards the militants were spread all over the world. Israel, on the other hand, released the Palestinian prisoners on the list given, while continuing to take hundreds of other Palestinians captive. After the end of the ceasefire Zionists took up the massacre where they left off. After the horrific destruction and massacres in the north, it was the turn of central and southern Gaza. On December 3, the Zionist ground offensive against Khan Younis began. At this stage, the number of Palestinians massacred by Israel had exceeded 20,000,⁶ and the death toll continued to rise throughout December.

Starting in January 2024, the Israeli army significantly reduced its military presence in the northern parts of Gaza and focused entirely on its massacres in other parts of the strip. Interestingly, from the beginning of the ground operation, propaganda was being made that the enormous tunnel system built by the Palestinian resistance organizations would soon be rendered unusable by Israel by flooding them with sea water, thus accelerating the Zionist victory. However, as it was understood that this was impossible or would probably lead to the death of all the hostages, the subject quietly fell off the agenda. In fact, contrary to the Israeli army's predictions, the Palestinian resistance began to have a significant presence in northern Gaza again in early 2024. Videos of attacks on Israeli tanks and troops were circulating on social media, and it was understood that the Palestinians continued to use the tunnel

5 "İsrail" in Refah'a Yönelik Bombardımanları Devam Ediyor", Rûdaw, 28 May 2024, <https://www.rudaw.net/turkish/middleeast/turkey/28052024> (date accessed: 28.5.2024).

6 "Gaza Death Toll Surpasses 20,000 as UN Security Council Delays Vote on Aid", Al Jazeera, 20.12.2023, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/12/20/gaza-death-toll-surpasses-20000-as-un-security-council-delays-vote-on-aid> (date accessed: 11.4.2024).

network effectively.

During the first two months of 2024, the Israeli army continued its massacres in central Gaza. One important consequence of this was that the displaced people of northern Gaza were joined by Palestinians living in the central areas, and a significant number of Palestinians were concentrated in the southern city of Rafah. Passage south to Egypt's Sinai was impossible except for a minority who could bribe Egyptian soldiers. Even at this stage, the Zionists were making it clear that their attacks would inevitably include Rafah. In fact, they intensified their airstrikes on Rafah from March onwards. By May, an Israeli ground attack on Rafah had become increasingly likely. On May 6, Israeli forces ordered Palestinians sheltering in the eastern part of Rafah to leave the area and move towards the coastal city of al-Mawassi. A day later, Zionists seized the Rafah border crossing between Egypt and Gaza and ordered Palestinians in Rafah to evacuate a larger area. The result was that at least 450,000 Palestinians fled the city where they had taken refuge, and took to the roads.⁷

In late May and June, the Israeli army carried out new massacres that resulted in the death of large numbers of civilians. On May 26, it struck the Tel Es-Sultan camp, which it had previously declared a safe zone for civilians, and killed 45 people.⁸ A day later, the Zionists bombed the al-Mawassi camp, and killed 21 Palestinians. These were followed by new attacks against the Nusayrat Camp in central Gaza. First, the Israeli army targeted a school run by the United Nations. Dozens of Palestinians were killed in this attack. Then, in a "hostage rescue operation", Zionist soldiers, supported by the US military, infiltrated the camp hiding in aid trucks. To relieve the political pressure on Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu and his cronies, who had so far failed to rescue any hostages in combat, they turned the camp into a bloodbath while trying to rescue some hostages who would have been released anyway if Israel had accepted the recently proposed ceasefire. They first hit a market to distract the camp, then targeted anyone who stood in their way. While rescuing four hostages, they caused the deaths of three others, and brutally murdered at least 210 Palestinian civilians.⁹

As of June 2024, more than 35,000 Palestinians had been killed by the Zionists, more than 70,000 had been injured, and more than 20,000 were probably still under the rubble of buildings and recorded as missing. The rest were struggling with bombs, hunger, epidemics, and housing problems. On the other side, an entity with the most advanced war machines was experiencing a great humiliation, with more than 1,400 people missing, tens of thousands injured, and sirens blaring even in its major cities due to the missiles that were still raining down on it, despite the billions of dollars in military aid it received from its imperialist friends.

The Israeli army went on mass killings all around Gaza during the summer. First,

7 David Gritten, "Gaza War: Almost 450,000 People have Fled Rafah in a Week, UN Says", BBC, 14. 5.2024, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-69008173> (date accessed: 20.5.2024).

8 İsrail'in Refah'a Yönelik Bombardımanları Devam Ediyor, Rûdaw, 28.5.2024, <https://www.rudaw.net/turkish/middleeast/turkey/28052024> (date accessed: 29.5.2024).

9 "Nuseirat, Anatomy of Israel's Massacre in Gaza", Al Jazeera, 11.6.2024, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/6/11/nuseirat-anatomy-of-israels-massacre-in-gaza> (date accessed: 12.6.2024).

it announced new orders of evacuation for two cities, Khan Younis and Rafah. Both were venues that Palestinian people sought refuge in. Then, on July 13, the Zionist army conducted an airstrike on Al-Mawasi camp, murdering 90 Palestinians and injuring some 300. In those days this sort of Zionist slaughter was something that the world was unfortunately used to. What was shocking was the assassination of Hamas leader Haniyeh in Tehran, by the Zionists during his visit to Iran for the oath-taking ceremony of Masoud Pezeshkian on July 31. This attack was a clear message to Iran and the resistance front as a whole regarding their support for Palestine.

On August 10, Israel attacked At-Tabeen School in Gaza, where displaced Palestinians were sheltering then, and killed 100 people. One month later, they murdered 40 more Palestinians, this time in Al Mawasi camp. An additional 60 were injured during this assault.

During the autumn, the Israeli offensive on Gaza continued. On October 5, the Israeli army launched an assault on the Jabaliya Refugee Camp, Beit Hanoun, and Beit Lahiya, and razed all the area in an operation that continued in 2025. The death toll reached to 45.000 in late November. On October 16, Yahya Sinwar, the Hamas leader in Gaza, was killed by Israeli forces during a skirmish. In a PR disaster, the Israeli army released Sinwar's last moments, which proved all the world that contrary to Zionists' claims Sinwar was not hiding in the tunnels cowardly. On the contrary he was fighting alongside his soldiers at the frontline.

By February 2025, the death toll in Gaza had reached to 61.709, and the number of injured Gazans had risen to 111.588. In addition, more than 14.222 people were reported as missing and are likely dead.¹⁰ The destruction in Gaza was also enormous. Nearly all the houses in the strip, 80 percent of all commercial facilities, 88 percent of schools, half of the hospitals, 68 percent of roads, and 68 percent of cropland were destroyed by Israeli forces.¹¹

Meanwhile, the people and resistance organizations in the West Bank, which is under the control of the Palestinian Authority, tried to respond to Israel's ongoing genocide. However, as a result of the attacks of armed settlers supported by the Zionist Israeli forces, which intensified after October 7, more than a thousand Palestinians were forced to leave their homes, and 544 Palestinians, 133 of whom were children,¹² lost their lives. Israel often completely cut off communication between different parts of the West Bank, imprisoning the Palestinians in small bantustans where they were living, and took thousands of them captive.

In some cases, the Israeli assault against the West Bank took the form of major military operations. In August 2024, such an operation targeted Jenin and Tulkarem. Jenin stayed under a Zionist siege for almost 10 days. As you can see in the following

¹⁰ "Israel-Gaza War in Maps and Charts: Live Tracker", Al Jazeera, 3.2.2025, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/longform/2023/10/9/israel-hamas-war-in-maps-and-charts-live-tracker> (date accessed: 9.2.2025)

¹¹ "Israel-Gaza War in Maps and Charts: Live Tracker", Al Jazeera, 3.2.2025, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/longform/2023/10/9/israel-hamas-war-in-maps-and-charts-live-tracker> (date accessed: 9.2.2025)

¹² "Israeli Forces Kill Six Palestinians in West Bank Raid", Al Jazeera, 11.6.2024, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/6/11/israeli-forces-kill-six-palestinians-in-west-bank-raid> (date accessed: 12.6.2024).

sections, after the ceasefire in February 2025, the Zionist entity turned its attention to the West Bank. However, even before then, the death toll in the region was at least 905, including 181 children. Also 7.370 people were injured during the Zionist assault.¹³

The role of the Axis of Resistance

The question on everyone's mind from the beginning was whether the forces of Iran, some Iraqi Shia groups, Hezbollah (Lebanon), and Ansarullah (Yemen) would enter the war on the side of the Palestinians. That was because such a move could suddenly turn the Zionist genocide into a regional war, which had the potential to bring the imperialists and the forces opposing them face to face on a world scale. The Axis of Resistance, if the attacks launched by Hezbollah early on are put aside, made controlled and sometimes quite effective interventions, and avoided starting an all-out war.

However, the possibility that the Axis of Resistance might open a front from Lebanon and enter the war was an important element in the plans of the imperialist and Zionist powers in the days following the Al-Aqsa Flood. It has been frequently stated that the reason the US sent an aircraft carrier to the region was to deter Hezbollah forces in Lebanon and Iran from such an attempt. As mentioned earlier, Hezbollah launched a missile attack on the Shebaa farms the day after the Al-Aqsa Flood began, in order to remind Israel that the northern front was not empty. Throughout the Zionist genocide, Hezbollah kept the conflict at a level that would not turn into a ground war, but continued its attacks on Israel continuously. It targeted both Zionist military facilities and vehicles in the 48 territories, and launched attacks on Israeli troops in the occupied Golan Heights. These attacks featured drones and anti-tank equipment, and a large number of rockets were fired south from Hezbollah-held territory —some tactically aimed at gaining a better understanding of the principles of Israel's Iron Dome system. On November 11, 2023, another Shiite-based Lebanese organization, the Amal movement, announced that it was joining the fight against Israel alongside Hezbollah. From time to time, Hamas members stationed in Lebanon were seen trying to cross the border and attack Israeli forces. Israel sought to use its air superiority here as well, with its warplanes occasionally flying low over the Lebanese capital Beirut in an attempt to intimidate Lebanon and thus incite Lebanese elements supporting Israel against Shiite organizations in the south. It did not hesitate to use white phosphorus, which is prohibited under international law, in its attacks on Lebanese cities, as in the Dayrah attack in October 2023.

