



FOR SOLIDARITY WITH THE STRUGGLE OF PALESTINIANS

For dignity, land and freedom

March 2024

Anarchists' assembly against the self-evident
foundations of the power regime

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“Anarchists’ assembly against the self-evident foundations of the power regime” is an open assembly formed in Athens in the fall of 2021. It is a self-organized practice and an open call for organizing and resisting against any self-evident authoritative pillar of society: the state, capitalism, patriarchy, nationalism, racism, religions, the Spectacle, the institutional organization of society and every division imposed by power.

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A SHORT HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF “THE QUESTION OF PALESTINE”

HISTORY CONSTITUTES the scientific field that assists us, through a systematic study of the past, to comprehend past periods through today. As any scientific field developed in the capitalist context, history is portrayed as neutral and detached, although and simultaneously historians reconstruct facts in a way that leads to specific narratives inspired by the dominant ideology about the past. These narratives of the past always aim to determine both the present and the future¹. History, however, is also the field where social and class antagonisms are depicted and therefore different approaches and narratives² emerge. From an

1 We are all familiar with the line “History is written by the victors”, which is associated either with Winston Churchill or Napoleon Bonaparte.

2 A chronicler who recites events without distinguishing between major and minor ones

anarchist, antagonistic, emancipatory perspective, we will argue that the Israeli state has occupied the region of Palestine for 75 years. Based on this understanding, we presume solidarity with the Palestinians against their extermination and constant displacement, as well as put forward the imperative for “dignity, land and freedom”.

The region of Palestine lies in the Middle East and stretches from the Mediterranean Sea to the Jordan River and borders (according to the border changes after World War I) to the north by the states of Lebanon

acts in accordance with the following truth: nothing that has ever happened should be regarded as lost for history. To be sure, only a redeemed mankind receives the fullness of its past—which is to say, only for a redeemed mankind has its past become citable in all its moments. Theses on the Philosophy of History, Walter Benjamin.

and Syria (to the northeast), by Jordan to the east and by Egypt to the southwest. Historically, from the second century BC the region is referred to as the “land of the Philistines”. During the 16th century, the largest part of the Middle East was under Ottoman rule. The use of the name “Palestine” started during the negotiations before the end of World War I among the victorious Entente Alliance (France, UK, and so on), the impending dissolution of the Ottoman Empire that was allied with the ‘Central Powers’ (Germany, Austria-Hungary), and the formation of the Arab states in the area.

From a Jewish perspective on history, the same region was considered “*The Land of Zion*” or “*The Promised Land*” and signified the area that the Jewish people crossed under the guidance of Moses after a long period of slavery in Egypt. During the Roman Empire, the Jews were persecuted and for hundreds of years would emigrate to different places. The Jews constituted one of the most characteristic examples, not of

a “nation-state” but of a “nation-religion” and over the years they were subjected to persecution in Europe (which is the historical birthplace of racism) in the context of a fanatic institutional and social racism (anti-Semitism). Anti-Semitism reached its climax in central Europe during the Interwar period and through the moment the Nazis took power in Germany until the Holocaust.



From the mid-19th century, there was an initial migratory influx towards Palestine of Jews that were subject to persecutions and pogroms, mainly in Tsarist Russia. At the end of the 19th century, the Zionist movement started taking form. It was a radical political movement – religiously masked – that aimed to establish a Jewish state in the historical region of Palestine. Their main tactic

involved settlements as well as the progressive persecution of Arabs and the majoritarian or immiscible reign of Jewish populations in the area. In 1896, the Austro-Hungarian Jewish Theodor Herzl presented the manifest of political Zionism in his book “Der Judenstaat” [The Jewish State]. The book characteristically reads: “Palestine is our ever-memorable historic home [...] We should there form a portion of a rampart of Europe against Asia, an outpost of civilization as opposed to barbarism”³.

BRITISH RULE AND ZIONISM

Zionism (Jewish nationalism) signified the political means through which the idea of establishing the state of Israel as a Jewish state and the return of Jews to the “Promised Land” could be realized. Soon after, Jewish people increasingly migrated to the region. Yet, in 1903 500.000 Arabs lived there and only 25.000 Jews⁴. Initially, Zionism constituted a minority tendency amongst the Jews. It was even criticized by orthodox

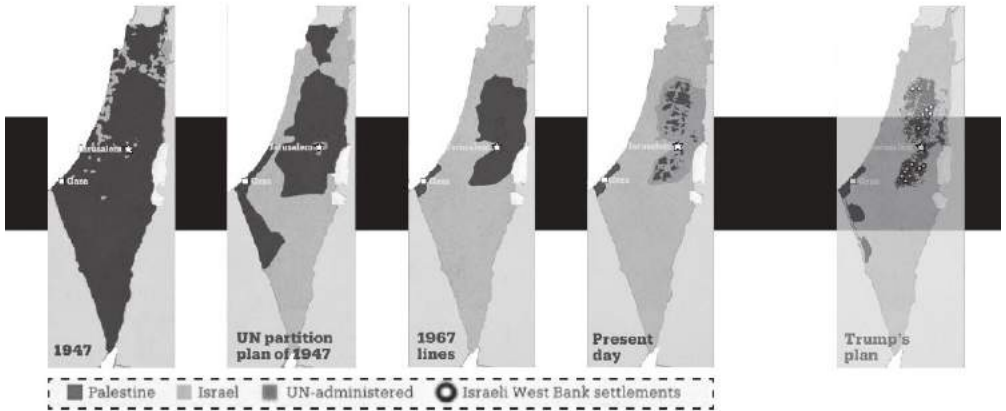
3 Herzl Theodor (2010) [1896]. *The Jewish State*. Penguin, UK.

4 Fact Sheet: The Palestinian Nakba & The Establishment of Israeli Apartheid, Institute for Middle East Understanding, imeu.org, 8/3/13

Judaism for not following the principles of the Talmud (the central text of Rabbinic Judaism) according to which the Jewish kingdom will be reborn only with the arrival of the Messiah. Zionism is divided into three main arms: political, labor/socialist, and cultural Zionism. Despite miscellaneous differences, the three arms merged in a common view – having different points of departure and trajectories – for a Jewish majority in the area⁵.

