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PALESTINE MAGAZINE

Contributions of revolutionary Parties and Organizations
from around the World on the Liberation of Palestine



ICOR

2nd Edition

ICOR Online Magazine Palestine

Dear comrades and friends,

The liberation struggle of the Palestinian people stands as one of the most just and urgent struggles of our time. Since its founding, ICOR has stood firmly in solidarity with the Palestinian cause, recognizing it as an inseparable part of the worldwide struggle against imperialism and colonialism.

This second edition of the ICOR Online Magazine is published on the occasion of *Nakba Day*, held on May 15, 2025, a day of international action and memory. In this issue, various ICOR member organizations present their views, positions, and revolutionary perspectives on the Palestine question. We also welcome guest contributions from organizations outside ICOR, reflecting the broad and diverse international dimensions of the Palestinian struggle for liberation and justice.

The continuation of our [first Online Magazine on Palestine](#) is intended to deepen the analysis and discussion surrounding the Palestinian liberation struggle, especially in the wake of the actions of Al-Aqsa Flood on October 7, 2023, which have shaken the regional order and exposed the brutal machinery of Zionist oppression that sustains the occupation. These developments have not only led to a revival of international solidarity with Palestine but have also brought the question of revolutionary resistance back to the center of international debate.

This issue serves as a platform for solidarity but also for open, comradely discussion around differing assessments and strategic considerations, always with the aim to advance the struggle and strengthen the united struggle against imperialism and Zionism.

We would like to emphasize that all positions expressed are binding only for the organizations that submitted them and may not reflect the positions of ICOR.

The Palestinian struggle is not isolated. It is part of the international struggle against imperialist domination. As revolutionaries and internationalists, it is our duty to stand unwaveringly with Palestine and to contribute to building a strong, united, and militant international front. This is also the purpose of this magazine.

Long live the Palestinian liberation struggle!

In solidarity,

ICOR Middle East Coordination

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Freedom for Palestine! Let us strengthen the Palestinian liberation struggle and the international solidarity movement! For a socialist Palestine!

Resolution of the 5th World Conference

The ICOR stands firmly and unconditionally on the side of the Palestinian liberation struggle against imperialist and Zionist Israel and US imperialism, the world's main warmonger. With the support of other imperialists they perpetrate a brutal genocide in Gaza in breach of international law, killing tens of thousands. The ICOR is an active force in the organization of international solidarity, international coordination and initiation of and participation in protest actions, mass demonstrations and militant activities. We also fight against imperialism in our countries, such as European imperialism, in particular German imperialism, which supports Israel with financial, ideological, political and military aid. At a time when the imperialist world order is being rearranged, the fascist Netanyahu government seeks a "greater Israel" in which there is no place for Palestine. ICOR will never accept and allow this! The Palestinian people will win with the support of the democratic and revolutionary masses of the world! The just national liberation struggle of

the Palestinian people finds our full support. As Marxist-Leninists we stand for the socialist perspective of this national liberation struggle. Differences we have about the assessment of various forces in Palestine and the backgrounds in the change of the imperialist world system we will continue to discuss in solidarity. The ICOR organizations agree in the perspective of a democratic, completely freed, socialist Palestine. The famous sentence of Karl Marx "Workers of all countries, unite!" also applies here. Therefore, the ICOR will continue to support the Palestinian liberation struggle in all its sides and at the same time place special emphasis on the promotion of the secular, democratic and socialist forces, with whom we are working closely together with all our heart. The plan to build a hospital in Gaza will take shape in the near future. In the imperialist centers like Germany we will expose and attack the aggressive support, including weapons, for Israel, and take up the fight against it.

Al-Aqsa Flood Battle

Legitimacy, Achievements, and Strategic Position in the Course of the Conflict

By Abed Al-Zurei'i
PFLP Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine

The Battle of Al-Aqsa Flood represents a link in the chain of national battles waged by the Palestinian people against the Zionist-imperialist invasion. This chain began clearly with the Nabi Musa uprising in 1920, and its links have since accumulated, sometimes occurring in close succession and at other times spaced farther apart across the timeline of events. Al-Aqsa Flood is the most recent (current) link, distinguished by its extended duration—exceeding all previous confrontations with the Zionist entity—by the intensity of its military and political engagement, the heavy cost it imposed on all levels, its tangible achievements, and the questions and varied responses it provoked—whether supportive or critical. All of this makes analyzing and positioning this battle within the broader struggle both necessary and essential. Such an analysis requires, first, affirming the legitimacy of the battle; second, determining the criteria by which we measure its achievements (or failures); and third, identifying its strategic location in the ongoing conflict with the Zionist entity.

I. Legitimacy

The question of legitimacy is based on a conscious link between the Palestinian people's right and duty to continue their armed resistance—as the highest form of struggle against the Zionist entity—and the need for scrutiny and analysis of every step taken in this direction, in terms of timing, feasibility, and cost. Armed struggle is not an improvised or arbitrary act; every step must be measured carefully, given the particularities, rules of engagement, and national, regional, and international implications of the conflict. This linkage allows us to determine the legitimacy of any resistance act

within its specific timing and context. The legitimacy of the Al-Aqsa Flood Battle stems from three foundational principles:

1. **The Principle of Right:** The right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, a consistent and active principle as long as this right is denied. This principle is embodied in all national resistance efforts to reverse the effects of occupation and protect fundamental human rights. International law enshrines this right, such as Article 7 of the Definition of Aggression, which affirms the legitimacy of peoples under colonial rule or racial regimes to resist by all possible means, including armed force. UN General Assembly resolutions—most notably Resolution 1514 of December 14, 1960, and Resolution 3103 of December 13, 1973—affirm this right as a natural and legal struggle for independence and self-determination. Notably, international law does not mandate a specific organizational or ideological form for such struggles but rather encourages newly independent nations to support such resistance efforts.
2. **The Principle of Defense:** This principle encompasses the tools employed by the resistance to deter aggression against Palestinian fundamental rights. It has become a recognized international reality, supported by numerous UN General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. The Al-Aqsa Flood Battle was launched in a specific moment of historical repression, intensified Israeli

policies of ethnic cleansing, and attacks on sacred Palestinian values—particularly at Al-Aqsa Mosque. These acts were not isolated but part of a systematic campaign of killing, arrests, blockades, land theft, and attacks on Palestinian dignity, including the humiliation of Palestinian women. This occurred amid the Palestinian Authority’s failure—or complicity—in protecting its people, highlighted by its active security coordination with the occupation.

3. **The Principle of Risk Aversion:** This principle addresses the security and political risks that threaten the Palestinian right to self-determination and defense, and ultimately the very future of the Palestinian people. These risks include U.S.-led regional changes, Arab and Islamic normalization efforts, and attempts to integrate Israel into the regional system, giving it a leadership role. Saudi-Israeli normalization was a critical moment, potentially undermining psychological and political resistance in the Arab world. Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu symbolically erased Palestine from his "New Middle East" map at the UN in September 2023. Security threats were also present, as noted by late Hamas leader Saleh Al-Arouri, who said the Al-Aqsa Flood was a preemptive response to an imminent Israeli attack. Former Israeli Chief of Staff Aviv Kochavi similarly hinted at Israeli efforts to assassinate Hamas leaders in 2021, viewing such actions as part of the post-“Sword of Jerusalem” phase, aiming to “mow the grass” and eliminate Palestinian resistance.

These three principles underpin the legitimacy of the Al-Aqsa Flood Battle. If the first grants it long-term strategic legitimacy, the second and

third provide legitimacy for its specific and timely execution, making it a decisive and justified response at this historical juncture.

II. How to Evaluate the Battle

There is a distinction between the legitimacy of any battle and its results. Legitimacy provides the motivation to engage in the battle at a specific time, with defined tools and clear objectives that are rooted in the principles from which its legitimacy arises. In contrast, results are related to how the battle is conducted, the achievements made, and how well those achievements align with the stated goals.

Human history is full of battles that had full legitimacy but ultimately produced results contrary to the intentions of those who launched them. Since this is a battle in the context of national liberation, assessing the results is neither random nor arbitrary. Instead, it is subject to specific mechanisms developed by liberation movements that have become historical and regulatory criteria. This is especially true as these movements usually engage in struggle under unfavorable power balances, where colonial forces are stronger. Their efforts are directed at shifting this balance to their advantage by convincing the colonial power that the losses incurred from continuing the colonial enterprise far outweigh any potential gains.

Therefore, evaluating the results of battles fought by national liberation movements must not be based solely on a quantitative metric—namely, the material losses in lives, infrastructure, and buildings. This is the standard the enemy often amplifies by waging genocidal war, particularly against civilians, in an attempt to burden the resistance with unbearable humanitarian costs, hoping to deter it or turn its popular support base against it.

The main criterion for assessing any battle lies in the changes it produces in the existing

equations and the subsequent impacts. To determine what has changed in those equations, one needs a baseline against which changes—positive or negative—can be identified.

The first core standard in this baseline is the **asymmetry of power**, which results in an asymmetry of objectives. For the colonial power, the goals are mainly military and deterrent. For the liberation movement, the objectives are primarily political. This framework is used to assess the outcomes once the dust of battle settles. In asymmetric warfare, the mere fact that the weaker party is not defeated often signifies its victory, meaning that the minimum threshold for victory has been achieved.

The second core standard involves the ability of the liberation movement to accomplish three goals:

1. **Strengthening the legitimacy of the resistance**, both internally and externally.
2. Creating internal contradictions within the enemy's ranks.
3. Generating conflicts between the enemy and its allies.

The on-the-ground developments and realities of the past nine months answer the first baseline question affirmatively. This answer is no longer confined to the resistance and its supporters but has become a global acknowledgment, accompanied by investigations into the reasons behind this enduring steadfastness.

As for the second set of questions:

- Has this battle reinforced the legitimacy of the resistance?
- Has it intensified contradictions within the enemy's ranks?
- Has it deepened the rifts between the enemy and its allies?

Without delving into a detailed enumeration of the Al-Aqsa Flood Battle's accomplishments, one can say that all these achievements fall under the three categories mentioned above. This is an ongoing process on the national, regional, and international levels.

III. The Strategic Position

The Battle of Al-Aqsa Flood differs from all other battles fought by the Palestinian people and from all previous confrontations with the Zionist enemy, whether before or after 1948. It is the longest in duration, the most intense, and the most costly. While we can position it as a link in the chain of the Palestinian national liberation movement's battles, it is the most prominent link—one that compels a fundamental question not only about how to evaluate it but about its **place within that chain**. To answer that, we must first ask: **How should we read the chain itself?** Should it be read quantitatively or qualitatively?

Undoubtedly, both approaches have their merits. However, if the matter concerns a liberation path aimed at achieving the goal of freeing the land and expelling the colonizer, then the **qualitative reading** becomes the decisive one. Based on this, we can determine the **position and weight** of any battle within the balance of struggle. The course of national liberation movements usually proceeds through **three decisive stages**:

1. Strategic Defensive Stage:

The resistance forces are in their early stages, struggling merely to defend and preserve themselves.

2. Strategic Equilibrium Stage:

The resistance develops to the point where it achieves a level of balance in confrontation with the enemy.

3. Strategic Offensive Stage:

The resistance reaches a level of maturity and strength that enables it to launch a full-scale

strategic offensive against the enemy and defeat it.

In this light, where does the Battle of Al-Aqsa Flood stand? In which of these stages does it fall?

Answering this requires examining the most recent historical context—particularly its relation to the immediately preceding battle: **the Battle of Sword of Jerusalem (Saif al-Quds)**. Understanding the strategic significance of the Al-Aqsa Flood may be flawed if viewed in isolation from the Sword of Jerusalem.

What stands out is the **confusion of the enemy** during the Sword of Jerusalem battle and its efforts to understand and nullify its outcomes early on. This is evidenced by the number of symposiums held by Israeli security and academic institutions and the volume of recommendations made to deal with the aftermath of the battle—even before it ended (all these symposiums are published in Al-Hadaf magazine).

A deep reading of those symposiums and the resulting recommendations reveals that the enemy perceived the Battle of Sword of Jerusalem as the **end of one phase** and the beginning of a **new phase** for the Palestinian resistance. Thus, it focused on preventing the resistance from transitioning into this new phase by trying to neutralize the effects of the Sword of Jerusalem battle.

That previous battle marked the **conclusion of the strategic defensive stage**, which lasted seventy-five years—with all its ups and downs, progress and setbacks, victories and defeats. But at its core, it was defined by the **steadfastness of the Palestinian people**.

Now, with the **accomplishments of the Battle of Al-Aqsa Flood**, a new stage has begun: the stage of **strategic equilibrium**.

The Strategic Position and focusing on the **qualitative dimensions** of the new stage inaugurated by the Battle of Al-Aqsa Flood:

It is essential to assess this initiation of a new stage using a different measure—**not a quantitative one**. The issue is **not the number of weapons or tools** available to either side, although this factor may play a role at certain moments. Rather, the assessment must be **qualitative and moral**, across **three key levels**:

1. The Military Level:

The Al-Aqsa Flood Battle stripped the enemy of one of its most important military advantages: **strategic surprise**. This element had been the foundation of its deterrence power over past decades. By initiating the attack themselves—despite the many security and intelligence challenges such a decision entailed—the resistance **reversed the equation** and fought the battle **behind enemy lines**, unlike all previous confrontations.