The most important result of the conflicts on the Lebanon front was that at least 60,000 Jewish settlers were forced to leave the northern part of Israel as of June 2024.¹⁴ An important indicator of the extent of Israel's failure here was that

13 "Israel-Gaza War in Maps and Charts: Live Tracker", Al Jazeera, 3.2.2025, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/longform/2023/10/9/israel-hamas-war-in-maps-and-charts-live-tracker> (date accessed: 9.2.2025)

14 Dov Lieber, "In Israel's North, Some Displaced Residents Call for Step Up in Fight Against Hezbollah", *The Wall Street Journal*, 27.5.2024, <https://www.wsj.com/world/middle-east/in->

the administrator of a Zionist settlement (Margalioth) went so far as to close the settlement's gate to the army forces, saying, "We are severing our ties with the State of Israel because it cannot protect us".¹⁵ The forest fires that broke out as a result of Hezbollah's intensified attacks in May and June also put Israel in a difficult position, while Hezbollah forces were becoming increasingly able to hit larger targets, such as the headquarters of the Israeli army's 146th Division.

As we have mentioned earlier, Israel has carried out attacks on Syria in addition to the targets in Palestine and Lebanon throughout the war. After the attacks on October 12 and 15, Israel once again targeted Aleppo airport on March 29, killing 38 Syrian army soldiers and six Hezbollah militants.¹⁶ Zionists' most significant attack occurred on April 1, when they targeted one of the annexes of the Iranian Embassy in Damascus, violating even the most basic norms of international law. The attack, which killed Mohammad Reza Zahedi, a commander of the Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps and a supporter of Palestinian organizations against the Zionist genocide against Palestine, was part of Israel's plan to provoke a counter-attack by Iran. This would ensure that the imperialists would close ranks around itself, in response to the fact that even the countries that gave Israel a blank check in the genocide against the Palestinians were starting to become uncomfortable as the war dragged on and even began discussing sanctions against Israel.

In response, Iran first seized an Israeli ship off the Persian Gulf and then launched a comprehensive attack on Israel on April 13, which it called the True Promise (وعدہ صادق). Although this attack, which used kamikaze drones, cruise missiles, and ballistic missiles, was described as a failed response by many, it could only be stopped with the joint efforts of France, the United Kingdom, and Jordan. It caused serious damage to the air base that had launched the attack on the Iranian embassy. Despite being carried out at very low expense to Iran, it cost Israel a staggering \$1.35 billion, thus ringing alarm bells in the US, which is not only Israel's but also Ukraine's "war sponsor", and creating pressure on Israel to stay away from such expensive activities. Immediately after the True Promise operation, Biden felt the need to declare that they would not participate in attacks on Iran.

A third possible front could be the parts of Yemen controlled by the Ansarullah movement. Starting on October 19, following the Al-Aqsa Flood, Ansarullah launched missiles on Zionist targets in 48 lands, but the US Navy in the Red Sea destroyed them before they reached their target. Then, in November 2023, Ansarullah began targeting merchant ships sailing in the Red Sea that had ties to Israel. This course of action dealt a significant blow to imperialists backing Israel, since for security reasons, many ships were forced to use the much longer route around southern Africa instead of the Red Sea and the Suez Canal, for transportation

israels-north-some-displaced-residents-call-for-step-up-in-fight-against-hezbollah-41284bdb (date accessed: 30.5.2024).

¹⁵ "Northern Israeli Settlement Severs Ties with Tel Aviv, Demands Army Withdrawal: Report", The Cradle, 27.5.2024, <https://thecradle.co/articles-id/25106> (date accessed: 27.5.2024).

¹⁶ "More Than 40 People Killed in Israeli Strikes on Syria's Aleppo: Reports", Al Jazeera, 29.3.2024, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/3/29/more-than-30-killed-in-israeli-strikes-on-syrias-aleppo-reports> (date accessed: 3.5.2024).

between East and Southeast Asia, the Mediterranean, and European ports. Israel, in a method that would cost it the least, declared that the Ansarullah problem was an international one and stepped aside, avoiding opening a new front. The imperialist powers, on the other hand, got Israel's message and formed two separate task forces to restore trade in the Red Sea. In December, the US established a naval force called the "Prosperity Guardian" with the participation of the navies of some other countries and sent it to the Red Sea. The European Union set up the Aspides mission in February 2024. While the former still continues its mission, Aspides, which lost power after the withdrawal of the German frigate Hessen, has failed in the face of Ansarullah's attacks involving large drone clusters.¹⁷ It is also understood that the attacks carried out by US and UK aircraft on Ansarullah targets have not provided the desired deterrence. Perhaps for this reason, the imperialists offered Ansarullah a bribe, promising to pay them \$1.5 billion from Saudi Arabia in the form of civil servant salaries in exchange for stopping the attacks, but Ansarullah refused.¹⁸ It also warned that if Israel's genocide in Gaza did not stop, it would launch attacks on the main undersea cable off the coast of Yemen that connects the world's internet network.

During the spring and summer, Israel resumed its airstrikes against South Lebanon, and received rockets in exchange. This became a new normal in the field until September. The problem for Zionists was their inability to make their citizens return to where they lived in the northern parts of the 48 lands. This paved the way for an intensified Israeli attack on Hezbollah beginning in September. On September 17, 2024, Israel detonated thousands of pagers which had been booby-trapped before by the Zionist intelligence apparatus. This attack caused the injury of thousands of Hezbollah members. In a week, Israel launched another attack and killed 500 people. It was clear that south Lebanon was on the eve of a ground attack. But nobody was expecting a successful assassination of Hezbollah leader Nasrallah on September 28. Nasrallah's murder was a big shock for Hezbollah, both in emotional terms and in terms of a possible weakness in intelligence.

On October 1, following very intense airstrikes targeting Hezbollah and Amal forces, the Israeli ground assault against Lebanon began. The Lebanese army and the UNIFIL forces withdrew from the region, and thousands of people began moving north, escaping a new Zionist massacre. This was followed by the assassination of the new Hezbollah leader, Hashem Safiuddin, by the Zionist army on October 3. The ground operation, which was a success for Israel in breaking the military capabilities of Hezbollah and Amal forces, ended with a ceasefire on November 27. A buffer zone, consisting of the Lebanese army deployed south of the Litani River, was to be established and Israeli forces were to withdraw from south Lebanon in 60 days. By February 2025, many parts of south Lebanon were still under the Zionist occupation, and Israeli forces gave enormous harm to the villages that they

17 "EU Naval Mission Says 'Most Powerful Systems' Fail to Confront Yemenis: German Media", 6.5.2024, <https://www.presstv.ir/Detail/2024/05/06/725047/EU-admits-Yemen-military-capabilities-Red-Sea> (date accessed: 10.5.2024).

18 "ABD'den Ensarullah'a Yeni Rüşvet Teklifleri", *Yakındoğu Haber*, 10.6.2024, <https://www.ydh.com.tr/d/20046/abd-den-ensarullah-a-yeni-rusvet-teklifleri> (date accessed: 11.6.2024).

abandoned.

The Blockade and humanitarian aid

Israeli air, land, and sea attacks have been accompanied by a blockade of Gaza that prevents even the most basic human needs from being met. Trapped and bombed, around 1 million Gazans have been forced to leave their homes and move multiple times, often seeking places where they would not be targeted by Israeli bombs. Health services in Gaza cities have come to a standstill, while famine is looming in some areas. The United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) reported that as of May, 1.1 million Palestinians in Gaza were starving and that famine conditions were prevailing.¹⁹ The destruction of 40% of Gaza's fields and orchards as a result of Israeli attacks has played a major role in this.²⁰ According to OCHA, 25 health centers and four hospitals in Rafah City and two hospitals and 21 health centers in the north became unusable. Of the 36 hospitals in total, 14 were functioning—under very difficult conditions, with shortages of supplies and electricity. There were 14,000 patients who needed to be evacuated from Gaza urgently. However, since the Rafah border crossing was invaded by Israel, only 50 patients were able to be evacuated from Gaza per day.²¹ Due to the restrictions, drinking water and sewage services were at the brink of collapse, and epidemics also pose a major risk to the Gaza population.

What further aggravated this picture accompanying the Zionist genocide in Gaza was that Israel and the US occasionally resorted to practices that would negatively affect the distribution of the small amount of aid that entered Gaza. First, let us state that the aid supplies passing the “border” gates decreased by 2/3 after the Rafah attack began.²² Then, let us give two examples of what happened during the distribution of the limited supplies that remained. First, on February 29, 2024, Israeli soldiers accompanying trucks distributing flour on Al-Rashid Street in northwest Gaza opened fire on Palestinians who rushed to the trucks due to hunger. In this incident that went down in history as the “flour massacre,” 118 Palestinians were killed and nearly a thousand were injured.²³ The second relates to an attack on the World Central Kitchen, one of the organizations that did not leave the people of Gaza alone during their most difficult times. The organization's 7 members, citizens

19 “OCHA Appeals to the Security Council to End the ‘Humanitarian Catastrophe’ in Gaza”, 20.5.2024, <https://www.unocha.org/news/ocha-appeals-security-council-end-humanitarian-catastrophe-gaza> (date accessed: 31.5.2024).

20 Israel's Ecocide in Gaza 2023-2024, *Forensic Architecture*, <https://forensic-architecture.org/investigation/ecocide-in-gaza> (date accessed: 14.5.2024).

21 “OCHA Appeals to the Security Council to End the ‘Humanitarian Catastrophe’ in Gaza”, 20.5.2024, <https://www.unocha.org/news/ocha-appeals-security-council-end-humanitarian-catastrophe-gaza> (date accessed: 31.5.2024).

22 “Details of the Humanitarian Crisis in Gaza”, *Reuters*, 6.6.2024, <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/details-humanitarian-crisis-gaza-2024-05-01/> (date accessed: 8.6.2024).

23 Simon Speakman Cordall, Mohammed R. Mhawish and Mat Nashed, “When Israeli Soldiers Shot at Hungry Palestinians”, *Al Jazeera*, 5 March 2024, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/long-form/2024/3/5/the-blood-was-everywhere-inside-israels-flour-massacre-in-gaza> (date accessed: 29.4.2024).

of Palestine, Australia, Poland, Britain and the US, were murdered by Israel on April 1, 2024, despite the fact that they had clearly informed Israel of their routes and the work they were doing, and that the name of their organization was written in large letters on the roofs of their vehicles. And it was not by accident, their vehicles were targeted three times by the Israeli army at three different points!