Shortly before the end of World War I, the UK occupied Jerusalem (1918) and established *British Rule* in Palestine. Before that, United Kingdom’s Foreign Secretary Arthur Balfour issued the infamous Balfour Declaration that effectively paved the way for the establishment of the Israeli state. This is exactly the point where the interests of British foreign affairs merged with the aspirations of the Zionist movement, which led to establishment of the state of Israel. Understanding this historical period, we should not disregard the fact that there was a strong push for the dissolution of the Ottoman

5 Finkelstein Norman, *Image and Reality of the Israel–Palestine Conflict*, Verso, 2003, pp. 71-92.



Empire (and empires in general) and the creation of independent nation-states. Especially in the Middle East, the new border delineation and the states that emerged reflected its geopolitical significance and abundant oil reserves.

The Zionist migration of Jews to Palestine led to an exponential rise of the Jewish population in the area. By 1941, the Jewish population reached 500,000, in comparison to the 25,000 Jews at the start of the century. This caused the first (armed) conflicts between Arabs and Jews. During the period before the start of World War II (1936-1939), a Palestinian uprising against British Rule was suppressed with the help of Zionist militias that had formed.

After the end of WWII and under the pressure of the Holocaust (with the horrific extermination of more than 6 million Jews), the United Nations (UN) General Assembly passed Resolution 181 on November 29, 1947, that called for the partition of Palestine into Arab and Jewish states, with the city of Jerusalem as a corpus separatum to be governed by a special international regime. The decision to create the state of Israel acted as “compensation” for anti-Semitism and atrocities that reached their climax during the horrors of the Holocaust. Moreover, after WWII both the western and the eastern blocs bragged about their antifascist achievements as a way to cover and normalize their own atrocities, their totalitarian structures

and regimes, their exploitation, oppression, and barbarism.

On May 14, 1948, and one day before the end of the British Rule in Palestine, the Israeli state declared its inauguration and independence with labor Zionist David Ben-Gurion the first prime minister. Immediately following the announcement of the independence of the state of Israel, the first Arab-Israeli War broke out when five Arab nations (Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq) invaded territory in the former Palestinian mandate. The war also signified the Palestinian “Nakba”, which means “catastrophe” in Arabic, and refers to the mass displacement and dispossession of Palestinians by Zionist militia which resulted in the death of 5,000 Palestinians, the displacement of more than 700,000 people, and the demolition of circa 500 Palestinian villages. The Israeli army (Israeli Defense Forces – IDF) prevailed against the Arab coalition, and in March 1949 Israel and the Arab states signed an armistice agreement on the island of Rhodes. According to the agreement, Israel occupied 77% of Palestine (while the 1947 UN agreement referred to 56%), the West Bank (of the

Jordan river) was annexed by the Kingdom of Jordan, and the Mount Sinai area together with the Gaza Strip would be occupied by Egypt. The agreement did not anticipate the creation of a Palestinian state, in the meantime it encouraged the mass immigration of Jews to the area as well as the resettlement of Palestinian territories.

THE SIX-DAY WAR

The next major historical event was the 1967 second Arab-Israeli War, the so-called Six-Day War. Israel took advantage of neighboring Arab states’ antagonisms, arrogance, and the underestimation of its capabilities (even when Israeli Air Force shot down six Syrian MiG fighter jets), but most importantly the Arabs disregarded the fact that Israel had aligned itself with the geostrategic interests of the western bloc in the Middle East⁶. The victory of Israel was overwhelming. It seized the Gaza Strip, the Sinai Peninsula, the West Bank of the Jordan River (including East Jerusalem), and the Golan Heights, expanding its territorial sovereignty. The defeat of the Arab

⁶ Finkelstein, N. G. (2003). *Image and reality of the Israel-Palestine conflict*. Verso. pp. 243-282



Israeli military forces occupy East Jerusalem, 8th June 1967.

states in the Six Day War came to be known as the “Naksa”, meaning setback or defeat, and created a wave of 300,000 Palestinian⁷ refugees mainly from the West Bank. At the end of the war, the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 242 that called for Israeli withdrawal “from territories occupied” in 1967 and “the termination of all claims or states of belligerency”⁸. Referring to “international legitimacy”, as it is described in the resolution, is the

7 Interviews with Radical Palestinian Women, AK Press, 2023, p.157

8 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Six-Day_War, retrieved April 2024.

reason why both the Palestinian Authority and larger parts of the Left demand returning to the status quo before the 1967 war. This does not include the 1948 “Nakba”. They disregard, however, that the so-called international law is written in the “language” of the powerful and therefore it is easy to be disregarded if power requires that and considering general geopolitical interests.

THE YOM KIPPUR WAR

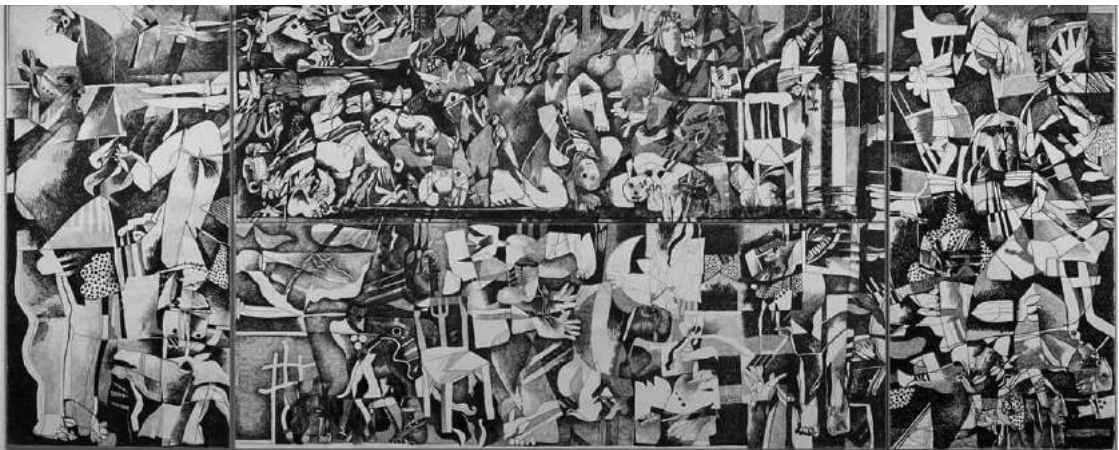
The “third act” of the Arab-Israeli wars took place in 1973, with the so-called Yom Kippur War (the holiest day of the year in Judaism). The war started after a coordinated attack by a coalition of Arab states led by Egypt and Syria. The majority

of combat between the two sides took place in the Sinai Peninsula and the Golan Heights—both of which had been occupied by Israel in 1967. The attack essentially failed, even though the Arab states had some temporary wins. Israel followed a diplomatic tactic and appeared as the “consensual” party. After the Camp David Accords in 1978, Israel “returned” the Sinai Peninsula to Egypt and essentially ended the constant military threat to its southern border.