Additionally, the battle involved the broader **Axis of Resistance**, serving as a compensatory force for the absence of Egypt from the battlefield (due to the Camp David Accords) and Syria's limitations following its war against terrorism. The inclusion of these regional actors introduced a new strategic layer to the conflict.

2. The Political Level:

Politically, the battle contributed to what was previously mentioned: **deepening contradictions within the enemy's ranks and between it and its allies**, while also generating **popular support** at multiple levels, even from within circles previously allied with the enemy.

3. The Ethical and Moral Level:

At this level, the Al-Aqsa Flood Battle succeeded in **collapsing the enemy's so-called "moral narrative."** It repositioned the Palestinian cause as a **moral and ethical issue** for a new generation of youth in the American

and European arenas—especially in a time when this generation has lost faith in the moral values underpinning the capitalist world order.

This **new stage** may last for a long or short period. It may achieve its full potential, or it may be stifled. Its course will depend on various **national and regional factors**, but the most important fact is this: **a first step has been taken**. The threshold has been crossed. There is **no alternative** but to **advance forward**, confidently, based on a deep and accurate understanding of the conflict environment.

The enemy is also aware of this, and will exert all its power to **prevent further advancement**. Therefore, the trajectory and fate of this phase will be shaped by the conflict between the **will to accumulate and escalate** by the resistance and the **will to suppress and abort** by the enemy.

Conclusion

The Battle of Al-Aqsa Flood derived its **legitimacy** from the **inalienable historical right** of the Palestinian people to **liberate their homeland and land**, from their **right to defend themselves** against the aggression and expansion of the Zionist entity, and from their **right to safeguard their national cause** from schemes aiming to undermine or eliminate it.

The battle succeeded in **reinforcing the legitimacy of the Palestinian resistance** across all levels — regional and international. It marked a **qualitative leap** that placed the Palestinian people's struggle at the **threshold of a new strategic phase**, realized through a set of **historic achievements** that continue to produce tangible impacts **in the present and into the future**.

Cyprus and Palestine: Lessons in Negotiation and Struggle

Union of Cypriots

Cyprus and Palestine are united by history, geography and destiny as two neighboring countries colonized by the same empires. This situation led to the combined development of resistance practices as well as colonization in Cyprus and Palestine. Starting with the 1931 uprising in Cyprus and the 1936 uprising in Palestine, events and phenomena develop at different paces, repeating and following each other.

The fate of around 700,000 people displaced in Palestine after the 1948 occupation was shared by 200,000 people in Cyprus after the 1974 occupation. Turkish colonialism in Cyprus and Zionist colonialism in Palestine are twin brothers in terms of the methods of settler colonialism carried out after the occupation, starting with the displacement of the natives.

Israel and Turkey are twin brothers in terms of the methods they apply in Palestine and Cyprus, starting from the paramilitary terror methods they applied before the occupation to the land grabbing and settler colonization after the occupation. Even the “settlement laws” they used to usurp the lands of the natives are the same and have similar racist characteristics. For Turkish occupiers in Cyprus, this law is known as the Settlement, Land Distribution, and Equivalent Property (İTEM) Law, while for Zionist occupiers in Palestine, it is called the Absentee Property Law.

In this context, it is useful to compare the struggle against the “Judaization of the Galilee” (Yehud ha-Galil) plan after June 1967, the second phase of the occupation in Palestine, with the Women Walk Home movement launched by refugees in Cyprus immediately after the 1974 invasion.

The right to return of refugees recognized by the Fourth Geneva Convention and the Universal

Declaration of Human Rights is protected in Palestine by UN General Assembly Resolution 194.

When the Turkish army invaded Cyprus in 1974, one out of every three people was displaced. On April 20, 1975, 30,000 Cypriot refugee women launched the Women Walk Home movement, marching toward the Turkish-occupied territories. This struggle continued at various intervals until 1989. Similarly, in Palestine, the resistance against Zionist land grabs and colonization policies culminated in the Land Day protests of March 30, 1976. Both movements were defenses of the right to return of refugees. These struggles in Cyprus and Palestine exemplify both nonviolent action and the united front strategy. These nonviolent actions faced Zionist terror in Palestine and the alliance of United Nations troops with the occupying Turkish army in Cyprus. In case of Cyprus, even the Cypriot authorities blocked the Women Walk Home movement, arguing that it would disrupt the “positive atmosphere” of the so-called UN-led negotiations for Cyprus. This highlights a crucial point, namely that the role of the UN in resolving colonial and occupation issues is inversely proportional to the effectiveness of revolutionary struggle.

From the Geneva talks in August 1974, following the occupation, to the Annan Plan in the early 2000s and the Crans-Montana process in 2017, negotiations without struggle have only served to legitimize war crimes and crimes against humanity.

In this regard, the Oslo process, which turned into a betrayal in Palestine, and the Annan Plan in Cyprus represent the peak moments of land theft and settler colonization. The greatest territorial losses occurred during and after these negotiation processes. Both Cypriots and

Palestinians lost their land not when they fought, but when they “negotiated” under U.S. and UN supervision with their occupiers.

On the anniversary of Land Day in 2018, Palestinians launched the Great March of Return, which lasted nearly two years. Hundreds of people were killed and disabled. The violence of the Zionist terrorist organization against the nonviolent march of the Palestinians led to the emergence of the “Joint Room for Palestinian Resistance Factions” formed by Marxist-Leninist, Islamic and Arab nationalist resistance organizations united within the framework of Palestinian nationalism. This example of a united front of resistance organizations is an important model for all oppressed nations. The resistance united on the basis of Palestinianness and Palestinian nationalism is also a compass for us who defend the struggle on the basis of Cypriotness and Cypriot nationalism.

The Need for a United Front of Palestinians and Cypriots

The inseparable destiny of Palestinians and Cypriots is evident in the geopolitical realities of the region. Despite not being a NATO member, five NATO militaries—Turkey, the United Kingdom, Greece, the United States, and France—utilize air and naval bases on Cyprus. This situation stems from treaties imposed on Cypriots, who fought a heroic armed national liberation struggle against British colonialism. These treaties placed approximately 3% of Cyprus under British control when the island gained independence from British colonial rule in 1960 as a non-aligned republic. This control

was further entrenched after the NATO-planned Turkish invasion in 1974. For decades, the UK and NATO have used these territories to advance their imperialist agenda throughout West Asia and North Africa.

Since the most recent Palestinian resistance began on October 7, 2023, these foreign military bases in Cyprus have served as a lifeline for the Zionist entity’s war crimes and crimes against humanity. They have also been used to bomb Yemen in retaliation for its resistance to the imperialist forces committing genocide against Palestinians.

All these actions are carried out on Cypriot territory, against the will of the Cypriot people, who have stood in solidarity with Palestinians from the very beginning of their shared struggle against occupation. As we always say, Cyprus is the windpipe of imperialism in the region. That is why the liberation of Cyprus means cutting off the windpipe of imperialism in the region.

For the freedom of the peoples of West Asia and North Africa, there is only one anti-imperialist solution for both Palestine and Cyprus. A liberated, unitary, democratic, and sovereign Palestine, from the river to the sea. A liberated, unitary, democratic, and sovereign Cyprus, from Akamas to Karpas.

The destiny of the lands of Palestine and Cyprus is as inseparable as the destiny of Palestinians and Cypriots. This underlines the need for a united front of Palestinians and Cypriots, just as much as the need for united fronts within Palestine and Cyprus.

Palestine for Palestinians! Cyprus for Cypriots!

The Palestinian Cause Between Settler-Colonialism and National Liberation: A Marxist-Leninist Reading of Class and Imperialist Conflict

PPDS Patriotic Democratic Socialist Party Tunisia

In this article, we aim to address key problematic issues in the theoretical debate surrounding Palestine, the essence of the Zionist movement, the Palestinian national liberation movement, and resistance. We also analyze the two-state solution through bourgeois and petty-bourgeois perspectives.

The Roots and Class Basis of the Zionist Movement

To understand the essence of the Zionist movement, it is not enough to approach it as a "national" movement or a humanitarian response to anti-Semitism in Europe. Rather, it must be analyzed as a class-based and colonial phenomenon that emerged within the development of capitalism into its imperialist stage, as explained by Lenin in his analysis of capitalism in its highest stage.

Zionism appeared in the late 19th century not as a representative of all Jewish interests but as a European bourgeois project led by sections of the Jewish middle and upper classes (such as Theodor Herzl), who felt threatened by the rise of revolutionary and socialist movements in Eastern Europe. These factions, instead of engaging in class struggle, chose a reactionary path in the form of a separatist settler-colonial project.

From the beginning, Zionism was formed as a counter-revolutionary movement and a tool for reproducing class dominance in a nationalist and colonial form. This orientation found practical translation in its early alliance with British imperialism, which viewed Zionism as a functional means of maintaining influence in the Arab region, especially in Palestine.

Is There a Working Class in the Zionist Settler Entity?

Marx, in *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (1859), affirms that class formation does not occur outside historical and social context but is determined by contradictions between labor and capital. Therefore, Jewish workers in the Zionist entity

cannot be considered an international proletariat subject to natural class conflict. They must be understood within the framework of a colonial settler state supported by global imperialism.

Lenin, in *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1916), notes that settlers dependent on imperialist capital are not part of the global working class but tools of colonial perpetuation. Zionism represents a settler project supported by Western imperialist powers, especially Britain and the U.S., where Jewish workers were brought from Europe and absorbed into a capitalist economic structure backed by the West—not based on natural economic production but on expansion and colonization—separating them from global class contradictions and making them instruments of colonialism.

In *Marxism and the National Question* (1913), Stalin explains that nationalism is not merely a cultural identity but a social phenomenon defined by economic and political factors. He distinguishes between progressive nationalism born of anti-colonial struggle and reactionary nationalism used as a tool for domination and colonialism. This analysis applies to Zionism, which used Jewish nationalism as a pretext for establishing a settler entity at the expense of the Palestinian people.

Hence, the "working class" in the Zionist entity cannot be separated from its colonial structure and role as an imperialist tool, making it, from a Marxist-Leninist perspective, a class tied to the settler-colonial Zionist project—not a revolutionary class that can be part of the liberation struggle.

The Nature of the National Liberation Movement and Palestinian Resistance

Our revolutionary tactics must be based on a precise analysis of the enemy's identity and a clear understanding of the national liberation struggle's position within the broader conflict against the imperialist system. From Lenin's analysis of structural contradictions within

imperialism, three central contradictions emerge:

4. The contradiction between capital and wage labor,
5. The contradiction between imperialism and oppressed peoples,
6. The contradiction among imperialist powers themselves.

Within this framework, the Zionist entity represents the spearhead of the U.S.-led imperialist project in the Middle East, making the Palestinian liberation struggle a dual one: against a settler-colonial regime built on genocide and ethnic cleansing, and against global imperialism. The Palestinian struggle cannot be isolated from the global anti-imperialist struggle—it is an integral part of the broader revolutionary battle. It is not a religious war, as the Zionist entity claims, but a national liberation struggle.

In *Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right* (1844), Marx views religion as an ideological tool in the hands of ruling classes, yet acknowledges that it can become a liberating force when adopted by the oppressed in their struggle against colonialism. Thus, religious movements, despite their non-Marxist ideological character, may play a role in liberation if they oppose imperialism and colonialism.

History confirms that religious movements played key roles in resisting colonialism, as in the Algerian revolution, Lebanese resistance movements, and the Palestinian struggle. This shows that Marxist-Leninist positions do not reject religious movements' participation in liberation but warn against the dominance of religious ideology in the revolution, which may replace colonialism with another form of tyranny. Revolutionaries worldwide must support Palestinian revolutionary forces rather than criticize religious movements involved in anti-colonial struggle.

Is the Two-State Solution a Revolutionary One?

A Radical Analysis of the Nature of the Conflict:

From a Marxist-Leninist viewpoint, the conflict in Palestine cannot be reduced to a struggle between two equal nationalisms. At its core, it is a conflict between a settler-colonial project supported by global imperialism—embodied in the Zionist entity—and an oppressed people fighting for national liberation. From this perspective, the "two-state solution" is a false solution that legitimizes colonialism and falsely equates occupier and resister while ignoring the structural colonial nature of Zionism.

The Two-State Solution as a Reproduction of Imperialist Hegemony:

The two-state solution, as proposed in the Oslo Accords and UN initiatives, attempts to settle the conflict without dismantling the colonial structure of the Zionist entity. Instead, it preserves that structure within recognized borders, institutionalizing political and economic fragmentation while maintaining Palestinian subjugation to Zionist security and financial dominance and imperialist capital.

The Marxist-Leninist Alternative: A Secular Democratic Palestine from the River to the Sea

According to Marxist-Leninist analysis, the conflict in Palestine is not a dispute between two equal nationalisms but a struggle between a settler-colonial project backed by global imperialism and an oppressed people engaged in a national liberation battle. Therefore, the two-state solution is a delusion that legitimizes occupation and obscures Zionism's colonial roots.