Meanwhile, the US's "parachute aid" plan, designed to appease international public opinion, was put into action in March. This "ingenious" practice envisaged the air delivery of an amount of aid that was already insufficient for the population in Gaza. But there was more. On March 8, 2024, an aid cargo whose parachute failed to open crashed into the ground, killing 5 Palestinians.²⁴ On March 26, 12 Palestinians drowned while trying to reach the aid cargo that had fallen into the sea, and 6 Palestinians lost their lives in a stampede.²⁵

The US announced that it would build a port in Gaza to facilitate the delivery of aid under its control. If not a port, the construction of a temporary pier was completed in May. However, the waves of the Mediterranean soon tore this facility apart and dragged it along the coast of Gaza. The pier, which was later rebuilt, was used not for humanitarian aid but for the US-Israeli joint massacre in the Nusayrat Camp.

International dimension: Growing Palestinian support and lawsuits

The magnitude of the Zionist genocide in Gaza has created a great push for solidarity with the Palestinian people in different parts of the world. Major demonstrations have been organized from imperialist centers to East Asia, from Latin America to Europe. Among these, France and Germany have openly banned demonstrations of solidarity with Palestine. In Germany, it was forbidden to carry the Palestinian flag or wear the Kufiyya. In France, Macron claimed that the demonstrations held immediately after the Al-Aqsa Flood were called by Hamas and banned them. But neither country has been able to completely prevent the ongoing demonstrations occurring in parallel with the Zionist genocide. In fact, from Germany's perspective, the preventive measures against demonstrations may have even had the opposite effect. According to a study conducted by the broadcaster ZDF in January 2024, 61% of the population in the country, where Zionism has been highly influential not only at the state level but also throughout the nation for many years, did not find Israel's attacks justified.²⁶

Especially in the demonstrations in imperialist centers, the presence of the Arab diaspora was, as one might expect, noticeable. However, it should not be noted that contrary to the claims of the imperialist and Zionist press, the participation

24 "Aid Airdrop Kills Five People in Gaza After Parachute Fails", *Al Jazeera*, 8.3.2024, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/3/8/aid-airdrop-kills-five-gaza-israel-war-hunger-famine> (date accessed: 16.4.2024).

25 "18 Palestinians Killed in Gaza by Aid Airdrop Malfunction", *Anadolu Agency*, 26.3.2024, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/middle-east/18-palestinians-killed-in-gaza-by-aid-airdrop-malfunction/3175307> (date accessed: 16.4.2024).

26 Sophie Tanno and Nadine Schmidt, "Crackdown on an Already Banned Hamas Raises Free Speech Fears in Germany", 28.1.2024, <https://edition.cnn.com/2024/01/28/europe/europe-germany-hamas-crackdown-free-speech-intl/index.html> (date accessed: 15.5.2024).

outside of these groups was also considerable. Moreover, anti-Zionist Jewish groups such as the Jewish Voice for Peace and the IfNotNow Movement took part in demonstrations in the USA in larger numbers than ever before. In particular, the demonstrations in New York—where protestors occupied Grand Central Station and hung a banner reading “Palestinians must be free”, with over a thousand Jews participants, 350 of whom were detained²⁷ — had repercussions all over the world. Jews took to the streets not only in the US but also in 48 territories. Although the masses participating in the demonstrations here were largely left-wing Zionists and anti-Netanyahu, it should be noted that Jews who positioned themselves as anti-Zionists (although in very small numbers), continued their actions bravely after October 7 and faced significant pressure.

Among all the anti-Israel actions, the most prominent were student protests that began on US university campuses in April 2024 and spread to some other countries. As soon as they began, they were met with harsh reactions and accusations of anti-Semitism by the US police and university administrations. Students were targeted with tasers, their tents were dispersed, and hundreds were beaten and detained. Not only students, but also faculty members who supported them and condemned the Zionist genocide were beaten, and the pressure on academics who supported Palestine on campus reached its peak. While all this was happening, large groups of Zionists insulted pro-Palestinian students, engaged in creative(!) provocations that released dozens of rats into the tent areas they set up, and attacked the student camp at the University of California (UCLA) with clubs. The US state did almost nothing against them.

The worldwide pressure demanding that the Zionist Israel end its genocide has led pro-Israeli governments to take a step back from time to time, while those who were not already on good terms with imperialism and Israel have taken bolder steps on their own lines. South Africa, which recently liberated itself from the kind of discriminatory regime that Israel imposed on the Palestinians, and which Israel supported at the time, can be said to have been a pioneer in this regard. On December 29, 2023, the government of the Republic of South Africa filed an application against Israel with the International Court of Justice (ICJ), the judicial organ of the United Nations, on the grounds that it violated the 1948 United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, opening the door for the Zionist genocide to be tried under international law. The court accepted the case to be heard in its first session. However, when Israel did not back down from its genocide attempt, South Africa re-applied and requested that the court immediately halt Israel’s Gaza operation, ensure the entry of experts to Gaza to assess evidence, and require Israel to report on how it will implement both the existing and newly proposed court injunctions. The court convened on January 11, 2024, and accepted these demands. In its statement of injunction requests dated January 26, it also called on Israel to take the necessary measures to prevent the actions defined in Article 2 of the convention in question, impose sanctions on Israelis who call for genocide in

²⁷ “We Shut Down Grand Central Station to Demand a Ceasefire”, 30.10.2023, <https://www.jewishvoiceforpeace.org/2023/10/30/wire-grand-central-action/> (date accessed: 3.4.2024).

Palestine, take the necessary steps to ensure that humanitarian aid enters Gaza, and report to the court what it has done regarding all of these. Following Israel's failure to take action and its attack on Rafah, the court made a similar statement on May 24, 2024, calling on Israel to halt its attack on the city of Rafah.

A second initiative came from the International Criminal Court, to which Palestine became a party in 2015. The court, which was established in 2002 and whose founding text, the Rome Statute, was not signed by Israel, was actually a structure created primarily to prosecute the forces opposing imperialists, and had notably targeted Serbia in the past. When, it announced in 2020 that it was investigating the crimes committed by the US in Afghanistan, Trump imposed sanctions on its prosecutor, which were lifted by Biden. In 2021, the prosecutor at the time announced that they would investigate Israel's crimes in Palestinian territories (in addition to those committed by Palestinian organizations), and was again met with a backlash from the imperialist front.

Despite the backlash and threats, the court continued its investigations. In particular, the construction of new Jewish settlements that went beyond international law was among the issues it addressed. After Israel's genocide in Gaza began, the court's new prosecutor, Karim Ahmed Khan, went to the region and conducted investigations, saying that this investigation would be a priority for the court.²⁸ The imperialists immediately stepped in, claiming that such an investigation would negatively impact the ceasefire talks.²⁹ However, on May 20, 2024, Khan applied for an arrest warrant for Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and Defense Minister Yoav Galant, as well as Hamas leaders Yahya Sinwar, Mohammad Deif, and Ismail Haniyeh, on the grounds that they had committed war crimes (if not genocide) and crimes against humanity. In response, the US House of Representatives, which had previously applauded the court's arrest warrant for Putin, passed a resolution that included sanctions against the court. Prosecutor Khan told the press that a high-ranking US official who called him said, "We established that court for Africans and bandits like Putin, not for Westerners or their allies."³⁰ Thus, it was seen once again how international law is used as a tool by imperialists. Contrary to imperialists' pressures, the court issued arrest warrants for Netanyahu and Gallant, as well as Muhammad Deif of Hamas on November 21, 2024. The investigation is still going on.

Ceasefire and Trump's plan

While the negotiations for a ceasefire and the release of hostages started right

²⁸ Mike Corder, "After Visiting Israel and Ramallah, the ICC Prosecutor Says He Will Intensify Investigations", *The Associated Press News*, 3.12.2023, <https://apnews.com/article/gaza-icc-israel-war-hamas-prosecutor-e4077faca4a4e94c7b2c1550ce78cf57> (date accessed: 3.5.2024).

²⁹ "ICC Urged to Delay Possible War Crimes Charges Against Israel and Hamas", *The Guardian*, <https://www.theguardian.com/law/2024/apr/29/icc-possible-war-crimes-charges-israel-hamas-g7> (date accessed: 25.5.2024).

³⁰ Necva Taştan, "ICC Prosecutor Threatened: Court 'Built for Africa and Thugs Like Putin'", *Anadolu Agency*, 21.5.2024, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/middle-east/icc-prosecutor-threatened-court-built-for-africa-and-thugs-like-putin/3225897> (date accessed: 1.6.2024).

after the Al-Aqsa Flood, Israel rejected the agreement offers during this period and, as described so far, launched a massacre in Gaza. It only paused its attacks that started in October 2023 for a week in November, and then continued its negative attitude towards the ceasefire. For instance, in May, Hamas declared its acceptance of a ceasefire outline, creating a great joy among Gazans, but Israel rejected it and went on its crimes and attacked Rafah. Again in May, Biden announced that Israel was accepting a ceasefire, but Israel denied this as well. On July 2, Hamas agreed to a Biden-backed ceasefire, but Netanyahu again rejected it. Meanwhile, the negotiations that were carried out in the background continued with the approval of Israel and the US, and under the mediation of Egypt and Qatar.

November 2024 became a turning point in the war. On the 5th of that month, Trump declared his victory in the US elections. This was a positive signal for Israel in its genocide campaign against Palestinians. Trump was the man who declared Al Quds the capital of Israel in 2017, and he was also the man behind the Abraham Accords, the new Oslo for the traitors, and a big leap for Israel in its normalization attempts in the region. He had supported Israel in all fields in his previous term. Moreover on November 27, the ceasefire deal between Israel and Hezbollah was followed by the fall of Assad's rule in Syria. Takfiri armed groups took control of the country, and blocked the ground and air routes of the Resistance Front.

Trump's second term started with his rapid attacks inside and outside the US. Palestine was expected to be one of the first items on Trump's agenda. Indeed, on December 2, 2024, he declared that "there will be hell to pay" in the region if the hostages in Gaza were not freed before his inauguration on January 20. He repeated this threat again on December 16, 2024, and January 7, 2025.