THE 1982 INVASION OF LEBANON

In 1982, the Israeli state invaded Lebanon during Operation “Peace for Galilee”, using the

murder attempt against the Israeli ambassador in the UK as justification. Their real intention was to root out the military and political infrastructure of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in southern Lebanon, where the PLO headquartered. During the Israeli attacks, more than 20,000 people were killed while Palestinian organizations left Beirut. After the PLO’s withdrawal, one of the most barbaric parts of this history of bloodshed took place when fanatic Christian militias in Lebanon, supported by the Israel Defense Forces (led by Israel’s later PM Ariel Sharon), invaded Beirut’s Sabra neighborhood and the



Painting based on the massacre in the Sabra and Satila refugee camps in Lebanon in 1982. Reminiscent of Guernica.

adjacent Shatila refugee camp and slaughtered more than 3,000 people. The Israeli forces remained in southern Lebanon until 1999.

In the aftermath of the first Intifada (1987-1993), Israel and the PLO signed the Oslo Accords (1993, 1995). The agreements are seen as the result of the conflation of two factors: one the on hand, the collapse of the communist bloc and on the other international pressure for de-escalation of the Israel-Palestine conflict. The Accords also correlated forces between the two parties which gave the Israelis an enormous advantage. Nevertheless, the agreements were not accepted by either the Palestinians (the majority accused Arafat of yielding to Israel) or the Israelis (in 1995 a right-wing extremist assassinated the Israel PM Yitzhak Rabin while he was leaving a mass rally in support of the Oslo Accords).



1 st intifada

The Accords constituted a specific political choice at that moment, with the announcement about the establishment of a Palestinian state postponed into the future. This was never realized, however, which strengthened the occupational reality and the Apartheid regime against the Palestinians. The second Oslo Accords allowed Israel to retain its “existing rights” in these areas.

In March 2004, Ahmed Yassin, founder and leader of Hamas, was killed in an Israeli attack in Gaza. In November of the same year, Yasser Arafat, longtime PLO



2nd intifada

leader and later of the Palestinian Authority died. The presidency of the Palestinian Authority was then assigned to Mahmoud Abbas, the favorite of the western bloc.

THE 2006 ELECTIONS – A HAMAS VICTORY

During the Second Intifada (2000-2005), the Israeli state began constructing the 708 km separation wall in the West Bank (2003). The construction of the wall annexed Palestinian villages and agricultural land. In 2006 and in the aftermath of the Second Intifada, legislative elections were held in the Palestinian territories for the second Palestinian Legislative Council (PLC), the

legislature of the Palestinian National Authority (PNA). The result was a victory for Hamas, after Fatah's yielding to Israel but also accusations of corruption in the management of international humanitarian aid funds. Since its establishment in 1987, Hamas actively continued participating in the resistance struggle while they engaged in humanitarian work (food lines, schools, hospitals). Fatah, which controlled the Palestinian Authority, did not accept the election result. The US invited Hamas to stop the armed struggle, to recognize the Israeli state, and to accept all previous agreements. Fatah expelled Hamas from the West Bank, persecuted, and imprisoned

Hamas' officials and destroyed Hamas' offices. Abbas dismissed the Hamas-led coalition government of Ismail Haniyeh and appointed Salam Fayyad (with the blessings of western powers) as Prime Minister to form a new government. Fayyad used to work for the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. As a response, Hamas bombed the offices of Fatah in the Gaza Strip, disarmed their members, and expelled Fatah officials from Gaza. In the meantime, the Israeli state arrested and imprisoned Hamas members of the Palestinian parliament, accusing them of being members of a terrorist organization. Since then, elections have not taken place again and Israel recognized Abbas as their "privileged" interlocutor. Fatah's and Hamas' antagonism in the occupied land of Palestine can only be perceived as a power struggle.

During all these years, Israeli aggressiveness, through resettlements on the West Bank as well as attacks and bombing in the Gaza Strip, has not ceased. Israel launched operation "Cast Lead" (2008-2009) against the Gaza Strip when more than 1,000 people were murdered, operation "Pillar of Cloud" (2012), operation "Protective Edge" (2014) that

brought 50 days of bombing and more than 2,000 people murdered.

In 2018 (from March until the Nakba anniversary on May 15), Palestinians organized weekly rallies that "questioned" the fencing of the Gaza Strip. The demonstrators demanded the end of Gaza's isolation and the return of refugees to their homes. The Israeli forces responded by firing real bullets and teargas. More than 260 people died and 30,000 wounded during the protests⁹.

In 2021, Israeli settlers and security forces raided the Al Aqsa Mosque in occupied eastern Jerusalem firing bullets, rubber bullets, and stun grenades into the mosque against Palestinians inside. Clashes broke out in the occupied territories and rockets were fired from Gaza into Israel. Israeli forces carried out air strikes for 11 days in response during operation "guardians of the walls". During this operation, more than 250 people were murdered¹⁰.

9 Gaza's Great March of Return protests explained, Huthifa Fayyad, www.aljazeera.com, 30/3/19

10 Remembering Israel's 2021 onslaught on Gaza, www.middleeastmonitor.com, 6/5/22



Most of the Gaza Strip since October 7 has been flattened by Israeli bombing

On a political level, an important development constitutes the normalization of the international relations between the Israeli state and other Arab powers, such as the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, and currently Saudi Arabia. The agreement that was signed between the United Arab Emirates and Israel on August 12, 2020, with the biblical name “Abraham Accords” (ascribing to it religious prestige), essentially paved the way for an interstate collaboration in the domains of technology, the economy, aviation and so on. A month later, Bahrain

commented publicly in support of the deal as a step toward peace, followed by Morocco and Sudan. Three years later and before the events of October 7, 2023, an US initiative sought the reapproach of Israel and Saudi Arabia to widen the scope of the Abraham Accords as a move against the thawing relations between Saudi Arabia and Iran.