Glory to the Resistance... Down with Zionism and Imperialism

October 7, 2023, marked a historic turning point in the Palestinian-Zionist conflict, when Palestinian resistance, led by the Qassam Brigades, carried out a strategic operation that shifted the balance of power and exposed the fragility of the Zionist military and intelligence structure. This operation was not isolated but the natural culmination of decades of resistance against a settler-colonial expansionist regime that committed massacres and displaced the Palestinian people under the protection and

sponsorship of global imperialist powers, primarily the United States.

In response to this revolutionary blow, the Zionist entity launched a brutal assault on Gaza, amounting to genocide, using every means of mass killing, starvation, and destruction, fully supported by Western political, military, and media powers. The massacres, destruction of infrastructure, hospitals, and refugee camps in Gaza are not mere "reactions" but living proof of the fascist and racist nature of Zionism and the settler-colonial essence of the entity.

This context necessitates principled condemnation of the Zionist entity as an illegitimate, racist settler-colonial structure, and the exposure of Arab regimes that collaborated through silence, normalization, or aiding in the siege of the resistance. These regimes, loyal to imperialism, do not represent their people but the interests of a comprador bourgeoisie linked organically to global capitalism.

Amid blood and destruction, Palestinian resistance emerged as the highest expression of the people's will for life and liberation. The resistance proved itself not a passing phenomenon but a strategic choice and a rallying force for all oppressed peoples. From our internationalist and revolutionary standpoint, we salute this resistance, admire its steadfastness, creativity, and heroism, and

consider it the spearhead in confronting imperialism and Zionism.

Today's battle is not only the battle of an occupied people—it is the battle of all humanity against a fascist global order attempting to reproduce colonialism in new forms. Hence, supporting Palestinian resistance is a revolutionary duty and a decisive criterion for political alignment—it permits no neutrality or compromise.

Conclusion

Through the lens of Marxist-Leninist analysis, the Palestinian cause is not merely a territorial or religious dispute, but a national liberation struggle against a colonial-imperialist project led by global Zionism and backed by old and new colonial powers. The two-state solution is not a genuine resolution; it merely reproduces imperialist hegemony and rebrands Zionist colonialism with diplomatic tools. The only radical solution lies in dismantling the Zionist settler entity and establishing a unified, secular, democratic Palestine that returns the land to its rightful owners and builds a society based on class and national justice—within a global, anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist struggle.

Palestine today is a litmus test for all revolutionary movements around the world: Those who evade its full support are colluding with imperialism in other ways.

Solidarity with the struggle for the liberation of the Palestinian people!

UPML Marxist-Leninist Proletarian Union France

1. We condemn the genocide perpetrated by the Zionist, colonizing, supremacist State of Israel in Gaza against the Palestinian people and the unconditional support by the United States of America, the European Union with Germany, France and other complicit imperialist countries! We condemn the “Greater Israel” project in the region, in the West Bank, Lebanon and Syria. This policy is setting West Asia ablaze and considerably increasing the risk of a Third World War.
2. The weakening of the communist movement by revisionism has given rise to so-called anti-imperialist religious currents in every country. This imposes on us everywhere the principal task of rebuilding genuine Communist Parties to prepare for international socialist revolution and to move towards communism, on the basis of an assessment of the failure suffered at international level - but situations, political tasks and tactics differ from country to country and from circumstance to circumstance.
3. The development of the capitalist world is uneven. Today, as new capitalist-imperialist countries struggle to re-divide the world, they stand in rivalry with the old imperialist powers. The danger of world war is more present than ever. Our analysis of the forces at work in the Middle East and our policies must therefore take account of all the imperialist powers involved, old and new, above all the United States, China, Russia, Turkey and Iran, but also the European Union with Germany, Israel's second-largest arms supplier... Uneven development also means that there are dominated countries and oppressed peoples (colonial or neo-colonial). For communists in Palestine and Israel, the revolutionary tasks are necessarily special because Israel is a settlement colony.
4. The Palestinian people are exploited and oppressed by an apartheid regime that is today committing genocide: there are settlers on the one hand, and colonized people and refugees in several countries on the other. This is the main contradiction. From the point of view of communism and the International Revolution, the stage of the struggle for national liberation, for the “new democracy” in Palestine, is necessary and indispensable, aiming at and integrating the perspective of the struggle for socialism.
5. Lenin and Mao Zedong, on the basis of their experiences, established essential principles for the liberation struggle.
 - A broad liberation front must unite democratic and revolutionary forces in the cause of national and democratic liberation. These are, of course, alliances linked to this particular stage, since not all Front forces have socialism in their sights.
 - In this broad, united front, the struggle for liberation requires the communist organization to lead the fight for its direction.
 - Communists, whether minority or majority in this alliance, must fight absolutely for their political independence, with socialist revolution as their strategic objective.
6. This is not the first time that class alliances have been formed in the face of national oppression: the Chinese CP (Mao Zedong) with the Kouo-Min-Tang and certain feudalists against the Japanese invasion; the French resistance with a fraction of the colonial bourgeoisie and with certain royalists... Liberation fronts also take advantage of contradictions in the enemy camp. Thus the USA helped the Kurdish resistance against Daesh. Fascists cannot be part of a liberation alliance, let alone lead one.

7. In occupied Palestine, there are also different social classes with different strategic objectives, but all of which can be brought together in the alliance for liberation and resistance to the Zionist state; this applies to the bourgeoisie, as well as to the Palestinian petty bourgeois and proletariat.

Hamas, as a political party, was elected by a majority in 2007, and has taken over the administration of Gaza and other parts of the West Bank. It is currently the dominant force in the Resistance in the face of the betrayal of the PLO leadership and the bankruptcy of revisionism. In the UPML we believe that Hamas's obscurantist strategic and religious perspective, its political Islam with the prospect of a Caliphate (anti-Semitic, fundamentalist and reactionary), must be fought at all times by secular forces.

We are not unified on the dual character of Hamas. For some comrades, Hamas represents above all the anti-Zionist bourgeoisie backed by neo-imperialist powers in the region. The same comrades believe that Hamas today is not fascist, and is in fact one of the components and the leading force of national liberation, alongside secular, communist and democratic forces (as reflected in the Joint Declaration signed in Beirut). It would therefore be necessary to work tactically with Hamas while retaining its independence.

Other comrades, in the minority in the UPML, rule out cooperation with Hamas, which they see as fascist and representing the interests of neo-imperialist powers such as Qatar and Iran. This characterization does not join the common bourgeois vilification of liberation forces, but underlines its class character (see point 8), tactics and strategy. For us, tactics and strategy must always be dialectically linked, without confusing them. Part of the Palestinian population - the PFLP, for example - follows or cooperates with Hamas. But all historical or

current experiences with so-called "liberation rebels" at the mercy of the imperialists have led liberation struggles to bloody impasses, whether in Iran, Afghanistan, the Congo or elsewhere. Let's keep a close eye on the new case of Syria!

8. The Middle East is the battleground of regional and global powers. Since its formation, Hamas, like today's PLO, has been supported by Israel, the USA, Qatar, Iran and Turkey to divide the Palestinian movement. Is it the armed wing of neo-imperialist forces like Iran at the head of the alliance in Palestine? The minority in the UPML thinks so. With the changes on the world imperialist chessboard today, many progressive forces, unfortunately, see a way out of imperialist strangulation by taking refuge in new forces that are no less imperialist in character.

This is not to be confused with imperialist attempts to infiltrate the struggles of dominated peoples in order to manipulate them in their own interests. In France, the US "ally" tried to penetrate the Algerian independence movement... The USA did the same with the anti-fascist Resistance.

At UPML we all agree that the solution is not to ally ourselves with any imperialist.

9. In these resistance fronts, two deviations are possible: sectarian, "leftist" rejection of these alliances. Trotsky's transition program theorizes this and denies the necessary stages. But without stages, the Resistance cannot fully develop. At the stage of the national liberation struggle, communists must build the CP, link up with the most conscious progressives; and while participating in the broad liberation alliance, aim for the struggle for the next stage, socialist revolution.

The other deviation is the right-wing opportunism that panders to the bourgeoisie, which has dominated almost all anti-colonial movements and led to the failure of anti-imperialist struggles. Unity of resistance is not

possible without struggle, as Mao developed. In Palestine, the religious fundamentalism of Hamas and other groups must be fought within the anti-imperialist resistance movement. It is essential for the communist movement to participate in the liberation struggle, but to remain politically independent, winning the leadership of the liberation alliance for a multicultural, secular Palestinian state, and then moving on to the second stage of the struggle for socialism.

10. As far as the October 7 action is concerned, we suffered from bourgeois media crushing. It was only as time went on that we obtained further information from Palestinian resistance organizations. Given Zionist oppression on a daily basis for 75 years, its barbaric crimes even today in Gaza, the West Bank and Lebanon, and its policy of a “final solution” for the Palestinian people, the policies of the Zionist and fascist state are 99% responsible for the situation. The armed struggle against the terrorist state and Zionist militias is right. However, it is criminal and fascist to deliberately target unarmed populations.

11. Self-criticism: the main aspect of our unanimous positions at UPML has always been support for the Palestinian resistance in its struggle for liberation. Secondly, due to a lack of global vision of the situation, in-depth reflection and practical spontaneity, we have been misled by the dominant media. This led the organization to draw up a declaration after October 7, 2023, condemning mainly Israeli Zionism, but also the armed action of October 7 carried out by 14 organizations. This statement was precipitated and pacifist by our idealism, whereas in our draft program we speak out in favor of the necessary armed struggle in the revolutionary struggle. We must express our support for armed resistance in liberation struggles such as the one in Palestine. We have been pacifists insofar as bourgeois propaganda

has also influenced our judgment by highlighting the violence of Israeli civilian deaths.

12. Conclusion: We must overcome the weakness of the international communist movement in the current struggle for independence and socialism. In Palestine, we must build an alliance of Arab Palestinians, foreign workers in Palestine and Israelis opposed to apartheid and colonization, with the aim of building an independent, secular and internationalist Palestine.

With the ICOR, we declare: *“Proletarian internationalism demands that the working class and anti-imperialist forces of the whole world unite in the struggle for liberation and socialism. We support in principle the Palestinian resistance, which has the right to use the various means for its liberation struggle, including armed struggle.”* (Declaration of January 1, 2024) In particular, we support the progressive forces who, for example, take part in the United Front's “Gaza must live” collection. This humanitarian aid also serves to strengthen progressive forces in Palestine.

Immediate halt to genocide, colonization and armed intervention by Israel in West Asia!

Solidarity with the liberation struggle of the Palestinian people! Release of Palestinian political prisoners and right of return!

Cancellation of political and economic cooperation treaties between the European Union and Israel! Critical support for the BDS (boycott, divestment, sanctions) campaign!

Down with imperialist repression of solidarity with Palestinian resistance!

Long live proletarian internationalism in the struggle for democracy, freedom and revolutionary socialism!

The Struggle Against Zionism Is the Struggle for a Free Middle East

MLKP Marxist Leninist Communist Party Turkey/Kurdistan

At the end of the last century, the process of imperialist globalization accelerated, particularly after the final collapse of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact. Bourgeois ideologues proclaimed the "end of history," while the imperialist world order reasserted itself in a triumphal march under the hegemony of the United States.

In this new historical period, inaugurated in the Middle East with the 1991 Iraq War and deepened through the wars in Afghanistan, the second Iraq War, and the invasions and civil wars in Libya and Syria, the U.S. went to establish dominance over parts of the region and wage war across others.

Key pillars of Western imperialist intervention and control in the region have been the two colonial states of Turkey and Israel. Despite occasional contradictions and conflicting interests, these two occupying states function as counterrevolutionary centers within the region. The Turkish NATO state wages war against the Kurdish nation and its just demands, which, alongside the Palestinian cause, represents one of the main unresolved national questions of our time. For decades, Israel, driven by its racist, Zionist, and colonialist ideology, has continued its campaign of terror against the Palestinian people, aiming to expand its occupation, make life unbearable for Palestinians, forcibly displace them, arbitrarily arrest thousands, subject them to torture in prisons, and turn Gaza into a cemetery for children

After securing the backing of the majority of reactionary Arab regimes, the goal became clear: to liquidate anti-imperialist and national liberation movements and to fully integrate the region into the imperialist world market under U.S. control. The United States, now engaged in a fierce battle to maintain its own hegemony

amid an intensifying imperialist rivalry, seeks to remove obstacles to this plan, such as the Mullah regime in Iran and the Ba'ath regime in Syria. This offensive of liquidation has targeted the Palestinian movement and the Palestinian people, who continue to resist historic injustice and represent a significant threat to the United States' primary pillar of control in the region: Israel.

The gradual but aggressive annexation of all of Palestine by the Zionist state accelerated with Trump's so-called "Deal of the Century," a plan unveiled in 2020. This plan legitimized Israel's annexation of the occupied West Bank, including the Jordan Valley and major settlement blocs, and recognized Jerusalem as Israel's undivided capital. It aimed to crush resistance and reshape the Middle East. Through the Abraham Accords and a normalization process with the Arab states, the noose tightened around the peoples of the region. Under Biden, this policy continued, with unconditional and limitless support for Israel's fascist government.