A ceasefire agreement was signed on January 15, 2025, and the Knesset approved it a week later. On January 19, the deal came into effect. In its initial phase, planned to last 42 days, Israeli forces would withdraw from Gaza and this would be followed by the return of Gazans to their houses, or what's left behind. On January 27, Gazans began their walk to northern parts of the strip, via the Al Rasheed Street on foot, and via the Salahuddeen Street by their vehicles, highly uncertain about what the future held for their families, for Gaza, and for Palestine.

2. Why did Palestinian organizations launch such an attack?

It is clear that the picture we have described so far is not very bright for the Palestinian people. Now, let us take a look at the reasons that led Hamas to carry out the Al-Aqsa Flood, the outcome of which is more or less certain, and thus place the operation in its historical context.

To understand these reasons, we sometimes have to go back a hundred years or more. Our readers may rightfully find it strange that we go back this far when it comes to Zionism. If we were to make a similar analysis for a massacre committed by imperialists, there would probably be no need for such a reference to the long history of imperialism. However, there are some facts about Israel that are confusing even for militants with anti-imperialist views. These facts are not as widely known as the history of imperialism, but they directly inform our current political stance.

Of course, our aim here is not to convey these to the reader in detail. Therefore, we will move on from those that are sufficient to form the basis for what will be said on October 7, 2023.³¹

Zionist settler colonialism in Palestine

The first development that led Palestine to become a “matter” was the emergence of the Zionist ideology. Emerging in the late 19th century, Zionism spread among the Jewish people, just as the Nazi ideology spread among German society. The Zionist ideology wrongly advocated the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, where another people had already been living at the time, and the organization of mass Jewish migrations to this place, in order to save the Jewish people who were oppressed in different parts of Europe, especially in the Russian Empire. To achieve this goal, it relied on the support of the imperialist powers. Being one of these powers, the German Empire, was unable to convince its ally, the Ottoman Empire, to implement the Zionist plan in Palestine. On the other hand, the United Kingdom, which had been indifferent to the Zionist movement for a long time, began to support it during the course of World War I. The motive behind this move was the belief that the movement could significantly influence the United States would join the war on Britain’s side and help secure new war credits. The Balfour Declaration, published by the United Kingdom in 1917 and signed by France, the United States, and Italy a year later, meant the title deed of the Palestinian lands for the Zionists. It should be noted that the owners of the title deed and the person who gave it were both living far away from Palestine at the time. We will see what this means shortly.

The Zionist movement, which had a significant influence on the decision-making bodies of major US banks and US politics, did indeed ensure that the wishes of British imperialism were realized. After winning the war, the United Kingdom, which seized Palestine and established a mandate there, became, in return, an intermediary in the realization of the Zionist project. Especially after 1924, a large Jewish migration to Palestine, supported by this country, began. All social and economic balances in the region were disrupted in a short period of time. By 1931, 200,000 Palestinian Arabs had lost their lands. The mandate administration seized the lands of Palestinians who could not pay their taxes and helped transfer these lands to Jewish settlers. The settlers also benefited from various other privileges and support provided by the mandate administration.³² In the 1930s, the Zionists also established their first organizations. Their terrorist organizations such as the

31 We provided more details about the Palestinian issue, especially the first period, in our article “The Centenary of the Balfour Declaration, Imperialism’s Visa for the Nakba and Zionist Occupation” in the 2018 edition of *Revolutionary Marxism* (http://www.devrimcimarksizm.net/sites/default/files/the_centenary_of_the_balfour_declaration_imperialists_visa_for_nakba_and_the_zionist_occupation_kutlu_dane.pdf). We suggest reading the works of Jewish historians Ilan Pappé and Avi Shlaim, as well as Ralph Schoenman’s *The Hidden History of Zionism*, for detailed analysis of the issue.

32 Ralph Schoenman, *The Hidden History of Zionism*, <https://www.marxists.org/history/etol/document/mideast/hidden/index.htm> (date accessed: 1.11.2024)

Haganah and the Irgun were supported by Britain. These developments inevitably led to unrest within Palestinian society. When the Palestinian people rose up in a mass uprising against the mandate and the Zionist project between 1936 and 1939, involving a tax boycott and a general strike, the Zionists coordinated with the mandate to suppress the uprising.³³ Israel was thus formed as a germ within the heart of British colonialism in the interwar period.

After World War II, the flagship of world imperialism was the United States. The United Kingdom's decline in this sense was also observed by the Zionists it had patronized in the mandate Palestine, as it had serious difficulties in maintaining control in the region. The United States, on the other hand, criticized the United Kingdom for its attempts to limit Zionist immigration, which made things even more difficult for the mandate administration. Realizing that it could not govern Palestine under these conditions, the British passed the issue to the United Nations. A Partition Plan prepared here, envisaged the division of Palestine into two separate states, giving 54% of the Palestinian land to 630,000 Jews and 46% to 1,300,000 Arabs. As expected, the Palestinian Arabs rejected this unjust plan. The Zionists' response was to launch an attack on the Arabs. As a result of an open ethnic cleansing operation, 385 out of 475 villages and towns were wiped off the map, settlements such as Deir Yasin became the scenes of massacres, and Palestinians living in Haifa were besieged and forced to board ships and flee the city. Overall, a total of 750,000 Palestinians were forced to leave Palestine, a part of Palestine, larger than the area given to Israel by the UN's partition plan remained in Zionists' hands. These events, which resulted in the declaration of the entity called Israel, are remembered by Palestinians today as the Nakba (Catastrophe).

The establishment of Israel was a disaster for the Palestinians, as well as its aftermath. The Zionists never allowed the Palestinians they had displaced from their lands to return. The Palestinians who fled from 144 different settlements in Palestine during the Nakba and came to Gaza caused the population there to increase several times.³⁴ Today, having settled in several refugee camps, they constitute the majority of the population of Gaza. In 1950, Israel passed a law that confiscated the property of these people, thus transferring all their wealth to the Jews, similar to how the ruling classes of the time in Türkiye seized the property of Armenians who were massacred or forced to flee during the genocide.³⁵ The Zionist settlers established hundreds of new cities and towns, including the settlements around Gaza, and settled in these lands.

Israel did not stop thereafter. After winning the war against the Arab armies in 1967, it seized even more land. When it entered Lebanon to suppress the Palestinian resistance, it was either the perpetrator or a collaborator of the Phalangist forces in many massacres, especially the Sabra and Shatila massacres in 1982. It continued to massacre the people trying to return to their lands, bloodily suppressed the two

³³ Schoenman.

³⁴ Beryl Cheal, "Refugees in the Gaza Strip, December 1948—May 1950", *Journal of Palestine Studies*, vol. 18 no. 1, 1988, p. 138.

³⁵ See Sungur Savran, "Sınıf Mücadelesi Olarak Ermeni Soykırımı", *Devrimci Marksizm*, no. 23, 2015.

major Palestinian uprisings, the First and Second Intifadas, increased the pressure on the Palestinian people in the West Bank with both its military force and armed settlers, and killed 1,500 and 2,000 people in its attacks on Gaza in 2008 and 2014, respectively. In all of these, Israel received support and/or approval from all the imperialist powers, and every massacre it committed was supported by these powers as “Israel’s right to defend itself.”

The establishment of Israel and the subsequent expansion of its borders, as we have explained, is a special type of colonialism: *settler colonialism*. Unlike classical colonial practices, settler colonialism has some parallels with the conquests of earlier eras. Settler colonists not only exert military and administrative control over a territory, but also permanently displace the population living there and replace it with themselves. In doing so, they resort to massacres and/or ethnic cleansing. Examples of this are Great Britain’s colonies in North America and Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), France’s colony in Algeria, and the Netherlands’ colony in South Africa. Israel is a settler colonial power that seizes Palestine’s underground and surface resources, expels Palestinians from their lands, and establishes its own settlements on those lands. It frequently resorts to the low-wage labor of Palestinians who have lost their means of production and become proletarians in a way that can be likened to slave labor at a certain level of abstraction.³⁶

The exclusive economic zone of the 48 lands over the sea contains around 1 trillion cubic meters of natural gas today. This is equivalent to about a quarter of the natural gas resources in the entire Eastern Mediterranean³⁷, and the Palestinian people cannot access these resources; instead, they are all seized by Israel. Israel is not content with simply seizing this resource; it also prevents the Palestinians from using the gas reserves in the exclusive economic zone of Gaza, which some sources say also amount to 1 trillion cubic meters. Likewise, the oil resources belonging to the Palestinians, whose extraction is prevented by Israel, and Israel’s plundering of the natural resources in the Dead Sea can be considered in this context. The list is quite long, but the clear truth is that there is a Zionist entity, Israel, that exploits all of Palestine’s resources.

Ethnic cleansing

A very important element of the Nakba that took place in 1948 was *ethnic cleansing*. Hundreds of thousands of Palestinians were uprooted and exiled from their homes by terrorist organizations that would later become the Israeli army. However, ethnic cleansing was not completed and ended in 1948 or a few years after that; on the contrary, it became systematic from 1948 onwards. It reached very large dimensions once again during the 1967 war and in the years that followed.³⁸

³⁶ For an early study of the colonization of Palestine, see: Fayeze Sayegh, *Zionist Colonialism in Palestine*, Beirut: Palestine Liberation Organization Research Center, 1965.

³⁷ Faruk Can, “Doğu Akdeniz’de Ne Kadar Doğal Gaz Rezervi Var?”, *Euronews*, 31.12.2019, <https://tr.euronews.com/2019/12/31/dogu-akdeniz-ne-kadar-dogal-gaz-rezervi-var-en-buyuk-payihangi-ulkeler-alacak>, (date accessed: 4.5.2024).

³⁸ The Arabs called the 1967 war, in which nearly 300,000 Palestinians were driven from their lands, the Naksa (the defeat).

Israel's constant annexation of new land in Area C³⁹, which constitutes two-thirds of the West Bank according to Oslo II Agreement of 1995, the issuance of building permits to Jewish settlers but not to Palestinians⁴⁰, the demolition of Palestinian homes in different parts of the West Bank under various pretexts⁴¹ and the subsequent seizure of the land from the owner of that home, discriminatory immigration laws, and forced deportations are all aspects of ethnic cleansing.