The last -for now- episode in this historical trajectory is of course Hamas’ (and other Palestinian organizations) October 7 attack, during which thousands of people from the Gaza Strip struck military camps, checkpoints, and settlements (including civilians) with the code name Al-Aqsa Flood. The attack was allegedly initiated

due to international developments that seemed to downgrade the Palestinian issue as well as the increasing hostility of Israeli forces in Gaza and the increasing number of settlements on the West Bank. The Israeli state responded to the October 7 attack with its most violent assault against Gaza Strip, killing more approximately 30,000 so far (in a period of 3,5 months),

leaving hundreds of thousands wounded, refugees and demolishing infrastructure of every sort. Even after this attack by Israel, the Palestinians continued resisting against their elimination. Shortly before the end of 2023, major Palestinian organizations declared that they would continue resisting against Israeli hostility in the Gaza Strip¹¹.

11 Our Palestinian Vision – Leadership of Palestinian Resistance Groups Issue Joint Statement, www.palestinechronicle.com, 23/12/23

MAPPING THE PALESTINIAN RESISTANCE

IN 1964 THE PALESTINE LIBERATION

Organization (PLO) was founded. The PLO is a national-liberation organization-umbrella, whose stated goal was the liberation of the historic region of Palestine through armed struggle. The PLO was the organization recognized by many states internationally as the representative of the Palestinians. It was originally based in Jordan, but after the “Black September” in 1970 the Jordanian regime expelled the Palestinian organization from its territories. It then moved to Lebanon, from where it was expelled once again in 1982 after the intervention of Israeli forces on the outskirts of Beirut.

AL FATAH

The dominant organization within the PLO was Al Fatah, led by the well-known Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat, an organization with a military orientation, while since the 1980s it supported the two-

state solution. Fatah supported the Oslo Accords (1993, 1995) and was the “backbone” of the Palestinian Authority after these agreements. The Palestinian Authority is an institution, a basis for a state apparatus, and is located in the West Bank, which it controls. This control has to do with the internal policing of the Palestinian population (security forces, detention centers, law and order, mediation mechanism for the Israeli military forces) and with the management of funds from abroad (those that the Israeli state allows to be transferred) for the implementation of some kind of social policy. During the 1990s and 2000s, it became apparent that high-ranking officials misappropriated significant amounts of these funds for their own personal enrichment. Fatah retains power in the West Bank even after losing the elections to Hamas in, the now distant, 2006.

P.L.F.P

The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (P.F.L.P.)¹² was a Marxist-Leninist resistance organization, founded after the “Six Day War” in an attempt to challenge the occupation. It joined the P.L.O. but it left after the Oslo Accords, denouncing them. The Popular Front attempted to “internationalize” the Palestinian issue by taking actions (e.g. hijacking) abroad while at the same time it maintained political links with guerrilla city organizations in Europe. It advocated the creation of a democratic anti-colonial state for both Arabs and Jews, which was one of the reasons it left the P.L.O. It was for decades the second largest and influential organization after Fatah. The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command split from the P.F.L.P. The Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine split from the Popular Front and had a Maoist political orientation. The Democratic Front also joined the P.L.O. and advocated the “two-state solution”.

These three organizations were the largest until the outbreak of

the First Intifada, which arose spontaneously within the occupied territories and was not controlled by any organization. The emergence and prospective strengthening of organizations of a religious nature, such as Hamas and Islamic Jihad, has been evolving since the second half of the 1980s and onwards.

HAMAS

Hamas (Islamic Resistance Movement) has its origin in the Egyptian organization of political Islam, the “Muslim Brotherhood”. It was founded in 1987 during the First Intifada but grew in influence when it emphatically rejected the Oslo Accords for the creation of two states and opposed the continued weakness of the Palestinian Authority’s (Fatah) towards Israel. Hamas won the 2006 Legislative Council elections, but Fatah denied its control of the Palestinian Authority by “banning” its activities in the West Bank. Hamas has since dominated the Gaza Strip and expelled Fatah from the area.

Islamic Jihad, although an Islamist Sunni organization, has been influenced by the Iranian Islamic revolution of 1979. It has been an important part of the armed

12 Profile: Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), www.bbc.com, 18/11/14

resistance and has been involved in the “suicide attacks” carried out in the 2000s in Israeli cities (in which Hamas and, to a lesser extent, left-wing organizations were also involved).

Resistance, however, is not only manifested through or limited to the actions of armed organizations that ideologically embark on some kind of national-liberationist thesis and strategy. The anti-occupation and anti-colonial struggle also acquired social-emancipatory characteristics, stemming from the resistance of Palestinian society, which has not been brought to its knees by decades of occupation, killings, displacements, torture, and incarcerations. It is this kind of partisan dignity of the grassroots movements, their refusal to accept the occupation’s destiny of racial discrimination, humiliation, extermination, and persecution, that even armed organizations are inspired by and interact with.

For example, starting in 2003, an extensive and long-lasting “popular struggle” developed in the West Bank against the construction of the so-called “Israeli separation barrier”, i.e. the 9-meters high and

750-kilometers long wall that the Israeli state built in the West Bank in the mid-2000s. This struggle developed focusing on Palestinian villages (Bilain, Na’alin, Ma’asra, Beit Umar, Nabi Saleh) that were either to be annexed by the Israeli state, destroying, or confiscating their agricultural land with olive trees - which was their main way of making a living - or deprived of important water resources that were to be reserved for the needs of the Israeli settlers. This struggle was a call from Palestinians and a meeting point with Israeli and international solidarity activists, who participated systematically and for years in different actions (to come together, to live together -Ta’ayush in Arabic). Among them, with a significant presence, are the Jewish Anarchists Against the Wall, that characterized this struggle in the following words:

“A relentless Palestinian popular resistance movement, which embodies all that is dignified and human about the struggle for freedom and equality in this land. Marching, unarmed, toward confiscated lands and blocked roads. Defying tear gas, beatings and bullets, nightly raids, and trumped-up charges. Raising awareness and

sustaining families. And all the while, extending an open hand to Israelis and internationals to join the struggle [...] Although significantly more militarized than the first, the second Intifada contained widespread instances of popular struggle and civilian resistance, such as direct actions, protests and demonstrations, nongovernmental organization initiatives, independent information and media efforts, youth projects, boycott campaigns, and civil disobedience, usually led by local popular committees.”

Similarly, we cannot ignore the position of women in Palestinian society and struggles in relation

to other Arab countries, the feminist discourse and intervention within Palestinian communities by struggling radical women, the open discussion and processes about gender discrimination and hierarchies, the power of tradition and patriarchy within the Palestinian society. It is also important to mention the attempt to re-internationalize the Palestinian issue, through organizations-networks, such as the B.D.S. (Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions movement), which over the last years mobilized people abroad to resist the Israeli apartheid regime.