On October 7, 2023, this tightening encirclement was broken by Palestinian resistance forces. The mass self-sacrificial action of Palestinian patriots dealt a heavy political, moral, and ideological blow to the racist, genocidal, colonialist war machine and its armed and unarmed fascist high bureaucracy. Their action triggered global polarization. The voice of the Palestinian people, long silenced, resounded across the world. October 7 marked the beginning of a new phase in the struggle, not only for Palestinian liberation but for the entire region and progressive humanity worldwide.

Zionism responded to this blow, whose political and moral significance far outweighed its military scale, with genocidal aggression and unleashed demagoguery, backed by Western

imperialist powers and tolerated by all imperialist forces. Reactionary Arab regimes displayed silent complicity, covert collaboration, or hypocritical rhetoric. The Palestinian liberation struggle poses an existential threat to their rule. They sought to prevent the solidarity movement in their own countries from turning into a broader uprising.

Worldwide, support and solidarity with the Palestinian cause met with fierce repression. Standing in solidarity with the Palestinian liberation movement requires sacrifice. Through a psychological warfare campaign, any anti-Zionist critique is slandered as antisemitism, leading to the loss of jobs, university placements, degrees, residence permits, and even freedom. Repression, particularly in the United States, Germany, and many other states, even against Jewish democrats and anti-Zionists, has underscored the international scope of the Palestinian cause and highlighted that it is fundamentally a question of democracy and political freedom within these countries themselves. The immense ideological campaign and pressure have influenced even parts of the progressive and democratic movement, who, due to ideological disagreements with religious forces of the Palestinian resistance, have abandoned unconditional support for the Palestinian people's just, moral, and legitimate struggle.

However, from the brutal Russian Tsardom to Hitler's racist, fascist, and genocidal regime, those who carried out massacres and genocides against Jews across the world in the 20th century are of the same breed as today's State of Israel and those who govern it: Netanyahu, Gallant, Halevi. They are enemies of humanity, sharing the same mentality and ideology. With its grave crimes against humanity committed against the Muslim and Christian Palestinian Arab people for decades and its support of fascist regimes that are enemies of the peoples of the world, the war machine under the rule of

fascist, racist, colonialist Zionists, stands as a disgrace to Jews worldwide.

That is why this war, which is shaking the world, demands a clear stance: in support of an oppressed nation being punished with genocide for demanding its freedom and dignity. This clear stance on the side of a just struggle is a necessity for anyone who calls themselves democratic or revolutionary.

While the Palestinian resistance has received multifaceted international solidarity since October 7, it has also gained critical military support from Lebanon and Yemen. Despite being the poorest Arab country and weary from years of civil war and political instability with Saudi-led military intervention aimed at countering the Ansarullah movement, Yemen under the leadership of the Houthis has taken a firm stance against Israeli aggression, targeting Israeli-linked ships in the Red Sea. The large-scale popular resistance in Lebanon against Israeli occupation, which seeks to expand throughout the region, and massive demonstrations, such as those in honor of Hezbollah leader Hassan Nasrallah, involving all parts of Lebanese society, demonstrate the enduring resilience of the peoples, despite the occupiers' military superiority. This resistance power is the revolutionary defense force of our time.

The intervention of the oppressed Palestinian nation on October 7, 2023, has reshaped the region. A new order is emerging in this crisis-ridden region, one that is far from complete and brings risks, dangers, but also opportunities for all sides. As a result of shifting power balances, the despotic Ba'ath regime in Syria was overthrown and replaced by another people's enemy force: HTS. HTS is a phenomenon of our era, emerging from the deepening crisis of the capitalist-imperialist order. As a fascist, political Islamist militia, HTS represents a reactionary force that reflects tendencies of mafioso,

sectarian, and theocratic structures rising amid imperialist globalization. Political and military forces such as HTS gain recognition and power as long as they serve imperial and Zionist interests. They were directly educated by CIA and MI6. HTS is hostile to democratic and revolutionary forces like the Democratic Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria and all the forces of a free, egalitarian Syria and Rojava. It also plays a counterrevolutionary role in the region by fighting Palestinian resistance forces and Hezbollah, aligning with imperialist and reactionary agendas aimed at weakening anti-Zionist and anti-imperialist fronts in the Middle East. With the end of the Ba'ath regime, Israel is using the new situation to raise instability and to expand its occupation into Syria, demagogically invoking the security of different peoples in Syria.

In Palestine, the war is being escalated by the Zionist colonial regime, which denies the Palestinian people the right to exist. Meanwhile, Trump has revived his plans for the forced relocation of Gazans, and reactionary Arab regimes have proposed visions for Gaza's future. But without the consent and self-determination of the Palestinian people, these plans only add fuel to the fire.

At a time when imperialist powers and fascist or reactionary states are uniting against the peoples of the region and attempting to crush their just and sacrificial resistance, the answer lies in the united struggle of the region's peoples and their revolutionary vanguards. It is essential not only to strengthen solidarity and combat mistrust and chauvinism between peoples, but also to deepen

learning, exchange, and the development of historical achievements. Therefore, Palestinian resistance trenches are the resistance trenches and attack positions of all peoples of West Asia and North Africa. The united resistance of the peoples of the Middle East can stop the imperialist-Zionist genocidal course. To this end, it has become an urgent task to establish a united front of all revolutionary, anti-colonial, anti-fascist, anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist, and anti-U.S. political parties and organizations in the region.

Workers and the oppressed from all continents need to take to the streets and spread the struggle worldwide: for an unconditional halt to Israel's fascist, colonial, genocidal attacks; for the Palestinian Arab nation's right to self-determination; for the immediate release of all political prisoners in Israeli jails; and for the unconditional implementation of the right of return for the millions of Palestinians in exile.

The Muslim, Christian, Jewish, and Yazidi workers, women, and youth of the thousand-flowered garden of the Middle East need to fight together for the liberation of Palestine, for a Free Middle East, and a Democratic Federation of the Middle East against the alliances and forces that are enemies of the peoples of the Middle East, centered on Israel and the United States. Given the unresolved national issues and sectarian contradictions, a revolutionary-democratic federation in the Middle East, with the aim of socialism, is the right direction. The conditions for regional revolutions, heralded by the Arab uprisings of 2011, have matured like never before. The freedom of Palestine is one of the first tasks of this revolutionary goal.

Long live the just struggle of the Palestinian people! Down with Zionism and anti-Semitism! Down with imperialism! Long live proletarian internationalism!

BP NK-T Bolshevik Party North Kurdistan – Turkey

The negotiated ceasefire agreement between Israel and Hamas is in danger! Israel has stopped the delivery of aid to the Gaza Strip. Even during the ceasefire and hostage exchange, Israel continued its genocidal war in Lebanon and the West Bank. It is still unclear whether or not the negotiated ceasefire can lead to a so-called “second phase” and a final end to the war.

Trump is once again on the agenda with his ruthless fascist rhetoric. Immediately after taking office, he received Netanyahu in the White House and spoke in a vile manner of a “cleansing”, of expelling the Palestinians from Gaza and relocating them to neighboring countries, especially Egypt and Jordan. A promotional video went around the world depicting the outright occupation of the Gaza Strip and its “transformation” into a Trump-Netanyahu-Musk luxury tourism paradise by artificial intelligence! An outrageous abomination!

For 16 months now, the Zionist state of Israel has been waging a war of genocide. More than 50,000 Palestinians have been killed in this war. The vast majority of those killed in this brutal war of extermination and expulsion are women and men.

The vast majority of those killed in this brutal war of extermination and displacement are women and children. In Gaza, where not one stone is left standing on another, not even the bodies buried under the rubble have been recovered! But Trump is promoting his dream of Gaza as the “Riviera of the Middle East” (!) Nothing other than an outrageous contempt and insult to the suffering Palestinian people!

But he who sows the whirlwind will reap the whirlwind! The barbaric dreams are doomed! The Palestinian people are resisting! The Zionist state of Israel will not succeed in expelling millions of Palestinians from their homeland.

This genocidal war must be stopped immediately! Zionist Israel must withdraw from all Palestinian territories it occupied after 1948.

Long live the just struggle of the Palestinian people! Down with Zionism and anti-Semitism! Down with imperialism! Long live proletarian internationalism!

10 March 2025

Our critique of the “ICOR Resolution on the ceasefire agreement in Gaza”

The “ICOR Resolution on the ceasefire agreement in Gaza” is a resolution with which we predominantly agree. Nevertheless, we have not signed this resolution. We would like to explain our position. The resolution begins with the following sentence:

“With the mediation of Qatar, Egypt and the USA, a ceasefire agreement was reached between Hamas and the Zionist

“A ceasefire agreement between Hamas and the Zionist Israeli entity was concluded with the mediation of Qatar, Egypt and the USA.”

The draft said “Zionist Israeli entity”. We took offense at this description and demanded that it be replaced by “Zionist State of Israel”. At the same time, we wanted “the right to a Palestinian state” to be included. Neither point was included in the final resolution. This issue is so important to us in principle that we preferred not to sign. We would like to briefly explain our ideological and political position on this issue.

Regardless of how it came about and how one may feel about this development, the fact is that there is a state of Israel! And like all bourgeois nation states, Israel has the right to exist - until it is overthrown by a revolution led by the proletariat. [Ultimately, the vast majority of bourgeois states in existence today are “artificial entities” and unjust states, all of which have a bloody present and past, especially in terms of ethnic-national oppression].

We defend the “right of the Palestinian people to their own state!” This is nothing other than the defense of the right to self-determination in its ultimate consequence! (Lenin) Defending the right does not mean paternalism, nor does it

mean providing a concrete plan on how to exercise this right.

(Lenin) Defending the right does not mean paternalism, nor does it mean providing a concrete plan on how to handle this right. The Palestinian people will decide for themselves.

After the First World War, Palestine was liberated from Ottoman rule and became a British mandate territory. British imperialism began to support the Zionist settlement project in a limited and controlled way in order to exploit the conflicts between the Arabs and the Jewish settlers for its own supremacy. The Jewish settlement project was developed from the beginning to the detriment of the indigenous poor Arabs. The Jewish settlement met with a reaction from the Palestinian Arab masses, and the Arab reactionaries generally tried to direct this justified reaction against everything and everyone Jewish.

Until the beginning of the Second World War, there was significant Jewish immigration and settlement in Palestine. This migration increased rapidly, especially after the Nazis came to power in Germany.

When the Second World War ended, Jews and Arabs had to live side by side in Palestine. The Jewish population made up almost a third of the total population of Palestine. And this Jewish population created its own institutions in Palestine. When the Palestinian question came on the agenda of the United Nations, the socialist Soviet Union advocated the establishment of an independent, united Palestinian state.

When the Palestinian question came onto the agenda of the United Nations, the socialist Soviet Union advocated the establishment of an independent, united and democratic joint Arab-Jewish state in Palestine; or, should this not succeed, the establishment of two separate states in Palestine, an Arab and a Jewish state.

The Soviet Union's stance was and is correct.

As a nation living in Palestine after the Second World War, the Jewish nation had the right to establish its own state there; like all bourgeois nation states, Israel has the right to exist - until it

is overthrown by a revolution led by the proletariat.

Shortly after its founding, the state of Israel established itself alongside the Western imperialist camp and as its outpost in the Middle East. Today it is the outpost of the imperialist powers of the West in the Middle East.

Since its foundation, the Zionist state of Israel has pursued a colonialist, imperialist and barbaric policy towards the Palestinians. In the wars of 1948, 1967 and 1973, it occupied all the territories intended for the state of Palestine. Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip were forced to live in a walled open-air prison. Since October 2023, the Zionist state of Israel has been waging a brutal war of genocide in the Gaza Strip and it has been extended to the West Bank and Lebanon.

The war that Hezbollah in Lebanon and Hamas in Palestine are waging against the Zionist occupation is justified. While we acknowledge the legitimate side of the war against the occupation, we would also like to emphasize that these organizations are not in fact anti-imperialist and or even revolutionary organizations. Hamas, Hezbollah and Islamic Jihad are Islamist, fascist, anti-Semitic organizations. Our support is not for these organizations, but for the struggle of the Palestinian and Lebanese people against the Zionist occupation and the communist revolutionary forces within the resistance, if there are any.

A real solution to the "Palestinian problem" will only be possible under conditions in which Zionism and anti-Semitism are eliminated and all nations in Palestine live side by side with equal rights. The path to this leads through the overthrow of both the Zionist government in Israel and the reactionary Arab regimes through revolutions under the leadership of the proletariat.

The "two-state solution", which has been talked about in the imperialist world for decades and which envisages the establishment of a Palestinian-Arab state in Palestine, is not the real solution.

But if it helps, even if only for a short time, to stop the aggression and territorial expansion of Zionist Israel and pave the way for it, then it is not a real solution.

But if it helps, even if only for a short time, to stop the aggression and territorial expansion of Zionist Israel and pave the way for the

irreconcilable opposition between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat within the Palestinian Arab nation to become clearly recognizable, then this will be a step forward in creating the conditions for a real solution.