The situation is similar in Jerusalem. While Israel is a direct occupier of the western part of the city, it also claims sovereignty over East Jerusalem, which it has controlled since the 1967 war, in violation of international law. This is a result of Israel's claim to make the whole city its capital. More than 360,000 Palestinian Arabs live in East Jerusalem, who refuse to become Israeli citizens and to whom Israel has granted a special residence permit under the mandatory provisions of international law. Unlike Jewish Israelis living in the city, Israel can expel them from East Jerusalem on the grounds that their homes are not their primary residence, or that they or one of their family members have engaged in anti-Israeli activity. It will be recalled that the decision to evict six Palestinian families from the Sheikh Jarrah neighborhood in East Jerusalem in 2021 (families who had settled there after being expelled by Israel from different parts of Palestine) and to replace them with Jewish settlers sparked protests that resonated around the world. According to B'Tselem data, more than 14,000 Palestinians in Jerusalem have been targeted by this ethnic cleansing practice since the 1967 war.⁴² A similar situation applies to Naqab in southern Palestine, where Israel frequently declares areas used by Bedouins as military zones in order to displace them.

The aim of ethnic cleansing is to ensure that Israel is a demographically pure Jewish state. Therefore, the ethnic cleansing practices against the Palestinians were accompanied by Israel's invitation of Jews from all over the world to the occupied Palestinian territories based on the so-called Law of Return. Even the settlement of more than 3 million Jews in Palestine through such means could bring the Jewish population to only 3/4 of the total population in the 48 territories. Therefore, Zionist ethnic cleansing in Palestine is still ongoing.

39 The West Bank was divided into three areas by the Oslo II Agreement of 1995: Areas A and B, consisting of 165 independent islands, were placed under the direct control of the Palestinian Authority, while the area outside of these, comprising 61% of the West Bank, was left under Israeli control, known as Area C. Israel has been using this area for its own use by creating Jewish settlements, national parks, military areas, etc. In this way, it has already swallowed up 60% of Area C. "Planning Policy in the West Bank", *B'Tselem*, 11.11.2017, https://www.btselem.org/planning_and_building (date accessed: 10.6.2024).

40 According to data from Peace Now, Israel granted only 98 of 4,422 building permit applications from Palestinians in Area C between 2009 and 2018. <https://peacenow.org.il/en/approvals-for-palestinians-in-area-c-2009-2020> (date accessed: 3.5.2024).

41 According to data from the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), since the beginning of 2009, the number of Palestinian buildings demolished by Israel is 10,761. These demolitions have resulted in the displacement of 16,303 people. <https://www.ochaopt.org/data/demolition> (date accessed: 3.5.2024).

42 "Statistics on Revocation of Residency in East Jerusalem", *B'Tselem*, 11.1.2011, https://www.btselem.org/jerusalem/revocation_statistics (date accessed: 28.4.2024).

Apartheid

An integral part of Zionist ethnic cleansing is the systematic discriminatory practices that also aim to force Palestinians to voluntarily emigrate, namely *apartheid*. This word, which comes from Afrikaans, an extension of the Dutch language in Africa, was used to describe the discriminatory practices of another settler-colonial group that emerged in the same year as Israel: European settlers in South Africa who oppressed the indigenous population. Although South African Apartheid ended in 1994⁴³, the term has been used to describe similar practices in other parts of the world, especially Zionist Israel's discrimination against Palestinians.⁴⁴

What makes Israel an apartheid state is that, in addition to ethnic cleansing, it applies the legal order and administrative practices differently for the Jewish population and the Palestinians both within the 48 territories and in the occupied territories.⁴⁵ At the forefront of apartheid practices, as we have mentioned above, is the contradiction between granting any Jew the right to settle in Israel, regardless of where he or she comes from, while denying the same right to Palestinians who left the country in 1948 and 1967 and became refugees.⁴⁶ By not recognizing the right of return of Palestinian refugees, Israel is also violating international law.

Let's correct a mistake while we're at it. Palestinians living in the 48 territories⁴⁷ do not live the same prosperous lives as Jewish Israeli citizens. This is nothing more than a propaganda created by Israel to discredit the accusations of apartheid against it, and it has successfully used some Palestinian social media celebrities for this purpose. There are significant differences between these and Jewish Israeli citizens in terms of living standards, livelihoods, access to education and healthcare, and cultural services provided to them.⁴⁸ A striking example from recent months is the punishment of Arab students in the 48 territories for reasons such as their social media posts following the Al-Aqsa Flood. While many Arab students voiced their reaction to the genocide launched by Israel, their schools opened investigations against them

43 Let us also point out that, although Apartheid has formally ended in South Africa, the most important features of this regime continue unabated in the post-Apartheid country.

44 The apartheid practices to which Israel subjects the Palestinian people were recently addressed in a comprehensive report prepared by Amnesty International. The report clearly demonstrates that Israel is acting in violation of the 1973 United Nations Convention on Apartheid and the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court. Amnesty International, "Israel's Apartheid Against Palestinians: Cruel System of Domination and Crime Against Humanity", 1.2.2022, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/mde15/5141/2022/en/> (date accessed: 20.4.2024).

45 The Adalah (Justice) Center provides a breakdown of more than 65 legal regulations that discriminate against Palestinians, beginning with the Law of Return, enacted by Israel in 1950. <https://www.adalah.org/en/content/view/7771>

46 "A Regime of Jewish Supremacy From the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea: This is Apartheid", *B'Tselem*, 12.1.2021, https://www.btselem.org/publications/fulltext/202101_this_is_apartheid (date accessed: 17.5.2024).

47 They are a minority of Palestinians living under direct Israeli rule. They were able to stay in Palestine during the Nakba, or somehow managed to return. While their number in 1948 was about 150,000, compared to 750,000 Palestinian refugees, it has grown to 1.7 million today, making up 21% of Israel's population. Joel Beinin and Lisa Hajjar, Palestine, *Israel and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, Middle East Research and Information Project (MERIP), 2014, p. 6, http://merip.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/Primer_on_Palestine-IsraelMERIP_February2014final.pdf

48 Amnesty International, "Israel's Apartheid Against Palestinians"

and also reported them to the police. 36 schools opened investigations against 124 students, and gave punishments to half of them. However, no investigation has been opened for the posts of Jewish students, even those advocating the annihilation of Palestinians.⁴⁹ Generally speaking, the standard of living in Arab cities is below that of cities where Jews are the majority. In short, saying “There are Arabs living in Israel, so there is no problem” is like claiming that there is no national issue because Blacks are granted citizenship in the US or Kurds in Türkiye.

Israeli Apartheid grants Jews the right to settle anywhere they want, including the West Bank, while depriving Palestinians of this right. Since Palestinians will lose some of their rights when they move from the 48 territories to the West Bank, all doors are opened to them by Zionists. When a Palestinian from the 48 territories marries another Palestinian from the West Bank or Gaza, they are not allowed to settle in the 48 territories together. However, there is no such obstacle for an Israeli citizen who marries, for example, a European. There are cities in the 48 territories where only Jews can settle. As stated above, Israel expropriates Palestinian lands in East Jerusalem and the West Bank, offers them for the use of Jewish settlers, or turns them into military, industrial or agricultural zones closed to settlement. The house demolition practices we mentioned earlier are also entirely directed at the Palestinian population. If a member of a family is considered a “criminal” by Israel, the house where the family lives can be easily demolished. Those living in East Jerusalem, which is under Israeli occupation, lose their right to housing if they stay outside the city for a long time, unlike Jews living in the same city. In the West Bank, the movement of Palestinians between different regions is systematically prevented by Israel through practices such as walls, checkpoints and roadblocks. There are no restrictions on Jewish Israeli citizens traveling abroad. However, Palestinians living under occupation or blockade in Gaza, the West Bank or East Jerusalem must obtain permission from Israel when traveling abroad. Furthermore, they are not allowed to use Ben Gurion Airport in the 48 lands. In the unlikely event that they do obtain permission, they must travel to Jordan or Egypt to board a plane from there.⁵⁰ Palestinians can be held captive by the Israeli judiciary without being charged with any crime, and held in prison for months without being able to see their lawyers or even appear in court— a practice called administrative detention. Trampling even the most basic principles of law, administrative detention is accompanied by widespread torture and ill-treatment.⁵¹

The list can be extended. But perhaps more importantly, far from stepping back from the practices on this list, Israel has enacted a legal regulation that all these discriminatory practices can reference: the Jewish Nation State Law of 2018. The law removed Arabic as the official language and defined Israel as the state of the Jewish people. Thus, the subjection of non-Jews to preferential treatment in the 48 territories has become entirely legitimate.⁵²

49 “Repression of Palestinian Students in Israeli Universities and Colleges”, *Adalah Center*, 9.5.2024, <https://www.adalah.org/en/content/view/11116> (date accessed: 30.6.2024).

50 “A regime of Jewish supremacy from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea”

51 Amnesty International, “Israel’s Apartheid Against Palestinians”

52 “A Regime of Jewish Supremacy from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea”

Palestinians are becoming more and more strangled

Even the picture we have drawn so far, which is full of shortcomings and is too brief, is sufficient to understand what kind of enemy the Palestinian people have had to fight and under what conditions. The Palestinian people have continued their struggle tirelessly to this day with every tool they have found. In particular, the uprising against both the United Kingdom and the Zionists between 1936 and 1939, which included general strikes and tax boycotts, and the two separate Intifadas⁵³ that began against the Israeli occupation in 1987 and 2000, demonstrate their courage in taking up the struggle despite being at a disadvantage in the face of the enemy. Although these were ultimately unsuccessful, they left an important legacy in shaping the Palestinian struggle for freedom.

At this point, it is necessary to emphasize that the Palestinian struggle has evolved through different phases. Following the end of the Second Intifada in 2005, the Palestinian people and resistance organizations have generally remained in a defensive position against their settler and colonial enemies, with the exception of the “Knife Intifada” and rocket attacks from Gaza to the 48 territories from time to time. There are many reasons for this: the turning of the West Bank into a bed of roses for Zionism by the so-called Palestinian Authority, the tensions among Palestinians after the 2006 elections and the resulting de facto separation between the West Bank and Gaza, and the significant decline in the number of Palestinian allies providing military support, despite the increasing support of imperialism for Zionism.