However, the peak and the best-known moments of grass roots spontaneous resistance are the two uprisings (intifada) of the occupied population, during 1987-1993 and 2000-2005. Uprisings that occurred and spread beyond the anticipations and the control of the hierarchical-authoritarian organizations (with both secular or religious characteristics), which (as always happens with all such organizations and parties around the world) within the dialectic, the contradictions, and the limits of the struggles, attempted more or less successfully, to integrate, guide, and represent the social rebellion.

First Intifada: On 8 December 1987, an Israeli vehicle crashed into a car carrying Palestinian workers, killing four of them. The news spread rapidly, and a widespread and unruly social uprising erupted, which shook the world for years, making the Palestinian headscarf an international symbol of resistance and struggle. The roots of the Intifada are of course to be found in the previous 40 years of occupation and persecution of Palestinians by the Israeli state. During the First Intifada, most of Palestinian society



actively challenged Israeli rule in the occupied Palestinian territories and shaped the terms of solidarity with the Palestinian struggle. It was such a forceful uprising that almost all sides tried to control it to politically and socially suppress it: It is no coincidence that the Western Hegemonic Bloc (led by the United States of America) favored Israel's contact with the P.L.O. (which could not control the uprising) and launched the Oslo Accords, which proved to be a "dead letter" for the Palestinian struggle and a "wash-out" for the Israeli state. It is also



no coincidence that it was during this period that Hamas developed as a religious counterweight to the constant and developing radicalization of Palestinian society in the context of the uprising.

Second Intifada: or the Intifada of Al-Aqsa. Al-Aqsa is a holy mosque for Muslims. The uprising burst out when opposition leader Ariel Sharon (leader of Israel's far-right Likud party) along with security forces visited Al-Aqsa on 28 September 2000. As a reminder, Sharon was held responsible for the massacre in the Palestinian refugee camps

of Sabra and Shatila in Lebanon in 1982. In the protests that followed Sharon's visit, seven Palestinians were killed, and hundreds were injured by Israeli security forces, under the orders of then Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak. This was the trigger for the Second Intifada, which also spread to all the occupied Palestinian territories.

If the First Intifada was a spontaneous, widespread, and outside of any organization that faded with the Oslo Accords, the Second Intifada was to a great extent an offspring of the "dead-ends" generated by the Oslo Accords. A fact that was validated in July 2000 by the "failure" of the Camp David Summit, with the termination of the seven-year-long "bilateral peace talks" resulting from the maximalist requirements of the Israeli side and its demand for immediate acceptance of its terms. The Second Intifada had different characteristics from the first (also due to the different circumstances both within Palestine and internationally)¹³. Palestinian

13 Anatomy of Another Rebellion, Middle East Research and Information Project: Critical Coverage of the Middle East Since 1971, Middle East Report 217, S. Tamari, R. Hammami, www.merip.org, Winter 2000

disobedience was now expressed more intensely through armed resistance via the organizations representing it, also including the method of “suicide attacks”.

The Second Intifada led to the withdrawal of Israeli forces and Israeli settlers from the Gaza Strip. However, despite its withdrawal, the Israeli state maintained control of the perimeter of the Gaza Strip, created a blockade of the area to suffocate the Palestinian population. In fact, it created what has been defined as “the largest open prison on the planet”. The Gaza Strip is surrounded by a fence which in many places is a concrete wall, with machine guns, camera and sensor towers, and a perimeter ‘buffer zone’ patrolled by tanks and armored personnel carriers. In 2021, the Israeli state completed the construction of a three-meter-deep underground concrete barrier, along the existing fence, to prevent people from tunneling under the existing walls, such as the Rafah crossing into Egypt. In 2018, Israel also began constructing a 37-mile-long sea barrier off the coast of the Gaza Strip.



However, what becomes evident from the limited information coming from the Gaza Strip is the unimaginable network of tunnels that has been constructed under this territory. It appears that the entire area is dug up and that there are underground enclaves communicating with each other through tunnels below the residential areas. While the



rural guerrillas benefited from the knowledge of the uncharted (for the enemies) mountains and the urban guerrillas from the invisibility of their uncharted members by issuing fake identity cards, passports etc., in Gaza Strip where there is no possibility of either fleeing to the mountains or taking advantage of invisibility, the need and the choice for resistance motivated the creation

of literal and figurative underground resistance networks in tunnels. Israel is attempting to destroy these underground resistance networks-tunnels through the mass murder of unarmed people.

ISRAEL: A STATE IN A CONSTANT STATE OF EMERGENCY

A colonial regime / A state synonym of Apartheid

APARTHEID'S MEANING in the Afrikaans language (a language spoken in 1/3 of South Africa and originated from the Dutch colonists of the country) is “segregation”. Apartheid in South Africa was a system of a state organized and institutionalized segregation of people based on their racial origin. It was a series of racist laws and practices that degraded the lives of the blacks in favor of white rule in South Africa. Segregation arrived with colonialism in the 17th century and Apartheid became official state policy through the provision of law (29/6/1949) that prohibited mixed weddings between whites and blacks and was expanded in every field of daily life. What followed was the spatial segregation, where the movement of blacks to

‘white areas’ was prohibited and the blacks were forced to live in scattered and fragmented enclaves, so-called Bantustan territories (white colonists called blacks Bantu). The system of Apartheid was maintained until 1991, when it was abolished through long term and multiform struggle of the black population, combined with the international outcry and solidarity.

The state of Israel, even before its official establishment, had been based on the Zionist ideals that, despite their differences depending on the representatives of the different types of Zionism, converged in the creation of a Jewish state in Zion, the historical “promise land”, by attempting to create numeric majority of Jewish

population against Arabs. As the manifestation of Jewish nationalism, it almost fundamentally rested upon the degradation of Arabs in relation to Jews.

In its founding in 1948 Israel conquered the majority of Palestine (at approximately 77%) while following the “Six-day War” in 1967 it essentially occupied the entire area, with restricted Palestinian control on fragmented enclaves in the West Bank and in the Gaza strip after 2005. It also keeps expanding its territories in areas of the neighboring Arab states. After the establishment of the Israeli state, the life of the Palestinians exists under the occupation regime along with the plights that impact every moment of their daily life: displacements, murders, injuries, and constant humiliation. Israel constantly degrades Palestinian lives.