10 March 2025

Continuing the Struggle for a Free Palestine

By Alejandro Tapia

PCC-M Communist Party of Colombia-Maoist

1 - At the Arab League Summit on Gaza, a plan was approved based on Egypt's proposal, a reconstruction project that would cost between 30 and 50 billion dollars under the control of Muslim, Arab, and Western countries, with the Palestinian Authority's administration alongside a team of "technocrats" who would divide Gaza into seven "security" zones during the reconstruction. The population of Palestine would not leave Gaza, as the imperialists and the fascists of Israel want. This project has a controversial point that will not be easily resolved. Egypt says that there will be no investment for reconstruction if Hamas continues to be the dominant political and military actor in the area. Not even the Arab League has the authority to define who is or is not part of the Palestinian Resistance. The Arab League moves to propose this project knowing that the Europeans have their interests, the Russians and the US imperialists have their own, as do the Chinese. Therefore, this is not an isolated plan but part of the dispute for control of the Middle and Near East, where Gaza and Palestine as a whole are and must be an essential actor in determining their own destiny.

2 - The breaking of the ceasefire by the fascist-Zionist government of Netanyahu and his criminal clique through bombings of Gaza had already sabotaged the entry of humanitarian aid, the transfer of the wounded to Egypt, and the discussion about the future of the released Palestinians. As everyone knows, this is part of their policy of destroying the Palestinian people and their vile continuation of the genocide in Gaza and its expansion into the West Bank. Likewise, the US attacks on the Ansarollah guerrillas of Yemen (known as Houthis), consistent supporters of the Palestinian Resistance and therefore enemies of Israel's

fascist Zionism, are part of the imperialist plan to divide up the Middle and Near East as part of a broader global plan.

3 - Netanyahu and his fascist clique believe that after weakening Syria, Hezbollah in Lebanon, and the Palestinian Resistance, especially Hamas, only Ansarollah in Yemen would remain among the pro-Iranian forces and therefore they should prepare for war with Iran. This is the opposite line from that of Trump, who is seeking to end the war in Ukraine and negotiate with Iran. That is why the globalist warmongering faction in the United States and Europe needs to pressure Trump toward a war with Iran. Iran says it will only negotiate or discuss matters related to the nuclear issue and the lifting of sanctions. According to the BBC and a former JCPOA negotiator, Iran's missile program or regional influence would not be included in the negotiations. China is very interested in these negotiations.

4 - Russia Today reports that negotiations between Russia and the United States on a ceasefire and peace will begin immediately in the Middle East. A maritime ceasefire in the Black Sea and presumably in the Red Sea, in other words, a negotiation between Putin and Trump from Gaza to Iran. According to Global Times, the outlet of the Communist Party of China, details will be discussed for a substantial outcome and Putin requested the suspension of all arms deliveries to Ukraine "for the duration of Trump's ceasefire" and this position runs contrary to all European militarism.

5 - The United States is considering withdrawing from the Near and Middle East region and leaving the field open to Turkey and Israel, the only allies that Trump would maintain in the region. But Erdogan has his own

expansionist plan and the negotiations with the Syrian Kurds, especially with the PKK regarding the establishment of an autonomous region for them, are part of these regional maneuvers. For this reason, imperialist factions need to remove him from power. In other words, the Europeans, namely Great Britain and France, are moving their pieces to occupy the position that the United States would vacate in the region.

6 - All of this indicates that the Palestinian Resistance as a whole remains alert and in combat, and international solidarity with the Palestinian cause must be consistent in its support, including denouncing the detention and deportation of pro-Palestinian university leaders in the United States, the attacks on the BDS movement and other collectives supporting Palestine, and denouncing the genocide in Gaza.

7 - These discussions about support for the Palestinian Resistance, the Palestinian people, and their future are closely linked to global

conditions of transition toward a new multipolar world order, of struggle and collusion among Russia, China, and the United States, where Europe is not playing a leading role. This would imply a shift in the balance of political, financial, and military power relations for the first time in at least 80 years if we take the agreements of the world order established after the Second World War as a reference, and therefore, an encouragement of militarism and fascism as a way not to be excluded from the design of a new world order. In our view, this global condition is shaping the various moves of the imperialists and the issue in Palestine must be understood from the perspective of these imperialist policies and intentions. Therefore, the position of the Palestinian Resistance and of the revolutionary forces and peoples who support it is to maintain our stance for a Palestine free of imperialist interference and for a future that they themselves build and define.

21 March 2025

Hamas-Israel War and the Genocide in the Gaza Strip

*By Pari Thapa, General Secretary
RUFN Revolutionary United Front of Nepal*

Historical Background

The historical background of the conflict in the Palestinian territories is very long, and at its center is the famous historical and religiously important city of Jerusalem. That conflict began as a Crusade in 1095 and continued for about 150 years up until 1249. During that time, Christians from Europe (especially Western Europe) repeatedly attacked and occupied Jerusalem. The main reason for that conflict was the occupation of the city of Jerusalem, which is considered a holy place by the three different offshoots of the Abrahamic religions: Christianity, Islam, and Judaism. Among these three religions, Christianity and Judaism have a close relationship, as their Old Testament is almost identical. Therefore, the Crusades were essentially a war between two sides, Christianity and Islam. Currently, the eastern part of Jerusalem is predominantly Muslim or Palestinian, and the western part is principally Israeli and Jewish, and both sides claim it as their capital. US President Donald Trump controversially declared Jerusalem the capital of Israel during his previous term, and a large majority of the UN member states voted against it (128 to 9).

The establishment of the State of Israel

The Nazi regime, led by German dictator Adolf Hitler (1889-1945), had already begun a campaign to expel Jews as anti-social elements since 1933, before the start of World War II. However, the mass deportation of Jews and the massacre (Holocaust) reached their peak during the years 1941-1945, a few years after the start of World War II. Britain, on the other hand, had begun preliminary work since 1917 by promising to facilitate the establishment of a "national home" for Jews within the borders of

Palestine. As the process of establishing a separate state for Jews progressed, Israel (formally known as the State of Israel) was finally established on May 14, 1948. And a year after the establishment of the State of Israel, it was recognized as a member of the United Nations on May 11, 1949. After the establishment of Israel, Jews living in the diaspora in various countries around the world came to Israel and settled there. The father of the current Israeli Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, came to Israel from Poland.

Western countries, especially the United States, played a significant role in the establishment of Israel. After the end of World War II, the power and influence of Western European countries such as the United Kingdom, France, and Spain, which had previously been established as major colonial powers, weakened. The United States and the Soviet Union, then the world's superpowers, emerged as such because they played a leading role in ending World War II by defeating the leading countries of the war, including Germany and Japan. Despite being allies in World War II, the United States and the Soviet Union began competing for world domination to establish new colonies. In such a situation, the United States wanted to fulfill its interests by keeping the petroleum-rich region of West Asia (Middle East) as its sphere of influence. For this purpose, the United States desperately needed a satellite state to play a supporting role, and this need could be fulfilled through Israel.

Involvement of the United States

Israel has received extensive military and diplomatic support from the United States. Similarly, the United States has repeatedly vetoed resolutions presented at the United

Nations regarding the Hamas-Israel ceasefire. The United States has provided Israel with extensive military, economic, and diplomatic support, as well as directly intervening in the war. In the process, 100 American soldiers were deployed to operate the Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) system, a high-tech air defense system. In addition, American pilots flew drones over Gaza to provide Israel with information. This work was done to find the whereabouts of Palestinian militant leaders and hostages in Gaza. Israeli government spokesman David Menashe said that Israel's March 18, 2025, attack on Gaza was "fully coordinated with Washington" and thanked the Trump administration for "their strong support for Israel."

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was a military alliance formed primarily to serve the security interests of the United States and Western European countries in the North Atlantic region. Although Israel is not officially a member of the military alliance, most of its members, especially the United States, have maintained close relations as very crucial allies and friends. In other words, it is no exaggeration to say that Israel is a shadow or extension of American imperialism. The current US President, Donald Trump, himself is warning the Western European countries that are members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) that the US cannot afford to pay for their security. However, in the case of Israel, he has left no stone unturned and no grass unturned in providing full economic and military support. US President Donald Trump has not only said that Gaza residents should be displaced and resettled in neighboring Arab countries, but that the US should also take over Gaza. In this way, to the extent that the US has supported Israel, this war should be called the joint war of the US and Israel.

The Role of Iran

In the context of the conflict between Palestine and Israel, Iran's role cannot be ignored. Iran craves to establish itself as the first major regional power and has been formulating a strategy accordingly. The US has succeeded in ending the hostile relations between Israel and other Arab countries, including Saudi Arabia, and establishing friendship between them. However, Iran and Israel consider each other enemies; the main reason for this is that Iran does not recognize Israel as a country or nation. Iran's declared policy is to end the existence of Israel and establish an independent Palestinian state.

Since Iran and Israel do not share a border, they are not close neighbors, so there is no direct war between them. Iran does not want to get involved in a direct war because, in that case, the US would come forward with all its might to protect Israel. Therefore, Iran wants to wage a proxy war against Israel through its allied organizations. For that, Iran has been supporting militant groups such as Hezbollah in Lebanon, Houthis in Yemen, and Hamas in Palestine, and engaging them in the war against Israel. Before the overthrow of Syrian dictator Assad and his flight to Russia, Iran's role was also in favor. Thus, the war between Palestine and Israel is a war, however, fought between the world imperialist power, America, and the regional power, Iran.

The suffering of the Palestinian people

The greatest suffering and pain of the Palestinian people is their inability to achieve the recognition of a sovereign, independent Palestinian nation/state with geographical integrity in their homeland. According to the agreement signed between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in Oslo, Norway, on September 13, 1993, the Palestinian National Authority was established on May 13, 1994, with partial non-military

(civilian) powers delegated from the Israeli administration. On November 19, 2012, the United Nations granted the Palestinian National Authority the status of a non-member observer state. Although the majority of the members of the United Nations have voted in favor of granting full membership to the State of Palestine, this has not been possible due to the US's veto.

The current situation of Palestine is one nation-state in two territories, with the State of Israel, which contains an area of 21,937 square kilometers, sandwiched between the two territories. To the east is the West Bank, which covers an area of about 5,640 square kilometers and has a population of 2,747,943, and to the west is the Gaza Strip, which covers an area of 365 square kilometers and has a population of 2,351,000, on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean Sea. Initially, the Gaza Strip was also controlled by the Palestinian National Authority (State of Palestine), but after the elections held in 2006, it has been under the control of Hamas. However, both Palestinian territories remain under Israeli control.

Contradictions between the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and Hamas

The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) was founded on May 28, 1964, and its main component is Fateh, and nine other groups are included. Hamas (Islamic Resistance Movement) was founded on December 10, 1987, after splitting from the Muslim Brotherhood. It is reported that it also has a militant force of 20 to 25 thousand fighters. The basic conflict between these two organizations is that the PLO recognizes the existence of the State of Israel and is in favor of maintaining peaceful relations with Israel.

Similarly, it wants to establish an independent and sovereign Palestinian state through the process of a two-state solution. In addition, the PLO refuses to be a proxy corps of Iran. In

contrast, Hamas rejects the existence of Israel and acts as an ally of Iran. In terms of formal international recognition, the PLO is more established than Hamas. Since 2007, the bitterness between these two parties began, and due to the intolerance and hostility between them, one cannot exist in the area of influence of the other. As a result, they are unable even to work together and cooperate in the struggle against Israel. The existence of a serious disharmony between them is an advantage for Israel.

The war between Hamas and Israel

The Israeli counterattack began after Hamas launched a surprise attack on Israel on October 7, 2023. This is the 15th war in a series of wars between Gaza and Israel. The attack, which was carried out to pressurise Israel to release Palestinian prisoners held by Israel, killed 1,195 people, including 815 civilians, Israelis, and foreigners, and took 251 hostages. After Israel eliminated Hamas fighters who had entered its territory, it launched a heavy bombardment on Gaza on October 27, 2023, intending to exterminate Hamas and free Israeli and foreign hostages. Since Israel began the counterattack, it has been reported that more than 50,000 Palestinians in Gaza have been killed. Half of them are women and children, and 110,000 Palestinians have been injured and disabled. Israel has previously assassinated senior figures in Hamas and the Lebanese Hezbollah organization inside and outside Gaza.

By early 2025, most of Gaza's agricultural land, religious and cultural sites, educational and health institutions, and cemeteries had been destroyed and rendered uninhabitable by the Israeli offensive. Some 230,000 Palestinians in Gaza had been forcibly displaced, while 100,000 Israelis had been internally displaced. Torture and sexual violence have been committed by the Israeli military and Hamas militant groups. Experts and human rights groups have said that

both Israel and Hamas have committed war crimes, and that Israel has committed genocide in Gaza. The genocide committed by the state of Israel was assessed by the International Court of Justice. The International Criminal Court has issued arrest warrants for Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, Israeli diplomat and former military officer Yoav Galant, and the head of the Palestinian militant group Izz al-Din al-Qassam, Mohammed Deif. The arrest warrant was withdrawn after Mohammed Deif was killed. The first ceasefire between Hamas and Israel was reached on November 24, 2023, and the second on January 18, 2025, through the facilitation and mediation of the Arab state of Qatar. However, neither of these ceasefires has been implemented in good faith, and the war continues to this day, causing loss of life and property. Due to the support and involvement of other world powers and regional powers, the war has also affected more countries in the region.