So how did this defensive position change, how did a different phase begin, and how did Palestinian organizations make or have to make a countermove? In answering these questions, it should first be emphasized that 2017 was an important turning point. In December of that year, US President Trump announced that he accepted Jerusalem as the capital of the “State of Israel” and that he would move the US embassy there. Yet the city is seen by the Palestinian people as the historical capital of Palestine. Even the Oslo process, which was intended to secure the will of the Palestinian people, placed the Jerusalem issue as the last item in possible peace talks and gave the green light to at least the eastern part of the city becoming the capital of Palestine. Trump’s move was understood by the Palestinians to mean that Jerusalem would be taken away from them forever.

This was followed by the enactment of the aforementioned 2018 Jewish Nation State law, which once again confirmed that Israel’s occupation of Palestinian lands would be permanent and that no steps could be taken to grant Palestinians their rights. That same year, the Gazans, who had been living under a brutal Zionist

⁵³ The First Intifada, which began in 1987, was sparked by protests following an incident in which a Zionist drove his car into Palestinians, and quickly spread throughout Palestine. In contrast to this major uprising, which is often referred to as the “Stone Intifada” because Palestinians responded to Israeli forces’ attacks by throwing stones at their demonstrations, the Second Intifada, which began in 2000, involved more intense involvement by Palestinian organizations and armed forms.

blockade since 2007, organized a series of unarmed demonstrations called the Great March of Return. Every Friday, they gathered along the border separating the 48 territories from Gaza to voice their desire to return to their land and demand the lifting of the blockade on Gaza. In these demonstrations that continued in 2019, Israel killed a total of 214 Palestinians, 46 of whom were children, with sniper fire. Thus, it once again confirmed that the only language it understands is armed struggle.

The year 2020 witnessed another development that horrified the Palestinian people. The United Arab Emirates (UAE) and Bahrain, through the mediation of US imperialism, “normalized” relations with Israel and signed documents called the Abraham Accords. Thus, they recognized the State of Israel and began to establish diplomatic relations. As might be expected, economic relations also began rapidly. These two countries were followed by Morocco and Sudan. Particularly, the fact that the UAE, which has become one of the major powers of the Arab world for some time now, established relations with Israel gave the Palestinian people a sense that the circle around them was tightening. Neither this country nor the other three had any political or military support for Palestine, but at least the fact that they did not establish relations with Israel despite all the pressure from US imperialism was a gain for Palestine.

Saudi Arabia, which has a very important position in the Arab world, did not take part in this first wave of the Abraham Accords. This was not out of a desire to avoid stabbing the Palestinian people in the back, but because Saudi Arabia wanted to have nuclear energy (read this as nuclear weapons) more than others, in order to participate in such a move that would strengthen Israel’s hand.⁵⁴ Palestine was a bargaining chip with imperialism in Saudi Arabia’s plans for a future in which oil revenues would decrease. When direct flights began between the UAE and Israel following the Abrahamic Accords, Saudi Arabia announced to both parties that its airspace was now open to Israeli planes as a “wedding gift.” The seriousness of the situation was then understood by the Palestinian people. Other signs emerged later, and finally, the first visit of an Israeli minister to Saudi Arabia in September 2023, just before the Al-Aqsa Flood, demonstrated to the Palestinians that Saudi Arabia was falling in with the normalization with Israel.

Turkish president Erdoğan, who gained the sympathy of the Palestinian people with his “One minute” remark to Israeli President Shimon Peres at a meeting held within the scope of the World Economic Forum in early 2009, and who supports Muslim Brotherhood factions including Hamas in alliance with Qatar, hosted Israeli President Herzog in Ankara on March 9, 2023. The two countries’ renewed rapprochement was another development that made the Palestinian people feel that the noose around their necks was tightening a little more. Erdoğan was doing this as an extension of his normalization policy with imperialism in order to get rid of the economic situation he had put Türkiye in. He also aimed to earn income

⁵⁴ In order to further escalate the bargaining, Saudi Arabia reached an agreement with Iran on March 10, 2023, with the mediation of China, which the US never wanted to have influence in the region.

from marketing the gas stolen from the Palestinians by Israel to Europe through Türkiye. A week before this visit, Amnesty International's Apartheid report, which we mentioned in previous headings, had made a splash all over the world, and Israel's image had suffered a significant wound. As Erdoğan turned to treating this wound instead of deepening it, the Palestinian people once again understood that the support given to Hamas by its political allies, Qatar and Türkiye, is only lip service, since both have strong relations with imperialism.

In addition to all this negative picture, the few months before the Al-Aqsa Flood witnessed new raids on Al-Aqsa, which Palestinians consider sacred. In the last of these, on October 5, 2023, 800 Zionists, accompanied by Israeli security forces, raided the mosque, beat worshippers, and attacked Palestinian shops in the area. Moreover, the same week television channels broadcast images of Zionists spitting on Christian Palestinians leaving their places of worship to the entire world. Such attacks had become unbearable, yet they were not new.

What was new was that 10 days before the Flood, Netanyahu waved a map of the Levant without Palestine on it to the whole world at the United Nations General Assembly, thus declaring that they would erase Palestine from history.

Everyone was joining the enemy, the enemy was getting more courageous, increasing its attacks. Palestinian organizations saw this and, crossing a non-real border, they fought against the army occupying their land and the settlers who had settled on their land as an instrument of that army's aims. They gave a new and inevitable response to the occupation and humiliation that had lasted for a century.

3. What should be the attitude in a war led by Hamas?

We have explained the reasons for this response, its legitimacy and why it was given now. Now, it is necessary to go a step further and briefly explain why the ideology of the most powerful organization of the Palestinian resistance that planned this response, and the form of the response do not undermine this legitimacy.

First of all, it should be stated that the fact that Hamas, a much younger organization compared to other Palestinian groups founded in the 1950s and 1960s (established in 1987), has become the strongest Palestinian resistance organization is not an Israeli or US project, as is sometimes claimed. Israel may have taken advantage of the rise of Hamas to undermine sympathy for the Palestinian cause by using anti-Islam sentiment in imperialist centers. It may also have wanted the Palestinian movement to be more fragmented, with the emergence of an organization that could be more easily controlled by reactionary Arab regimes. To assert anything further than this requires at least certain evidence.

In the absence of these, it would be more logical to look in another direction. That is the staggering Fatah, the secular flagship of the Palestinian struggle, and the Palestine Liberation Organization, which has lost much of its prestige in the eyes of the Palestinians as a result of its vacillations, openings and, concessions towards Israel, none of which have benefited the Palestinian people. Another Islamic movement, Islamic Jihad or the communist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), could not fill Fatah's void. As a result, Hamas eventually won

the 2006 elections for the Palestinian legislative council, and sympathy for it has increased over the years in Palestine.⁵⁵

Hamas's religious ideology does not have the content needed to save the Palestinian people not only from Zionism but also from all forms of oppression and exploitation. While it has more advanced aspects than the other factions of the Muslim Brotherhood, the relations of these factions with imperialism and the general decline of the movement in the region are also Hamas' weak points.⁵⁶ Despite this, in a war, what determines the position that revolutionary Marxists should take (and what most Marxists have long forgotten) is not the ideologies of the warring parties, but their mutual relations and the reason they fight. The situation is clear in this sense both before and after the Al-Aqsa Flood. Hamas and other Palestinian resistance organizations are the armed forces of the oppressed people fighting against their colonizers against Israel. The reason for the war, as we have stated above, is Zionism's ethnic cleansing and settler colonialism, which is also supported by imperialists. Therefore, what needs to be done is to support Hamas' struggle against the colonialist, like that of all other resistance organizations. Remaining neutral between Israel and Hamas, or between Israel and any Palestinian resistance organization, means nothing more than a shy support of Israel. However, as we have already stated, since Hamas lacks the capacity to bring Palestine to its final liberation and will, at some stage of such progress, stand against the most advanced units of the Palestinian people, our support will be conditional and temporary. In fact, the PFLP, which fought against Zionism on its own land and gave martyrs, is in such an alliance with Hamas.

Now let's come to the content of the response. First of all, Israel's occupying/colonialist character makes it legitimate and necessary for the Palestinian people's response to take military forms. It is unnecessary to discuss the reasons for this at length here. The fact that Israel responded to the Great March of Return demonstrations that we have just mentioned by slaughtering civilians with sniper fire clearly shows what kind of struggle the situation requires. Of course, such a struggle does not exclude other forms of struggle by the Palestinian people.

However, military struggle sometimes carries the risk of causing civilian

55 Of course, it is not possible to conclude from this statement that Fatah has completely lost its prestige as an organization. However, it is clear that the prestige of the organization under the leadership of Mahmoud Abbas is quite low in the eyes of the Palestinian people. A striking example is that, while Abbas was expected to receive 38% of the votes, Hamas leader Haniyeh was projected to secure 53% in a possible presidential election. However, if Marwan Barghouti, who is being held captive in Israel, had been chosen as the Fatah candidate instead of Abbas, the votes that would go to Haniyeh would have dropped to 33%, while Barghouti would have secured 63%. "Public Opinion Poll No. 85", Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research, September 13-17, 2022, <https://pcpsr.org/en/node/920> (date accessed: 31.5. 2024). The PFLP's influence and level of organization within the Palestinian people deserve to be addressed in a separate study, and the analysis of why this organization, which has a very important historical background and tradition of struggle, is not in a more advanced position in terms of gaining the leadership of the Palestinians today will undoubtedly contain very important lessons for the revolutionary movements of the region.

56 Hamas faltered in the face of Zionism in 2017. In its Policy Document launched in that year, it included statements that would lead to accepting Israel's 1967 borders and to abandoning the goal of destroying Israel. Kutlu Dâne, "Hamas Yalpalıyör", *Gerçek Newspaper*, 3.5.2017, <https://gercekgazetesi1.net/uluslararasi/hamas-yalpalıyör> (date accessed: 5.3.2024).

casualties. From the images that were broadcasted to the world starting from the morning of the Al-Aqsa Flood operation, it is understood that this risk has occurred. While this situation is easily used as a material for Zionist propaganda, it also causes question marks to arise in the minds of many people who support the struggle of the Palestinian people. It should be stated that we are not happy about civilian deaths, and that we do not advocate the killing of civilians. However, we must also add that civilian deaths are unfortunately frequently encountered in anti-colonial rebellions⁵⁷, and that behind this lies the accumulated anger of the colonized people. This does not make the oppressed people's liberation struggle against the colonizer illegitimate or unjust. When viewed in general, the unjust side of the war is responsible for civilian deaths, and that is Israel itself.