Throughout the decades, this condition became more and more unbearable for Palestinians. The reality of occupation – colonization, combined with the constant Israeli settlements that were essentially forming an Apartheid regime within Israeli territory, includes discrimination against the Palestinian

community and the infringement of the right of movement, even within the territory of the alleged Palestinian sovereignty, because of the existence of walls and countless checkpoints. At the same time, there have been executions of Palestinians (by the Israeli secret services, the military, and the settlers), torture and crushing injuries¹⁴ by breaking their limbs.

The formalization of the discrimination regime can be traced in the Oslo Accords, which most clearly advocated to a permanent Israeli dominance “in disguise” using the “alibi” of a restricted Palestinian self-determination that mostly intensified a “Bantustan” regime by the presence of discontinuous and disconnected Palestinian territories amidst Israeli dominance. Beyond the recognition of the “conflicting” parties by each other (the Israeli state and the Palestine Liberation Organization), there was the formation of the so-called Palestinian

14 Even reaching the European Parliament, following reports by human rights organizations: www.europarl.europa.eu/meetdocs/2004_2009/documents/cm/618/618799/618799el.pdf



Authority, namely the creation of a Palestinian state formation (that was postponed to an unknown future). At this point, there was provision of the segregation of West Bank into 3 zones. Most of the villages and cities, in which Palestinian men and women reside, are disconnected from each other and the movement from one to another is difficult, humiliating and time consuming because of Israeli checkpoints (Zone A - Bantustan under the control of Palestinian Authority). Israeli military camps and outposts have been transversely developed for the control of the Palestinian territories and the transfers, the protection of settlers and of course for military operations

following relevant orders (Zone B – under joint control, military control by the Israeli state and political control by the Palestinian Authority). In addition, in the middle there are numerous Israeli settlements, the inhabitants of which - as for example in Hebron - often exercise lethal aggression (Zone C - under Israeli control).

The constant process of the expansion of Israeli settlements leads to the displacement of the Palestinians in a more and more restricted discontinuous territorial area, resulting in the prohibition of unimpeded movement inside the Palestinian areas. The conditions



became even worse with the barrier/wall constructed by the Israeli state with a length of 750 km in the West Bank following the outburst of Second Intifada (on the pretext of preventing attacks against Israel), which restricted Palestinian territory much deeper than the so-called Green Line¹⁵. The Wall of the de facto safeguarding of the occupied areas by Israel and the annexation of much more area is the most glaring symbol of this form of apartheid, where those who have the political,

economic, and military power barricade themselves behind larger or smaller fortresses in order to exclude the pariahs and defend their interests. It is a cement mass with a height of 8-9 meters, with a dead zone of 50-100 meters, outposts in between, checkpoints, cameras, and electric fences, which embodied Israeli settlements and detached 9,5% of the inhabited and cultivable Palestinian territories, especially those with olive trees, which are the main means of living for the villagers. These kind of walls and barriers can be found accordingly in the “civilized west world” for the interception of migrants at the borders between U.S.A. and Mexico, in the Spanish

15 The green line was defined as the furthest point reached by Israeli troops inside Palestinian territories in 1949.

Απεικόνιση της Δυτικής Όχθης, τεμαχισμένης σε 3 ζώνες (Α, Β, C), όπως αυτή καθορίστηκε μετά τις συμφωνίες του Οσλο



- Palestinians run security and civil affairs
 - Israel runs security; Palestinians run civil affairs
 - Israel runs security and civil affairs
 - Jewish:
 - built-up settlements
 - settler-run municipalities
 - outposts
 - Separation barrier:
 - built or under construction
 - - - planned
- Source: B'Neftem



West Bank divided in zones A, B, C after Oslo Accords.

enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla in Morocco and in Evros at the borders with Turkey in the Greek territory. This regime that violates human dignity is completed by the wall that surrounds the Gaza Strip as long as the sea barrier that excludes the same area.

The last episode intensifying and formalizing the segregation regime is Israel's passage of the notorious

law about the “Jewish nation-state” in July 2018. According to this law “Israel is the historical homeland of Jewish people, and they have the exclusive right of self-determination on it”. By this law the usage of Arabic language is restricted and Arab-Israelis (approximately 1,8 million - 20% of the population of Israel) are essentially degraded into non-citizens.

Israel is a state in a constant state of emergency, expansion, aggressiveness, and military activity



that does not hesitate to use any appropriate means to achieve its goals against those considered enemies or a threat. To achieve its goals, it follows a militaristic policy with a mandatory military service at the age of 18 (32 months for men and 24 months for women along with training periods that can be repeated until the age of 40) and aims at forging a Zionist/nationalist conscience among the youth. At the same time, the regime is relentless for the dissidents with numerous examples of violent repression against mobilizations and protests, with threats or imprisonment of conscientious objectors and with

ensorship, information control, and suppression of any opposing voice.

One consequence of militarism, discipline and engagement with the state are depicted in the fact that Israel was the “model country” in the “war against the invisible enemy” of covid19, succeeding in vaccinating more than 80% of the population.

All the above do not seem to correspond to the image that Israel provides abroad, where it is presented as a role model state about individual rights and freedom on sexual orientation¹⁶.

At the same time, the Israeli state is in a constant status of war preparation as far as its foreign policy. This can be easily concluded if we see again the war conflicts with the neighboring countries through the decades. For Israeli foreign policy, the subjects at issue remain stable until the fulfillment of its territorial and political interests. It is not a coincidence that it never proceeded

16 And for this reason, it has been accused of applying the tactic of “pink-washing” (or “rainbow-washing”). “Pink-washing” is the name given to the tactic, where a state (or institution) “appropriates” the reason for supporting the rights of LGBTI+ people, in order to present itself as progressive and to support its political choices. Israel in particular advertises itself as an oasis of democracy and sexual freedom, in a region with states and regimes that are completely illiberal, authoritarian and oppressive. However, contrary to this image, which the Israeli state diligently tries to present, the technique of “pink-washing” was highlighted by queer subjects to show, not only that it is a propaganda of Israel’s progressivity in relation to the Muslim world, but also the active devaluation and deterioration of their position within Israeli society.

to declare its official borders, being a unique example that such an “issue” remains outstanding and there is constantly an open space for it to take initiatives and settle it. Israel does not hesitate to strike on targets that are not inside its territory, as the recent example of the air attack and bombardment in Beirut (capital of Lebanon), aiming to kill the deputy leader of Hamas Al Aruri.

Despite the grand pretexts presented by the Israeli state, the reading of history and the analysis of its politics leads clearly to the following conclusion: Israel is a colonial regime, an occupying Apartheid state with constant aggressiveness both abroad and inside the country.