Israel is primarily responsible for the physical destruction and genocide in Gaza. However, Hamas's tactics are also blamed for the civilian population, especially women and children, becoming victims of war in large numbers. The tactics Hamas has adopted in its war against Israel are known as the Victim Card Policy. According to this policy, they focus their attacks on residential areas, and Israel retaliates by targeting them. As a result, a large number of civilians, women, and children are unexpectedly killed. Hamas is said to be trying to discredit Israel and garner sympathy for its cause. Similarly, another strange aspect has also been seen, that is, even after the Israeli attack on Gaza, which has caused such destruction and genocide that it has almost turned into an open grave, none of the neighboring Arab countries

seems ready to accept the war-affected Palestinian citizens from the Gaza Strip there as refugees. In this case, it might be assumed that Hamas has adopted a policy of not allowing the war-affected people of Gaza to go to neighboring countries as refugees, and that the war-affected people themselves have a psychology that makes them not want to leave Gaza. But it is not possible to pronounce what the truth is about this. Despite the heinous attacks and oppression being carried out by Israel, the fighting spirit of the Palestinian people living in the Gaza Strip, who continue to fight to defend their land with indomitable courage, is commendable.

The ongoing two and a half year long war between Hamas and Israel and the destruction and genocide it has caused in the Gaza Strip must be seen and understood in the overall context of the above historical and political phenomena. The entire justice-loving masses of the people of the world must protest and condemn in the strongest possible terms the attack, atrocities, and genocide committed by Israel on the Palestinian territory of Gaza and its people at the national and international levels. We must not only stand in favor of ending the ongoing war in Gaza and establishing peace, but also firmly support the natural right of the entire Palestinian people to establish a sovereign and independent state with their national independence. Since the struggle waged by the Palestinian people as a whole is for the attainment of their legitimate rights, that struggle is just. Therefore, the victory of their just struggle is inevitable. It would be most desirable to express our best wishes to all the Palestinian people for their speedy success on the path to that just victory.

Palestine and Ukraine: A united front of oppressed peoples

By Maksim Lisutin

RMP Russian Maoist Party

At this critical moment in world history, when imperialist forces continue to strangle the aspirations of peoples to freedom, we turn our eyes to two heroic struggles: the Palestinian and the Ukrainian. These conflicts, despite their differences in geography and history, are united by a common essence - they are national liberation movements against imperialist aggression. Palestine is fighting against Israeli settler colonialism and Ukraine is fighting against Russian imperialism. We call for solidarity with both peoples, for supporting one struggle without the other would contradict our principles of unity of the oppressed against imperialism.

Imperialism, as a system of exploitation and subjugation, takes many forms, but its goal is the same: the suppression of the sovereignty and freedom of peoples for profit and power. In Palestine, Israel, backed by the Western imperialist Powers, embodies this system through the occupation, the blockade of the Gaza Strip and the systematic dispossession of Palestinians of their land and rights. Since 1948, the Palestinian people have waged a relentless struggle against colonial oppression, defending their right to existence and self-determination.

In Ukraine, we see a similar picture. Since 2014, and especially since 2022, Russia, driven by imperialist ambitions, has sought to subjugate the Ukrainian people, denying their right to independence. Russian aggression, expressed in the occupation of territories and the destruction of cities, is a manifestation of imperialism seeking to regain control over the former Soviet republics. Both conflicts are the struggle of oppressed nations against an external aggressor, and we cannot turn a blind eye to this parallel.

National liberation is not just a political slogan but a vital necessity for peoples whose destiny is being trampled upon by imperialist forces. In Palestine, this struggle takes the form of resistance to occupation, blockade and apartheid. Palestinians - workers, peasants, youth - are united in their quest for freedom, defending their land and dignity. Their struggle inspires revolutionaries around the world, showing that even under the most brutal oppression, people can rise up against the oppressor.

The Ukrainian people, in turn, are fighting against the Russian invasion, which threatens their sovereignty and their very existence as an independent nation. The workers and peasants of Ukraine, mobilized in defense of their homes and communities, show the same spirit of resistance as the Palestinians. Their struggle is not just a defense of territory, but an assertion of the right to self-determination, the right to be masters of their own destiny.

Both struggles, though different in their historical and cultural contexts, are united by the desire for national liberation. Palestine and Ukraine are two fronts of the same war against imperialism, and as revolutionaries we are obliged to recognize their equal importance.

National liberation movements are inseparable from class struggle. In Palestine, workers and peasants, deprived of land and livelihoods, form the core of the resistance. Their struggle is directed not only against the Israeli occupation, but also against the economic exploitation that sustains the colonial system. The blockade of Gaza, the destruction of agricultural land and the restriction of access to resources are tools of imperialism to subjugate the Palestinian proletariat.

In Ukraine, the working class and peasantry are also bearing the brunt of the war. The destruction of infrastructure, rising unemployment and economic hardship caused by Russian aggression fall on the shoulders of the workers. Their participation in the resistance, from armed struggle to rebuilding destroyed communities, reflects the class-based nature of national liberation. As in Palestine, the Ukrainian struggle goes beyond the national question to become part of a global confrontation of the oppressed against the exploiters.

We cannot choose which struggle to support on the basis of geopolitical preferences or momentary sympathies. Supporting the Palestinian people in their struggle against Israeli imperialism obliges us to support the Ukrainian people in their struggle against Russian imperialism. Both peoples are fighting for the same thing: the right to freedom, dignity and self-determination. To ignore one of these struggles is to undermine the unity of the world anti-imperialist movement.

We call on all revolutionary organizations to unite in solidarity with Palestine and Ukraine. Let the Palestinian resistance inspire us with its resilience and the Ukrainian struggle remind us

of the need to defend the sovereignty of oppressed nations. We must spread their stories, support their efforts and strengthen the international front against imperialism.

There is a dangerous tendency in the communist movement for one national liberation struggle - like the Palestinian one - to be supported with enthusiasm while another, like the Ukrainian one, is slandered or ignored. This division undermines our principles of internationalism and solidarity, weakening the global front against imperialism. It is our responsibility as communists to overcome this selectivity, recognizing that both the Palestinian and Ukrainian peoples are engaged in a just struggle for their liberation from Israeli and Russian oppression respectively. Our task is to ensure that the Palestinians and Ukrainians have enough weapons to defend their freedom and that the imperialist aggressors, Israel and Russia, are completely isolated internationally. Only through the equal support of all oppressed nations can we build a united anti-imperialist front capable of crushing the system of exploitation and oppression.

Glory to Palestine! Glory to the struggle of all oppressed peoples!

Against the State Terror of Imperialist Israel - Solidarity with the Palestinian Liberation Struggle!

Gaza will live!

UMLP Portuguese Marxist-Leninist Union

One year after the resumption of the genocide that has killed more than 50,000 innocent people, injured more than 100,000, displaced 1.5 million people, destroyed 2 million homes, left more than 1 million people in a “catastrophic famine” and almost wiped Gaza off the map, ICOR and the UMLP remain more committed than ever to Solidarity with the Palestinian People. After the ceasefire agreement, which we consider a victory for the Palestinian resistance and solidarity movement, the Palestinian People now face a new Nakba with Trump's proposal to ethnically “cleanse” Gaza and hand it over to the Zionists, effectively annexing it to the US.

We condemn Israel's policy of annexation and imperialist aggression, which have nothing to do with the right to defense or self-determination. The apartheid character practiced by Israel has led to a campaign of genocide against the Palestinian population. The former Israeli Minister of “Defense”, Gallant, and Finance Minister Smotrich declared right after October 7: *“We will kill all those who fight against us, using all means”* or *“There will be no electricity, no food, no fuel - everything is off. It's human animals we're fighting - and that's how we treat them.”* That's how they threatened and that's how they acted with war crimes and ethnic cleansing carried out day after day. The humanitarian catastrophe in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank is appalling.

Let's fight against the genocide and state terror of imperialist Israel!

We are for Israel's right to exist, but also for equality for the Palestinian people, which is why we absolutely reject Islamist-fascist organizations like “Islamic Jihad” or Hamas, which, by using the fascist ideology of anti-

Semitism, divide and distract workers from the struggle against the real enemy of the working class - imperialism.

Therefore, fundamentally opposed to the ideology of Hamas, which was “financed by Israel as a counterweight to the PLO and the communists”, we are on the side of the PFLP and the DFLP, which are fighting for the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, for their own independent and secular Palestinian state, with the strategic goal of a democratic and socialist Palestine in which all the people of our class, regardless of skin color or religion, live together on an equal footing. Forward with the International United Front!

ICOR is determined to rebuild the Al-Awda hospital in Gaza and is contributing to fundraising efforts and the formation of solidarity brigades to rebuild the hospital. **Long live Proletarian Internationalism!**

Withdraw all Israeli troops from the West Bank! Stop the bombardment of the Gaza Strip! Permanent ceasefire now!

Open the borders between Israel and Gaza for transfers of food and humanitarian aid! Re-open the electricity and gas supply to the Gaza Strip!

End Zionist aggression!

Down with imperialism, Zionism, Arab reaction and Islamic fascism!

For a democratic and just two-state solution, towards a free, secular and socialist Palestine and Israel!

Let's fight for peace and friendship between peoples - Let's fight for socialism!

End the Genocide Now in All of Palestine

By Jovino Núñez,

PC(ML) Communist Party (Marxist Leninist) Dominican Republic

Israel continues to mercilessly assault the Gaza Strip and the entire Palestinian people. The killings of children, the elderly, and civilians do not stop, claiming, from the beginning (October 2023) until the time of writing this article, more than 53,000 victims.

The obstruction of humanitarian aid is becoming increasingly severe. For over two months, no food, water, medicine, or electricity has reached those areas. The hundreds of thousands of Palestinians who have been forcibly displaced are confined to extremely small spaces, which causes an increase in diseases, especially respiratory and gastrointestinal. In general, more than two million people are starving.

The improvised prisons set up by the Israeli invaders in the occupied territories are nothing more than sinister centers of torture, comparable to the infamous Nazi concentration camps. Women, to cite just one example, after being subjected to psychological torture, are sexually assaulted, often in groups.

The few hospitals that remain and the doctors who have survived the constant bombings are not sufficient to meet the overwhelming demand of people seeking some kind of healthcare service.

All this occurs under the irresponsible and indifferent gaze of the UN Security Council and the International Court of Justice, who seem to be waiting for complete extermination before applying sanctions to the Zionist State of Israel.

The same attitude has been taken by those who, in other cases of lesser or no significance, act

unilaterally, considering themselves the world's guardians, the ones called to impose order—we refer, of course, to the United States, directly responsible for this cruel genocide, since Israel is nothing more than one of their satellites in the Middle East.

And let's not even mention the European Union and NATO, vents for global decay and likewise complicit in all the atrocities committed against humanity.

This old conflict, ongoing for more than 70 years but taking on new dimensions since October 2023, together with the Russia-Ukraine war and the ongoing violence in Africa, parts of Asia, and Latin America—plus the added fascist element with the reemergence of Donald Trump and his ambition to impose order in world markets and control new territories—undoubtedly increases the chances of a third world war.

All this compels the international communist movement and the anti-imperialist, anti-fascist, and anti-Zionist forces to unite efforts to prevent a global catastrophe that could threaten life on the planet.

We must become increasingly aware that only through the destruction of the capitalist system and the establishment of a new society will it be possible to end all danger of war. In the kingdom of the bourgeoisie, there is no room for peace.

Long live the self-determination of peoples!
Long live free Palestine!

Gaza: Genocide as Class Warfare

*By Amitava Chatterjee, Member of Politbureau
SUCI(C) Socialist Unity Centre of India*

The protracted suffering of the Palestinian people, particularly in Gaza, is not merely a consequence of regional disputes or ancient animosities. It is the direct result of a calculated orchestration by imperialist powers, capitalist profiteering from the war industry, and settler-colonial strategies aimed at spatial domination. This analysis, scrutinizes the profiteering of the war industry, examines settler-colonial spatial fixes, and explores the dialectics of labor exploitation intertwined with global imperialist complicity.

Imperialism and the Creation of Israel: A Marxist Perspective

The establishment of Israel in 1948 was not an isolated event but a manifestation of imperialist ambitions in the Middle East. Post-World War II, the Soviet Union, under Great Stalin, faced a strategic choice in the Middle East. Initially advocating for a bi-national solution, the USSR eventually supported the partition of Palestine, voting in favor of UN Resolution 181, which called for the creation of both Jewish and Arab states. This decision was influenced by geopolitical considerations, aiming to disrupt British imperial dominance in the region and potentially foster a socialist ally. However, this move inadvertently facilitated the establishment of a settler-colonial state, aligning with capitalist interests that sought to exploit the region's resources and strategic position.

War Industry Profits and Settler-Colonial Spatial Fixes

The military-industrial complex has been a significant beneficiary of the ongoing conflict in Palestine. The perpetual state of war ensures continuous demand for arms and military technology, leading to exorbitant profits for defence contractors and capitalist stakeholders.

This phenomenon aligns with Lenin's analysis in "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism," where he posits that the export of capital and the ensuing conflicts are intrinsic to capitalist expansion. In the context of Palestine, the war industry thrives on the sustained oppression and subjugation of the Palestinian people.