We believe that it would be good to make a comparison between the Palestinians and the Zionists who colonized Palestine concerning the targeting of civilians, without any intention to justify civilian deaths. Since 1948, Israel has never hesitated to knowingly and willingly target civilians as a part of ethnic cleansing. The Great March of Return mentioned above is an example of this. But it is not the only one. It is clear that they targeted civilian buildings in their previous attacks on Gaza, as well as in this latest one. Another example is the bombing of three separate convoys of civilians fleeing south amid their attacks on Gaza after the Al-Aqsa Flood.⁵⁸ In contrast, Palestinian resistance organizations target *primarily* the Israeli army and armed settlers.

It doesn't end there. There is also a gap between the Zionists and the Palestinians in terms of the reliability of the data on civilian deaths and ill-treatment. Israel often claims that the numbers given by the Palestinians regarding their own casualties do not reflect the truth and are inflated. This claim was also made by Israel's ally, the United States, during the recent Israeli attacks. However, both the United Nations and humanitarian organizations working in the region have made clear statements that the casualty and injury figures given by Palestinians after Al Aqsa Flood largely reflect the truth.⁵⁹ Philippe Lazzarini, the representative of UNRWA,

57 During the war of independence between 1954 and 1962, the National Liberation Front (Cebhetu'l-Tahriri'l-Vatanî, commonly abbreviated as FLN) in Algeria occasionally carried out actions targeting Algerian-born French people called "Pieds-Noirs." A notable example of these was the timed bomb planted by female FLN militant Cemile Buizze in a bar called Le Coq Hardi on January 7, 1957, which killed many French people. Faik Bulut, "Cezayir Savaşı'nın Meşhur 'Bombacı' Kadınları", *Independent Turkish*, 14.3.2021, <https://www.indyturk.com/node/329636/türkiyeden-sesler/cezayir-savasinin-meşhur-bombacı-kadınları> (date accessed: 30.5.2024). Because of their role in the French atrocities, the attacks on the "Harkis" who sided with France in the war of independence continued even after Algeria became independent in 1962. In Angola, a Portuguese colony at the time, thousands of Portuguese soldiers and civilians were killed by Angolan villagers in March 1961. Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1965, p. 134. In the Mau Mau rebellion in Kenya, thousands of Kenyan civilians and a smaller number (32) of British were killed, because of their collaboration with the colonialist United Kingdom. John Saville, "Rebellion of the Powerless", *Socialist Review*, No. 157, October 1992, p. 24-25, reproduced verbatim at: Marxists' Internet Archive, 4.7.2010, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/saville/1992/10/maumau.htm> (date accessed: 30.5.2024).

58 Hamdi Yıldız, "İsrail Ordusu Gazze'de Yerinden Edilmiş İnsanların Konvoyunu Vurdu: En Az 70 Kişi Öldü", *Anadolu Agency*, 13.10.2023,

59 Gabrielle Tétrault-Farber, "Despite Biden's Doubts, Humanitarian Agencies Consider Gaza

went even further and stated that the figures given by the Palestinian Ministry of Health in previous attacks were also reliable.⁶⁰ On the other hand, a mechanism of lies that Israel has botched has been working non-stop since the Al-Aqsa Flood. We stated above that some of the civilian deaths during the operation were due to the Israeli army's attacks and indiscriminate firing. In November 2023, Israeli newspaper *Yedioth Ahronoth* reported widespread claims that Israel implemented the Hannibal Protocol—a military approach allowing for the killing of its own civilians and soldiers, if necessary, to prevent capture at all costs. Moreover, the images of the music festival attacked by Hamas forces on October 7 had also raised suspicions that the weapons in the hands of Palestinians could not have caused such destruction. The Israeli army had acknowledged in a statement in December 2023 that such “friendly fire” incidents may have occurred, but had rejected the request for a detailed investigation. Later, in February, this time *Haaretz* newspaper put forward new evidence, and the entire world understood that a significant portion of civilian deaths were the work of the Zionist army. Lastly, the previous defense minister of Israel, Yoav Gallant, admitted that they used the Hannibal Protocol during their response to the Al Aqsa Flood operation.⁶¹

Another lie was the claim of “40 babies whose heads were cut off”. The Israeli army and a Zionist organization called ZAKA claimed that Palestinian militants raided a kibbutz and cut off the heads of around forty babies. US President Biden also said that he saw the pictures of beheaded babies, in order to ensure that the world took the claim seriously. However, on October 12, 2023, the White House backtracked announcing that the president had seen nothing of the sort.⁶² Since the US had previously hidden behind the claim that there were chemical weapons in Iraq to invade the entire country, causing the deaths of a million people, it can of course be considered normal that Biden's “little” lie this time was not a big deal. A long list of additional examples exists. One concerns Shani Louk, who, according to Israeli President Herzog, was beheaded at the music festival. However her family says that their daughter's physical integrity was not harmed when they received her body 7 months later.

4. Course of action

Historically, the failure to establish diplomatic relations between the US' Arab allies (except for Egypt and Jordan) and Israel, which is almost an extension of the US in West Asia, was a significant problem for the US. The post-2017 process, which we briefly mentioned in the previous sections, was an important step taken to solve this problem and to make the bloc that would stand by imperialism in the region a single entity. With this new bloc established through the Abrahamic Accords, the

Toll Reliable”, *Reuters*, 28.10.2023, <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/despite-bidens-doubts-humanitarian-agencies-consider-gaza-toll-reliable-2023-10-27/> (date accessed: 31.3.2024).

60 “UN says Gaza Health Ministry Death Tolls in Previous Wars ‘Credible’”, *Al Jazeera*, 27.10.2023, 61 Gallant's speech to Israel's Channel 12, on 6 February 2025.

62 “White House Walks Back Biden's Claim He Saw Children Beheaded by Hamas”, *Al Jazeera*, 12.10.2024, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/10/12/white-house-walks-back-bidens-claim-he-saw-children-beheaded-by-hamas> (date accessed: 3.5.2024).

US aimed to limit the area of action of Russia and Iran in the region and to close the region's doors to China's Belt and Road Project as much as possible. However, the centrifugal forces resulting from the weakening of imperialism occasionally cause minor deviations in this equation; for example, Iran and Saudi Arabia could sit at the table under China's mediation. Nevertheless, imperialism's project to close ranks and silence dissenting voices in West Asia has not yet failed. The alternative line of Türkiye and Qatar (clustered around the Muslim Brotherhood) is being dispersed through various methods and these two countries are being largely included in the "grand alliance."

From this broad perspective, it is clear that Israel is an important and central element of the new confrontation in West Asia. Through normalization agreements, Israel dreamed of a future in which it would increase its trade in the region, gain new security means outside the power of its army equipped with US support, against rivals such as Iran, and be able to market the natural gas it stole from the Palestinians to Europe without incurring great costs.

The Al-Aqsa Flood dealt a significant blow to these dreams. Although an alliance with Israel is not something that is undesirable for regional powers today, it is more costly. Israel's legitimacy has suffered a serious blow all over the world.

Moreover, Israel could not win a victory against Palestinians. It killed more than 60.000 of them, spent at least 22 billion dollars, but did not win. Israel could not destroy Hamas. Hamas lost 6 or 7, maybe 10 thousand of its 25.000 fighters. 15.000 is still remaining, and many others joined its ranks during the war. Hamas also still has weapons, and is still producing some even by using the unexploded materials that Israel used. Eliminating Hamas, as well as Islamic Jihad and the PFLP, was a main target of Israel's assaults. It failed. Israel could not rescue the hostages, a primary objective of its attacks. It failed. Israel could not destroy the tunnel network of Gaza, another important goal of its operations. It failed. Let's be clear, Trump threatened to intervene in the war, and Netanyahu's wheelspin stopped.

But the West Bank is a new target for Israel. During February 2025, it intensified its attacks on the West Bank, raided homes, and destroyed critical infrastructure. It forced the Palestinians in Tulkarem, Jenin and Nur Shams to evacuate the camps, displacing around 40,000 people from their homes. Defense Minister Israel Katz declared that the Israeli army had "evacuated" these camps and had been ordered to remain there "to prevent the return of Palestinian residents."⁶³ A new textbook example of ethnic cleansing, which must definitely be stopped.

Furthermore, Trump's intervention began with a threat, and resumed with impudence. On February 5, 2025, during Netanyahu's visit to the White House, he declared his "plan" for Gaza: the expulsion of Palestinians from Gaza, a US takeover of the strip, and turning it into "a riviera" of the "Middle East". A plan, bringing again to the table what Zionists failed to conclude: the ethnic cleansing of Palestinians, which must definitely be stopped.

But how? First, let us draw attention to a point that can be the subject of another

63 Al Jazeera, "Israel Expands West Bank Offensive, says Troops to Remain 'For Next Year'", 23.02.2025

article. The liberation of the Palestinian people means guaranteeing a freedom that applies for all Palestinians, Arab and Jewish. The settler colonialism, ethnic cleansing and genocide are not characteristics that Israel acquired later. They are its innate, essential characteristics. Abandoning them would mean its annihilation. This demonstrates the futility of the search for a “two-state solution” that envisages living together with Israel. Palestinians gained nothing from Egyptian leader Anwar Sadat’s speech in the Knesset, the Israeli parliament, in 1977, from his handshake with the Zionists at Camp David a year later, from the Palestine Liberation Organization’s declaration of recognition of the two-state solution in 1989, and from the Oslo process⁶⁴ orchestrated under the auspices of imperialism in 1993. They will not be able to achieve freedom with new initiatives of this kind as long as Israel is not destroyed. Therefore, what we mean by getting rid of the scourge of Zionism is not a return to the pre-October 7 period or a “two-state solution” achieved through a new “solution process,” but the establishment of a free Palestine from river to sea.