The notorious “right in self-defense” that Israel invokes, it is nothing more than a “dead letter”. This cannot be argued especially against an occupied population along with the argument about “war”, given the fact that there is not another state entity on the other side.

“ANTI”-TERRORIST DOCTRINES OR OTHERWISE MANUAL OF GLOBAL COUNTERINSURGENCY

Propaganda, information control, “violent” extraction of consent

IF THERE WAS ANYTHING CRUCIAL in relation to the October 7, 2023 attack, it is the application of the basic guidelines of anti-terrorist manuals as they have been introduced post September 11, 2001*, which define wars against “asymmetric threats” and “internal enemies”. These guidelines, apart from enacting extremely strict criminal provisions, the institutionalization of the use of surveillance means, and the application of repressive doctrines (military-style police operations and military interventions of police nature), include the intensification of propaganda that resembles a psychological operation to create and

establish a particular state narrative as a discourse of “truth” beyond all questioning.

These practices do not arise from nowhere; instead, they serve specific objectives according to the given situation. In order to make a political analogy, we can recall the propaganda against the so-called “invisible enemy” and everything that states applied with the excuse of covid-19 (quarantines, bans, social control, compulsory vaccination, social segregation and exclusions based on whether or not to respond to state-

* See note on the next page

*** NOTE ON SEPTEMBER 11 2001**

In the context of that period, the dominant strategy after September 11 involved the methodical spread of the newly developed “anti”-terrorist propaganda (the origin of which can be traced back to the 1960s and 1970s when a number of rural and urban guerrilla movements were on the rise), the rapid spread of prohibitive and repressive policies of ‘security’, ‘public order’ and against ‘asymmetric threats’ and the preparation for large-scale military operations.

Within the US, the Patriot Act was passed within a few days, an extremely strict “anti”-terrorist law, removing all restrictions regarding surveillance, interrogation, torture, secret prisons, etc., also encouraging citizens to become informants of the police and targeting Muslims in particular and immigrants of color in general.

What had also been previously signed, in the summer of 2001, was the Palermo international agreement among almost all the UN states which aimed at promoting a common - in its logic and directives/provisions - ‘anti-terrorist’ legislation throughout the world. At the same time, regarding on the “foreign front”, there were feverish preparations for war campaigns (aptly described at the time as “anti”-terrorist crusades), with the pretext of the “battle of good against evil”, famously quoted by the US President George Bush and his staff. That is to say, military operations in the form of police operations against ‘dangerous radical movements’, ‘terrorist asymmetric threats’ or the so-called ‘rogue states’.

At the same time, terror campaigns of a racist-arabophobic-Islamophobic nature unfolded in Western states, which have formed the ideological framework of state anti-immigration policies and xenophobia in recent decades (based on Huntington’s theory of a ‘clash of civilizations’, articulated in the early 1990s, which set the new context of threats and challenges for the US and the West with the collapse of the Eastern bloc and the end of the Cold War). Terror campaigns that are restarting whenever there are military operations with geopolitical, economic or “anti”-terrorist aims of the western bloc of power (including Israel) against regions and populations of Arabs, Muslims, etc.

Nowadays, this racist, repressive and war campaign propaganda, is related to the fear of “terrorist” attacks because of the Israeli massacre in the Gaza Strip. Propaganda that remains “under control” as long as there are no refugees from the Palestinian region in Western countries and as long as there are no relevant attacks by Arabs or Muslims already residing in Europe and the USA.



media-expert instructions) and the portrayal of immigrants as invaders of the Greek borders and Fortress Europe in the context of a “hybrid war” (a portrayal that keeps coming back).

Based on these events, extermination retaliations carried out by the Israeli state after October 7 are portrayed as a war between Israel and Hamas and as the response of the Israeli state (the infamous “right to self-defense”) which, however harsh it may be, is considered to be legitimate against “terrorists”¹⁷.

17 Indicatively, Hamas, which is an organization of the political Islam, is described the same way as ISIS (sic).

The speed and effectiveness of the Israeli propaganda machine in the Western world was impressive. Just a few hours after the start of Operation “Al Aqsa Flood,” the breaching of the wall/barrier of the Gaza prison in 14 places, the occupation of the Israeli military base responsible for surveillance and systematic armed attacks in the Gaza Strip and the taking of hostages, military and civilian, what was being broadcasted by the media all over the world was the same thing, a unified description of the attack. The target was to control the dynamic of the first image of the event that is imprinted on the human mind and the impression that it creates.

Not a few days passed and the initial reports, which referred to the beheading of dozens of babies, turned out to be false and the related reports were quietly withdrawn without any official denial. Similarly, the gang rapes, which were also constantly reported in the first days, were not confirmed. There was no relevant complaint¹⁸ and the reports are based on testimonials from other people who were at the rave party but who have not been raped or otherwise sexually assaulted. In the meantime, one of Israel's leading newspapers, Yedioth Akhronot, "revealed" what was already known from the beginning, that the Israeli army ordered all its combat units that day to retake territory and prevent Palestinian resistance fighters from returning to Gaza at all costs, including hostage casualties¹⁹. Approximately 70

18 Report: Israel Police unable to find victims, witnesses of alleged Hamas sex crimes, Middle East Monitor, www.middleeastmonitor.com, 05.01.24

19 Hannibal Directive or protocol: Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) procedure to prevent the arrest of Israeli soldiers by enemy forces. It was introduced in 1986, following several abductions of I.D.F. soldiers in Lebanon and subsequent prisoner exchanges. The full text of the directive was never published and until 2003 Israeli military censorship

vehicles, a significant number of homes in the Be Erie Kibbutz (three kilometers from Gaza where Israeli civilians were taken hostage) and the site where a three-day rave party was being held were targeted by air and ground units of the Israeli army (I.D.F.), resulting in an undisclosed number of deaths from "friendly" Israeli fire. The final number of casualties will most likely never be known, since the Israeli intelligence services have the record and the data and probably have good reason for not wanting to make them public.

Israeli state propaganda focused specifically on presenting the kibbutz²⁰ as the central target of the

even prohibited any public discussion on the subject. The directive has been changed several times, but its core remains: "abduction must be stopped by any means, even at the cost of striking and harming our own."