Settler-colonialism in Palestine operates as a spatial fix for capitalist crises. The expropriation of Palestinian land and resources serves to absorb surplus capital and alleviate overaccumulation problems inherent in capitalism. This strategy not only dispossesses the indigenous population but also creates new markets and investment opportunities for capitalist enterprises. The continuous expansion of settlements and the accompanying infrastructure projects are emblematic of this spatial fix, embedding capitalist interests deeply within the colonial project.

Dialectics of Labor Exploitation and Global Imperialist Complicity

The exploitation of Palestinian labor is a critical component of the capitalist framework sustaining the occupation. The Israeli economy's reliance on cheap Palestinian labor, coupled with restrictive policies that limit Palestinian economic independence, creates a labor market characterized by super-exploitation. This dynamic mirrors the broader patterns of labor exploitation under imperialism, where the periphery is subjected to oppressive labor conditions to benefit the capitalist core.

Global imperialist powers are complicit in this exploitation. The United States, for instance, has provided unwavering political, military, and economic support to Israel, effectively endorsing its colonial and oppressive policies. This support is not altruistic but driven by

strategic interests in the region, including control over vital resources and geopolitical dominance. Such complicity underscores the interconnectedness of global imperialism and the capitalist exploitation of oppressed nations.

The Role of the USSR and the Impact on Arab Communist Parties

The Soviet Union's support for the creation of Israel had profound repercussions for Arab communist movements. Arab communist parties, which had opposed partition and advocated for a single democratic state, found themselves in a precarious position. The USSR's stance led to internal crises, loss of membership, and severe repression by Arab regimes. This development along with the compromising non revolutionary role of the post Stalin Soviet revisionist leadership weakened the potential for a class-based, anti-imperialist movement in the Arab world, inadvertently strengthening reactionary and sectarian forces.

Role of Hamas

Hamas carries huge popular support in Gaza. Its methods may be terroristic but it does not attack any other country or people so by definition it cannot be termed as a terrorist organisation. Hamas is guided by religious fundamentalist ideology no doubt but fights for the legitimate demand of free Palestine. Hamas is of course part of the Palestinian resistance. Yes, the religious ideology cannot provide the correct secular democratic future for the Palestine people. It is the responsibility of the secular democratic forces in the resistance to conduct simultaneous ideological struggle against

fundamentalism to prevent the freedom movement getting swallowed by religious fundamentalist ideology. Only secular Marxist ideology can lead the struggle to logical culmination.

Finally

The genocide in Gaza is not an aberration but a logical outcome of imperialist designs, capitalist profiteering, and settler-colonial imperatives. The Marxist analysis elucidates how these forces converge to perpetuate oppression, exploitation, and dispossession of the Palestinian people. Understanding this nexus is crucial for developing effective strategies of resistance that challenge not only the colonial occupation but also the global capitalist system that sustains and benefits from such atrocities. Solidarity with Palestine, therefore, must be rooted in an anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist framework, recognizing that the liberation of Palestine is intrinsically linked to the broader struggle against global exploitation and oppression.

End notes:

In the context of Marxist geography and capitalism, a “spatial fix” refers to a strategy employed to address crises of overaccumulation by restructuring or expanding geographical space, often involving investment in infrastructure and new locations to temporarily resolve economic problems.

Settler colonialism is an ongoing system of power that perpetuates the genocide and repression of indigenous peoples and cultures.

From Gaza to the World: Why the Palestinian Struggle Demands a Global United Front Against Imperialism?

*Bazlur Rashid Firoz, General Secretary, CC
SPB Socialist Party of Bangladesh*

The skies of Gaza have turned black with smoke. The ground trembles not only from bombs but from the cries of a people held hostage by one of the most powerful military machines on earth. Over 40,000 Palestinians—many of them children—have been slaughtered in cold blood by the Israeli war machine. Hospitals have become graveyards, schools reduced to ash, and entire families wiped out in seconds. This is not a war. This is genocide.

And yet, the killing continues—with full political, economic, and military backing from the United States and its imperialist allies. The genocide in Gaza is not an isolated crime. It is the sharpest edge of a global system of domination, built on the bones of oppressed peoples, maintained by lies, and defended with overwhelming force.

Israel's apartheid regime has long functioned as the armed outpost of Western imperialism in West Asia. Its impunity is not accidental—it is earned through loyal service to the interests of capital and empire. Every missile that falls on a Gaza refugee camp is bought with U.S. taxpayer money. Every international veto at the UN is a shield held by Washington to cover Tel Aviv's crimes. European powers, too, remain complicit, laundering the occupation through silence, arms sales, and diplomatic theatre.

The so-called "rules-based international order" has revealed its true face. When Ukrainians resist occupation, they are called heroes. When Palestinians do the same, they are branded terrorists. This hypocrisy is not just racist—it is structural. The lives of the oppressed, especially when they resist, are always deemed expendable by the capitalist world order.

But the people are rising. From New York to London, from Berlin to Cape Town, from Dhaka to Jakarta—millions have taken to the streets to say: No more. The rage and sorrow in Gaza have echoed in the chants of university students occupying campuses, of workers walking out of factories, of ordinary people refusing to be complicit. In Bangladesh, the left and progressive forces, despite intense repression, have marched, rallied, and stood shoulder-to-shoulder with the Palestinian cause. We, as the Socialist Party of Bangladesh, are proud to be part of this global resistance.

The question is urgent and historic: What is the way out?

Palestine will not be free through UN resolutions or toothless ceasefire agreements. This brutal machine will not stop unless it is forced to stop. That force must be global, coordinated, and rooted in the struggles of all oppressed peoples. We need a United Front against Imperialism—not as a slogan, but as a concrete strategy of resistance and solidarity.

Such a front must go beyond temporary alliances or issue-based protests. It must connect the liberation of Palestine to the liberation of all peoples under the boot of empire—whether in the factories of Bangladesh, the mines of Congo, the slums of Brazil, or the prisons of the United States. The same system that bombs Gaza is the one that exploits workers, destroys the climate, and militarizes borders.

We must link arms between revolutionary movements, anti-colonial struggles, indigenous resistances, and working-class mobilizations worldwide. We must share resources, strategies, and messages. And we must sharpen our political clarity: the enemy is not just Israel or

this or that war—it is the capitalist-imperialist world order itself.

A new generation is awakening. Many are asking hard questions about power, justice, and the future of humanity. The Palestinian resistance has exposed the fragility of the empire's moral claims. It has also reminded us of the power of courage, dignity, and collective defiance.

Palestine is not alone—but it must not be left alone either. The path forward lies not in

despair, but in internationalism. Our grief must turn into commitment. Our outrage into organization. And our solidarity in the struggle.

Let us carry forward the slogan that echoes across continents today—not just as a cry, but as a promise:

From the river to the sea, Palestine will be free.

And in that freedom, the hope of all oppressed peoples shall rise.

Contribution to the 2nd ICOR online journal on the Palestinian liberation struggle

MLPD Marxist-Leninist Party Germany

The MLPD would like to express its sincere thanks for the many stimulating contributions to the first online journal on the Palestinian liberation struggle – from both within and outside ICOR.

The Palestine solidarity movement today is comparable in its global significance to the Vietnam solidarity movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s. In the USA the solidarity movement is already larger and broader today even than the solidarity with Vietnam. It is the largest anti-imperialist solidarity movement since the Vietnam solidarity movement. Every progressive person, not only Marxist-Leninists, but every anti-fascist, every democrat must take a clear stand here for the liberation struggle of the Palestinian people. Without any ifs or buts!

At the same time, we have a situation worldwide in which—unlike during the Vietnam War—fascism is on the rise. This growing wave of fascism, led by US President Trump, also includes Islamist-veiled fascism such as that of IS/Daesh and its attempted genocide of the Kurdish and Yazidi populations. Such fascist organizations, regardless of their political persuasion, can never be regarded as anti-imperialist forces simply because they fight the US; they cannot be supported in any form. It is very significant that the ICOR, with its solidarity pact with Al-Awda, commits itself to a secular and democratic project and strengthens the forces associated with it. We stand on the side of the liberation struggle against imperialism. We stand on the side of the working class internationally. We stand on the side of all people oppressed by imperialism.

Israel is today an imperialist country pursuing plans for a Greater Israel. This is the reason behind its plans for complete control over the

Gaza Strip and the expulsion and destruction of its entire population. The Israeli government's declaration of a new offensive seals the practical implementation of the Zionist occupation plans. "The world is witnessing a livestreamed genocide," Amnesty International has stated.

In the current warfare waged by Zionist, fascist, and imperialist Israel, the expulsion and extermination of the Palestinian people is not "incidental" or a side effect. Genocide is the plan, as is the systematic expulsion of the Palestinian people and their deportation to other countries. Mass starvation is being deliberately brought about. Aid deliveries are deliberately not being allowed in, borders are being deliberately closed, and aid workers are being deliberately murdered. These are all deliberate decisions to exterminate the Palestinian people. That is why these are brutal war crimes and genocide.

We therefore strongly condemn the claim that Israel's warfare and genocide against the Palestinians is a response to October 7, 2023. This was at most used as a pretext, but the invasion of Gaza had been planned long before. It is a vile slander to defame the Palestinian people as a whole as terrorists. Every Palestinian is now a terrorist in Israel's eyes, and they are spreading the message that *anyone who does not leave Gaza voluntarily is supporting terrorism and must be destroyed*.

This development is not simply a repetition of the Nakba of 77 years ago. It represents a new quality of the planned extermination of an entire people. It is the new quality of imperialism and also the new quality of the fascist government in Israel and of Zionism, and that is why we must respond with a new quality of international solidarity.

The background

In the Middle East, inter-imperialist rivalry is currently intensifying enormously. This is between the old imperialist great powers and new-imperialist countries such as Turkey, Iran, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and, of course and in particular, China, which wants to become a superpower in every respect. It is no coincidence that Trump's first foreign trip was to this region. China has gained considerable influence there in recent years. With the Abraham Accords, the US is trying to get back into the game, and Trump is exerting immense pressure on Saudi Arabia to sign the Accords, naturally coupled with deals worth billions.

It also shows how hypocritical the imperialists are with their so-called terror classification. Trump recently met with Syrian transitional president Al-Sharaa, who is on the American terror list. But because Trump now wants the Syrian government to support American hegemony in the Middle East, where they have now regained positions, he is working with people who are on his own terror list. That is imperialist morality! The Islamist-fascist forces are being used by the imperialists as mercenaries on the side of Qatar, Saudi Arabia, or Turkey, which also supports Hamas through the Muslim Brotherhood. But they are also being used by the Western imperialists who originally built them up.

This geostrategic background is important for understanding the major escalation in the region, which has global implications. However, Trump, Israel, and the German government are now taking on the entire global solidarity movement with Palestine. It is encouraging that the movement is making it clear that it will never give up. Palestine solidarity, as the greatest internationalist struggle today, is also a determined counterpole to the nationalism, chauvinism, and fascism unleashed worldwide. It is a globally connected and coordinated

struggle for democracy, freedom, self-determination, and, with growing weight, for socialism.

This development also has strategic significance. We in the MLPD are currently conducting a campaign to help socialism gain new prestige. In view of all the crises of imperialism, so many people are looking for a social alternative. When we talk with people, when we fight together with them, we always make it clear: The root of the problems lies in capitalism, in imperialism, and the perspective can only lie in socialism! A socialism that draws conclusions and lessons from all the achievements, but also from the mistakes of the past.

The special responsibility of the revolutionaries in Germany

Especially in Germany it is often necessary to first educate people. For example, most people there have never heard of the Nakba. We explain that the first wave of the Nakba began at the end of 1947. Under the government of Ben Gurion, people of Arab ethnicity living in Palestine were expelled on a massive scale using terrorist methods. Their land, their olive trees, their sheep, their homes were taken away. 750,000 Palestinians were expelled or forced to flee. The catastrophe continues to this day and must burn in our hearts, especially in the hearts of the people in Germany.

In Germany, this consciousness-raising and this struggle are largely obstructed and criminalized. Germany's responsibility for the Shoah, the murder of millions of Jews, is undoubtedly grave and remains valid to this day. Since the beginning of the revolutionary working-class movement in Germany, the MLPD has resolutely opposed anti-Semitism. But the crimes of the Holocaust are wrongly used as a rationale and justification for opposing any

criticism of Israel's actions and discrediting it as anti-Semitic.

The real responsibility lies with us in Germany, and the conclusion is clear: never again genocide, never again imperialist war! We accuse the German federal government of supporting the genocide in Gaza with weapons, vast sums of money, diplomacy, and its policies. To put it bluntly: this is aiding and abetting genocide! Without the US, without the FRG, Israel could not wage this genocidal war in this way.

The new Foreign Minister Waidepohl traveled first to Israel and announced: "I am not sure that Israel's strategic goals can be achieved in this way (with this type of warfare)." This means nothing other than that there is no criticism of Israel's strategic imperialist goals of a Greater Israel and the expulsion of the Palestinians.

During Yitzhak Herzog's visit to Federal President Frank-Walter Steinmeier, Israel was given a stage for its propaganda. The Israeli president hypocritically declared: "I am aware that there is suffering in Gaza." This is pure mockery!