We must admit that in the face of the ongoing genocide in Palestine, Türkiye, a NATO member, and Qatar, which hosts the largest US base in the region, are following a line that is far removed from the resistance axis powers, . A line that never challenges the framework drawn for them by imperialism. As we have reminded in previous titles, in Türkiye, Erdoğan and his party, the AKP, first threw the Mavi Marmara case under the bus, and more recently, in parallel with the Abraham Accords, went into a new rapprochement with Israel. After exploiting the feelings of the working masses in Türkiye, who are friends of the Palestinian people, with their anti-Israel rhetoric for a long time, they began initiatives to turn this rapprochement into cash, primarily by transferring natural gas stolen from the Palestinians to Europe,. Israeli President Herzog visited Türkiye, and then Netanyahu the butcher was also invited. If he had not fallen ill, Netanyahu the butcher would have been hosted in Türkiye in September 2023. When the flood began, calls for moderation immediately rose from the despotic regime in Türkiye. After the Zionist massacre began, the tyranny took no steps other than some diplomatic talks to stop it. It was content with only condemning Israel, reiterating that Hamas was not a terrorist organization, and occasionally asserting that its position could help build a bridge between Israel and Palestine to prevent civilian casualties. Although it was known that the Incirlik Base in Türkiye provided services to the US, which was a partner in the massacre, and that the radar at the Kürecik NATO Base was tasked with protecting Israel from Iran, the tyrannical regime made no arrangements regarding these. In fact, it gave the imperialists a gift by approving Sweden’s NATO membership on October 23. It did not stop the transportation of Azerbaijani oil through Turkish territory to provide the majority of Israel’s oil needs. It turned a deaf ear to calls to cut off trade with Israel for months, arguing that this was impossible. While the massacre continued in October and November 2023, around 400 cargo ships were sent from Türkiye to the ports of Haifa and Ashdod, and goods were also transported to Israel by air on a daily basis. Israel was able to buy significant amounts of steel and

64 Al Jazeera, “Israel Expands West Bank Offensive, says Troops to Remain ‘For Next Year’”, 23.02.2025

cement from Türkiye. Zorlu Holding continued to supply electricity to Israel and received awards from Erdoğan for doing so. However, as public pressure increased and the AKP suffered a significant defeat in local elections in March 2024, the tyrannical regime was forced to announce the cutting off of certain items of trade in April, followed by a complete cutoff in May. Similarly, after months of arguing that intervention in the case filed by South Africa was impossible, it ultimately intervened—once again under pressure..

Qatar has a special importance regarding the Palestinian issue because it hosts the political wing of Hamas. This situation results in Qatar being at the forefront of the ceasefire negotiations. Qatar’s “soft power” apparatus, Al Jazeera, plays an important role in informing the world about what is happening to the Palestinian people. Although the channel’s operations in Israel were terminated for this reason, its reporters in Gaza continue to broadcast day and night, documenting the Zionist genocide despite all the challenges.⁶⁵ However, one should not have any illusions about Qatar’s role. The country has become an outpost for the US against Iran. Hamas’s departure from Syria in 2012 and its relocation to Qatar were made possible with the approval given by the US in the background. From the US perspective, it was more desirable for the civilian wing of Hamas to be in a place under its control rather than in a country like Syria or Iran. Qatar had no problems with US bases throughout the genocide, and there was no decline in its trade with Israel (although it has had no diplomatic relations with Israel since 2009). Just as Türkiye gifted Sweden’s NATO membership to imperialists supporting the genocide, Qatar reached an agreement in January 2024 with the US, to extend American use of the Al Udeid Air Base (which is also occasionally used by the UK) for another ten years.⁶⁶

It can be said that in the upcoming process, these two former Muslim Brotherhood supporter countries will be given new roles by US imperialism. The relocation of Hamas from Qatar to Türkiye, an issue that has been in discussion for some time, will again be a US/NATO-driven project if it takes place. Indeed, the US is not satisfied with Qatar’s performance in containing Hamas. In order to understand what other consequences the move to Türkiye will have, it is necessary to look at the alleged meeting Hakan Fidan had with the Hamas civilian wing in Doha in February 2025?. In this meeting, Fidan suggested that Hamas accept Israel’s 67 borders and the Hamas representative stated that they were inclined to do so. AKP members had previously suggested that Hamas abandon armed resistance. As a result, it is easy to say that these Türkiye and Qatar are not forces that can be trusted for the freedom of the Palestinian people.

As stated in previous chapters, military support for the Palestinian resistance

⁶⁵ The case of Al Jazeera reporter Wael Al Dahdouh deserves special mention here. After his wife and children were killed in one of the first Israeli attacks on the Nusayrat camp, he returned to his post in a very short time to report the Zionist massacre to the world. Shortly afterwards, his eldest son, also a journalist, was killed by Israel. Shireen Abu Akleh was another Al Jazeera reporter killed by Israeli forces while on duty to document the crimes of Zionism in recent years.

⁶⁶ Alex Marquardt and Natasha Bertrand, “US Quietly Reaches Agreement with Qatar to Keep Operating Largest Military Base in Middle East”, *CNN*, 2.1.2024, <https://edition.cnn.com/2024/01/02/politics/us-qatar-agreement-largest-base-middle-east/index.html> (date accessed: 3.5.2024)

organizations came only from the Axis of Resistance. Although Iran and its allies were unable to enter into an all-out war, they ensured that the genocide in Palestine would have significant costs for both the Zionists and the imperialists. It is useful to reiterate our position on the Axis of Resistance here, as illusions about the positions of the armed and political forces of this bloc are more common than before within the socialist left. First of all, let us state that whether it is Hamas, Hezbollah, Ansarullah or Iran against imperialism, their victory would please us. We have repeatedly expressed this in this article and before. However, we have also emphasized that although these organizations are currently waging a very solid struggle against imperialism in the region, their programs will not be sufficient to ultimately liberate the working people. An important reason for this is that the organizations within the Axis of Resistance lack a program that can mobilize their nations in the strongest way against imperialism and Zionism and that can unite their struggle with that of workers and laborers in the centers of imperialism who are fighting their own bourgeoisie for the ultimate victory.

In one way or another, they accept private ownership of the means of production, prioritize a minority with privileges within their own society and the preservation of these privileges. They put the cost of liberation on the working people, thus weakening the struggle. Moreover, they want to put the decaying capitalism in a straitjacket on a people who are paying a heavy price in their struggle for freedom from colonial rule. They weaken the front by deliberately excluding those who will play a key role in the liberation struggle, especially women and people of different sects and religions. Although their solidarity practices that transcend borders are not limited to other Islamists, their target for ultimate liberation is the sect, or at best the ummah. It is clear that this sum points to a group that is far behind proletarian internationalism.

Therefore, we have come to advocate that the proletariat should take the leadership of these nations, including Palestine, for the victory of the working people of Western Asia. What socialists need to do is (1) to stay away from the increasingly popular postcolonial approach, which places the working class among the privileged layers, and also from pacifism that paralyzes the masses, (2) to put proletarian military politics into practice, (3) to struggle against the same target with the tactics of a united military front together with other resistance elements, without mixing flags, and do the best to gain the leadership of the nation in the meantime. The Palestinian left, especially the PFLP, has passed and is still passing an important test in this sense, despite all its weaknesses. Unlike other resistance organizations, it lacks a direct connection to a state (e.g. Iran) or a union (e.g. the EU), but still has managed to maintain its armed presence in Gaza and remain effective in all other parts of Palestine. The duty of Turkish socialists is to cooperate and be in solidarity with Palestinian socialists for victory, without hesitating to offer open and honest criticism when necessary. But it must be a real solidarity, beyond chanting PFLP slogans in the faces of Islamist masses they stand side by side in the demonstrations.

The Zionist genocide has significant effects on the young sections of the Jewish people, especially those living outside the 48 territories. As we have seen in previous titles, the Jews of the United States are standing up to the Zionist genocide

with significant organization and courage. It's time to come to terms with Zionism, which has plagued the Jewish people. More discussions should be held with these advanced sections of the Jewish people, and more efforts should be made to win them over to Marxism. It is clear that this is an internationalist duty.

It is also time to advance the boycott, sanctions and divestment (BDS) campaigns targeting Israel, as well as to stand in solidarity with the Palestinian people. Today, many companies in Türkiye are doing trade with Israel and supporting the genocide. Unfortunately, there are only a few organizations that are trying to convey this information to the working people through limited channels. Even while Israel is committing genocide today, it is still able to sponsor art events through its institution called ARTISRAEL. Turkish universities continue to cooperate with Israeli higher education institutions. Cutting off these channels of influence should be a priority in the struggle against Zionism and imperialism. Furthermore, we have to explain to the working masses that Palestine is a natural ally of them and the bourgeois class is Israel's.

In Türkiye, too, supporting the Palestinian people's struggle for liberation is not independent of the struggle to overthrow the bourgeois order. Today, bourgeois parties have buried all kinds of admiration for Israel due to the Zionist genocide. However, from the ruling AKP to the mainstream opposition CHP, all of them are on Israel's side. If its commitment to international trade has prevented the AKP from cutting off trade today, the same will happen tomorrow under the CHP government. When a people is suffering genocide, the most effective way to impose sanctions on the perpetrators is not to leave it to the mercy of the bourgeoisie or politicians who are themselves merchants, but to have a foreign trade monopoly under workers' control. If its commitment to imperialist unions has resulted in the AKP's failure to close Incirlik and Kürecik bases today, the same will happen tomorrow under the CHP government. The way to close these bases and withdraw from NATO, which protects Israel, is to establish a workers' government.

Revolution and Workers

George Habash

On the first night of May 1970, more than three thousand citizens gathered to celebrate International Workers' Day in a large ceremony organised by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine in the Awdat camp in Jabal al-Hussein. In this ceremony, comrade doctor George Habash addressed the crowd of workers and citizens.

The central information department of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine presents the full text of this speech to the citizens.

Central Information Department

May 10, 1970

Worker comrades, fellow citizens,

We hold this ceremony to celebrate May Day. Some may, and indeed do, ask us questions such as “what do you have to do with workers? What does guerilla work have to do with workers? What does the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine have to do with workers?”. The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine celebrates this holiday, the holiday of labour, in accordance with the political line and vision for the liberation fight. We celebrate the holiday of labour because we believe that the working class is the vanguard of the revolution of liberation. And only can its theory, stance and ideas seal off the victory and liberation. That is why