Even within Israel, resistance to the war, to the occupation plans, and especially to Netanyahu is growing louder. However, this protest must not be limited to the release of the hostages, but must target the barbaric war against the Palestinian people and its imperialist motives. We continue to stand by Friedrich Engels, who said: "A people that oppresses another cannot be free itself."

Open for discussion: Differences

The 2nd ICOR online newspaper on the Palestinian liberation struggle expressly called for a discussion of the different opinions. We consider such an open, solidarity-based discussion of strategy in mutual respect to be very important. What differences do we have with various positions?

1. We do not consider the terms "settler colony" or "entity" to be accurate or appropriate for the state of Israel. Marxist theory speaks of the state as an instrument of oppression of the ruling class and characterizes it accordingly. Under the protection of the US, the state of Israel has developed over the last few decades into an imperialist state in which there is also a class division. Lenin emphasized the importance of making a clear distinction between the situation of workers in oppressor and oppressed nations:

"Is the real situation of the workers of the oppressor and oppressed nations the same as far as the national question is concerned? No.

1. The workers of the oppressor nation are, to a certain extent, partners with their bourgeoisie in the plundering of the workers (and the masses of the population) of the oppressed nation.

2. Politically, the difference is that the workers of the oppressor nations occupy a privileged position in a whole range of areas of political life compared to the workers of the oppressed nation.

3. Ideologically or spiritually, the difference is that the workers of the oppressor nations are constantly educated by school and life in a spirit of contempt or disregard for the workers of the oppressed nations." (LW Vol. 23, p. 48)

It was precisely against this background that Lenin demanded: "On the other hand, the socialists of the oppressed nations must insist on the complete and unconditional unity, including organizational unity, of the workers of the oppressed nation with those of the oppressor nation, and bring this unity into being."

2. We have already explained that, for us, Hamas has an Islamist-tinged, fascist character in accordance with its unrevoked 1988 charter. At the same time, in view of the terror of the Israeli government, it has obviously succeeded in integrating Hamas into a broader united front in Palestine, in which the left, revolutionaries, and

secular forces are no longer attacked and oppressed, but work closely together in resistance. In this respect, we recognize Hamas today as a force of resistance. However, it is not a force that can give the resistance a strategic progressive perspective. That is why we fully support the consensus achieved by ICOR in its resolution of January 1, 2024:

“Proletarian internationalism requires that the working class and anti-imperialist forces of the whole world unite in the struggle for liberation and socialism. We fundamentally support the Palestinian resistance, despite our criticism of the political and ideological alternatives of the Islamist forces.”

3. On October 7, 2023, the area under attack was Palestinian territory that had been occupied by Israel in explicit opposition to the 1947 UN partition plan. In view of the various UN resolutions and rulings of the International Court of Justice in The Hague, the Israeli regime cannot justify its subsequent military action on the grounds that it was justified by the right of self-defense under international law or that the Palestinian action violated international law. We also know that the music festival and other clashes resulted in deaths due to Israeli military shelling. The so-called Zionist Hannibal Directive is deeply inhumane.

However, acts of violence against civilians, such as those committed on October 7, 2023, are war crimes and explicitly violate socialist principles of justified armed struggle, as developed by Lenin against white terror in Russia and by Mao Zedong in the Chinese Revolution, among others.

We resolutely defend the fundamental right to resistance (including armed resistance), but we consider it necessary that the war crimes of October 7, 2023, cannot be condoned from a proletarian revolutionary standpoint. Insofar as they are connected to Palestinian forces, they have deeply damaged the reputation of the

Palestinian liberation struggle. We consider it necessary that the events of October 7, 2023, be investigated and assessed without reservation by the forces of the international revolutionary and workers' movement.

4. We support the creation of a joint state of Palestine in which the various peoples, ethnic groups, and religions live together for their mutual benefit. Under today's circumstances, this is hardly conceivable as anything other than a socialist state. At the same time, the MLPD continues to consider a two-state solution based on the 1947 partition plan as a necessary and sensible transitional solution, but this would only be acceptable with the consent of the Palestinian forces.

Our practice

Solidarity with the Palestinian liberation struggle has become an important part of the theoretical and practical work of the MLPD, its youth organization Rebell, and even its children's organization Rotfüchse. Due to the special conditions in Germany, the mass movement is not nearly as strong as, for example, in Great Britain. But the MLPD is working resolutely and systematically to raise awareness and further build alliances of Palestine solidarity, even though it faces strong state repression and ideological defamation as anti-Semitic. In the 2025 federal election campaign, we also organized solidarity with posters reading “Stop the genocide in Gaza” and held rallies on this issue. We initiated the “Gaza shall live” fundraising campaign, which—with the participation of several other countries—has already raised €180,000 for emergency aid to Gaza. We are working proactively and closely with all ICOR organizations on the ICOR project for the reconstruction of health centers in Gaza through international solidarity brigades. We are happy about the solidarity with numerous parties, organizations, and movements around the world in support of Palestine, and we

are confident that, on the basis of our mutual trust and cooperation, we will also resolve any remaining contradictions in the future. **Long live international solidarity!**

Letter from Gaza

*In Memory of Palestinian Author and Militant
Ghassan Kanafani
1936 - 1972*

Dear Mustafa,

I have now received your letter, in which you tell me that you've done everything necessary to enable me to stay with you in Sacramento. I've also received news that I have been accepted into the Department of Civil Engineering at the University of California. I must thank you for everything, my friend. But it'll strike you as rather odd when I proclaim this news to you—and make no doubt about it, I feel no hesitation at all; in fact, I am pretty well positive that I have never seen things so clearly as I do now. No, my friend, I have changed my mind. I won't follow you to "the land where there is greenery, water, and lovely faces" as you wrote. No, I'll stay here, and I won't ever leave.

I am really upset that our lives won't continue to follow the same course, Mustafa. For I can almost hear you reminding me of our vow to go on together, and of the way we used to shout: "We'll get rich!" But there's nothing I can do, my friend. Yes, I still remember the day when I stood in the hall of Cairo airport, pressing your hand and staring at the frenzied motor. At that moment, everything was rotating in time with the ear-splitting motor, and you stood in front of me, your round face silent.

Your face hadn't changed from the way it used to be when you were growing up in the Shajiya quarter of Gaza, apart from those slight wrinkles. We grew up together, understanding each other completely, and we promised to go on together till the end. But...

"There's a quarter of an hour left before the plane takes off. Don't look into space like that. Listen! You'll go to Kuwait next year, and you'll save enough from your salary to uproot you



from Gaza and transplant you to California. We started off together, and we must carry on..."

At that moment, I was watching your rapidly moving lips. That was always your manner of speaking, without commas or full stops. But in an obscure way, I felt that you were not completely happy with your flight. You couldn't give three good reasons for it. I too suffered from this wrench, but the clearest thought was: why don't we abandon this Gaza and flee? Why don't we? Your situation had begun to improve, however. The Ministry of Education in Kuwait had given you a contract, though it hadn't given me one. In the trough of misery where I existed, you sent me small sums of money. You wanted me to consider them as loans because you feared that I would feel slighted. You knew my family circumstances inside and out; you knew that my meager salary in the UNRWA schools was inadequate to support my mother, my brother's widow, and her four children.

"Listen carefully. Write to me every day... every hour... every minute! The plane's just leaving. Farewell! Or rather, till we meet again!"

Your cold lips brushed my cheek, you turned your face away from me towards the plane, and when you looked at me again, I could see your tears.

Later, the Ministry of Education in Kuwait gave me a contract. There's no need to repeat to you how my life there went in detail. I always wrote to you about everything. My life there had a gluey, vacuous quality as though I were a small oyster, lost in oppressive loneliness, slowly struggling with a future as dark as the beginning of the night, caught in a rotten routine, a spewed-out combat with time. Everything was hot and sticky. There was a slipperiness to my whole life; it was all a hankering for the end of the month.

In the middle of the year, that year, the Jews bombarded the central district of Sabha and attacked Gaza, our Gaza, with bombs and flame-throwers. That event might have made some change in my routine, but there was nothing for me to take much notice of; I was going to leave this Gaza behind me and go to California, where I would live for myself, my own self which had suffered so long. I hated Gaza and its inhabitants. Everything in the amputated town reminded me of failed pictures painted in gray by a sick man. Yes, I would send my mother and my brother's widow and her children a meager sum to help them to live, but I would liberate myself from this last tie too, there in green California, far from the reek of defeat which for seven years had filled my nostrils. The sympathy which bound me to my brother's children, their mother, and mine would never be enough to justify my tragedy in taking this perpendicular dive. It mustn't drag me any further down than it already had. I must flee!

You know these feelings, Mustafa, because you've really experienced them. What is this ill-defined tie we had with Gaza which blunted our enthusiasm for flight? Why didn't we analyze the matter in such a way as to give it a clear meaning? Why didn't we leave this defeat with its wounds behind us and move on to a brighter future which would give us deeper consolation? Why? We didn't exactly know.

When I went on holiday in June and assembled all my possessions, longing for the sweet departure, the start towards those little things which give life a nice, bright meaning, I found Gaza just as I had known it, closed like the introverted lining of a rusted snail-shell thrown up by the waves on the sticky, sandy shore by the slaughter-house. This Gaza was more cramped than the mind of a sleeper in the throes of a fearful nightmare, with its narrow streets which had their bulging balconies... this Gaza! But what are the obscure causes that draw a man to his family, his house, his memories, as a spring draws a small flock of mountain goats? I don't know. All I know is that I went to my mother in our house that morning. When I arrived, my late brother's wife met me there and asked me, weeping, if I would do as her wounded daughter, Nadia, in Gaza hospital wished and visit her that evening. Do you know Nadia, my brother's beautiful thirteen-year-old daughter?

That evening, I bought a pound of apples and set out for the hospital to visit Nadia. I knew that there was something about it that my mother and my sister-in-law were hiding from me, something which their tongues could not utter, something strange which I could not put my finger on. I loved Nadia from habit, the same habit that made me love all that generation which had been so brought up on defeat and displacement that it had come to think that a happy life was a kind of social deviation.

What happened at that moment? I don't know. I entered the white room very calm. Ill children have something of saintliness, and how much more so if the child is ill as a result of cruel, painful wounds. Nadia was lying on her bed, her back propped up on a big pillow over which her hair was spread like a thick pelt. There was profound silence in her wide eyes and a tear always shining in the depths of her black pupils. Her face was calm and still but eloquent, as the face of a tortured prophet might be. Nadia was

still a child, but she seemed more than a child, much more, and older than a child, much older.

"Nadia!"

I've no idea whether I was the one who said it, or whether it was someone else behind me. But she raised her eyes to me and I felt them dissolve me like a piece of sugar that had fallen into a hot cup of tea.

Together with her slight smile, I heard her voice. "Uncle! Have you just come from Kuwait?"

Her voice broke in her throat, and she raised herself with the help of her hands and stretched out her neck towards me. I patted her back and sat down near her.

"Nadia! I've brought you presents from Kuwait, lots of presents. I'll wait till you can leave your bed, completely well and healed, and you'll come to my house and I'll give them to you. I've bought you the red trousers you wrote and asked me for. Yes, I've bought them."

It was a lie, born of the tense situation, but as I uttered it, I felt that I was speaking the truth for the first time. Nadia trembled as though she had an electric shock and lowered her head in a terrible silence. I felt her tears wetting the back of my hand.

"Say something, Nadia! Don't you want the red trousers?" She lifted her gaze to me and made as if to speak, but then she stopped, gritted her teeth, and I heard her voice again, coming from faraway.

"Uncle!"

She stretched out her hand, lifted the white coverlet with her fingers, and pointed to her leg, amputated from the top of the thigh.

My friend... Never shall I forget Nadia's leg, amputated from the top of the thigh. No! Nor shall I forget the grief which had molded her face and merged into its traits forever. I went out of the hospital in Gaza that day, my hand

clutched in silent derision on the two pounds I had brought with me to give Nadia. The blazing sun filled the streets with the color of blood. And Gaza was brand new, Mustafa! You and I never saw it like this. The stone piled up at the beginning of the Shajiya quarter where we lived had a meaning, and they seemed to have been put there for no other reason but to explain it. This Gaza in which we had lived and with whose good people we had spent seven years of defeat was something new. It seemed to me just a beginning. I don't know why I thought it was just a beginning. I imagined that the main street that I walked along on the way back home was only the beginning of a long, long road leading to Safad. Everything in this Gaza throbbed with sadness which was not confined to weeping. It was a challenge: more than that, it was something like the reclamation of the amputated leg!

I went out into the streets of Gaza, streets filled with blinding sunlight. They told me that Nadia had lost her leg when she threw herself on top of her little brothers and sisters to protect them from the bombs and flames that had fastened their claws into the house. Nadia could have saved herself; she could have run away, rescued her leg. But she didn't.

Why?

No, my friend, I won't come to Sacramento, and I've no regrets. No, and nor will I finish what we began together in childhood. This obscure feeling that you had as you left Gaza, this small feeling must grow into a giant deep within you. It must expand, you must seek it in order to find yourself, here, among the ugly debris of defeat.

I won't come to you. But you, return to us! Come back, to learn from Nadia's leg, amputated from the top of the thigh, what life is and what existence is worth.

Come back, my friend! We are all waiting for you.

Gaza lives!

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