20 The closest interpretation of the Hebrew word Kibbutz is "gathering". The first Kibbutz was founded in 1910 and was called Deganya. Each Kibbutz was a communal structure, engaged in farming while its economy was cooperative/collectivist. The political background of the Kibbutz was initially based on a combination of socialist/libertarian positions with the socialist/labor movement of Zionism. Their population consisted mostly of Eastern European Jews who had faced severe persecution in their places of origin. In the Kibbutz, libertarian ideas were active



Gaza Strip, 7 December 2023, naked Palestinian hostages of the Israeli army

Hamas attack aiming at causing as many civilian casualties as possible. In fact, Israel attempted to portray them more or less as unarmed and peaceful communities. There may be such communities, but the kibbutz, however, has for decades ceased to be experiments of communalism and collectivism²¹, constituting

for some time. However, already after the second decade of the 20th century, they were also pillars of Zionist ideology, while in the following years their members participated in attacks against Arabs such as the 1948 persecution (Nakba).

21 What is a kibbutz? How Israeli communities have been targeted by Hamas,

in most cases private enterprises (including high-tech and military industries), pivotal for the Israeli economy. They are militarized structures, monitored by state-of-the-art surveillance equipment, in many cases strategically placed around Israeli military bases. In most cases their residents are armed settlers who enjoy substantial tax exemptions, and often consist of a large population of active soldiers and officers.

The propaganda machine that the Israeli state has set up to control information and to spread its own narrative (“word of truth”), to nationalize the consciousness of its

and what happened at Kfar Aza, [inews.co.uk](https://www.inews.co.uk), 11/10/23

citizens and to normalize its practices internationally, is called “Hasbara”. The closest translation of this Hebrew word is “explanation” and constitutes a complete architecture of communication and propaganda policy, which was put in place immediately after the massacre in the Sabra and Satila Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon in 1982, with the aim of transforming the negative impressions created by it.

Diplomats, politicians, journalists, international institutes, non-governmental organizations, and intelligence agencies have always been at the service of this mechanism, as carriers of the broadcasting and dissemination of those images-interpretations of reality that benefit Israel, while there are many cases of funding through scholarships and sponsorships²².

Since the mid-2000s, the communication war on the part of

the Israeli state has escalated and “Hasbara 2.0” includes the extensive use of social media and digital platforms. The exploitation of the operation of search engines, digital algorithms, and fake profiles serve the upgraded needs and aspirations of propaganda tactics in a hi-tech communication pattern which moves simultaneously with the famous hi-tech Israeli army.

A pillar of the Israeli state’s rhetoric over the decades is its (self-)presentation as a state in a permanent defensive position against the aggression and threat of the surrounding Arab states, Palestinian organizations, and the Palestinian population, that want to eliminate it along with the Jewish population of the region. On this basis, the charge of anti-Semitism is automatically attributed to those who criticize Zionism, the Israeli state, and its practices. A clear attempt to reverse the criticism and reality itself based on the atrocities suffered by Jews over the centuries that culminated in the Holocaust.

22 More about «Hasbara»: «The art of deception: How Israel uses “Hasbara” to whitewash its crimes», TRT World, www.trtworld.com, January 2024 / «Understanding Hasbara: Israel’s propaganda machine», www.newarab.com, 18.11.23 / «Hasbara Industry: Deconstructing Israel’s Propaganda Machine», www.palestinechronicle.com, 08.06.23



Hebron, West Bank, December 2017

Returning our attention to October 7, it is no coincidence that the Israeli state called that day its own September 11th, set up a military government of national unity and launched, in terms of collective responsibility, the fiercest and bloodiest military offensive in its 75 years of occupation to exterminate and displace Palestinians. The main pursuit from the very beginning has been to displace the entire Palestinian population from the Gaza Strip to Egypt and to execute as many Hamas officials and members as possible.



Resistance even wounded and in captivity, Gaza City, December 2023

However, the proposal that Israel submitted for the displacement of the 2.3 million Palestinians of the Gaza Strip to a refugee camp on Mount Sinai was not accepted by the Egyptian state or the United States, not due to humanitarian or

solidarity reasons but for political, diplomatic, and geostrategic reasons. Since then, Israel has articulated more “minimalist” objectives: the elimination of Hamas, the destruction of resistance infrastructure (demilitarization), the return of Israeli hostages, the “de-radicalization” of the Palestinian society (apparently by attempting to collectively instill fear, through the experience and memory of mass death and the inability to react, to crush the will and the strength to resist), ensuring that the Gaza Strip will no longer pose a threat to Israel (with even more reinforced military control, in a wide “dead zone” inside the existing fence/wall, further

confining the Palestinians to the south-western part of this narrow strip of land where its 2.3 million inhabitants were already crowded into an area 40 km long and 10 km wide). Its main goal, however, remains the initial one, that is to integrate both the Gaza Strip and those areas of the West Bank that have remained under Palestinian control, to unify the historic region of Palestine (from the river to the sea) under its own occupation and control. Therefore, in the Gaza Strip, in addition to military means, Israel uses the deprivation both of food (famine) and medical supplies as a weapon.

THE CONFLICTING POLES AND THE STANCE OF THE GREEK STATE

IN THIS NEW AND EXTREMELY BLOODY

incident in history (one of the biggest postwar massacres, genocides) numerous states have stood in line and are, directly or indirectly, involved, according to their own interests. On Israel's side stand the states of the western block of power, led by the USA and Great Britain which invest politically and militarily in Israeli as an ally of stability and democracy which serves western interests in the Middle East (a critical geopolitical location between Europe, Asia, and Africa), rich in oil fields, a "punch in the gut" of the Arab world.

On the side of Hamas, stand Iran, Hezbollah in Lebanon, the shia forces in Iraq and Syria, the Houthis in Yemen, the Turkish state as a supporter, and Russia and China as

neutral but underground supporters. It is a political/military pole with a religious undertone (although Hamas belongs to Sunni Islam, while the other parts belong to shia Islam) with the Iranian state being its pillar with its ambitions and its regional hegemony role.

The excessive exchange of fire, with missiles, rockets, drones in the whole area combined with the decrease in the number of merchandise ships passing through the Red Sea and the Suez Canal due to Houthi attacks in the Gulf of Aden against ships both of Israeli interest and with Israeli ports as their destination, suggest the fact that the military activities can escalate to peripheral warfare.

The geopolitical developments are of a great scale following the leveling of Syria and the continuous war

between Russia and Ukraine/NATO. In the situation of deep capitalist crisis, the breakdown of globalization and the escalation of power antagonisms, war is everywhere and the discrimination between war and peace is indistinct.

As far as the Greek state is concerned, from the first moment it rushed to take the side of the Israeli state by condemning the 7th of October Hamas attacks and advocating “the right of the Israeli state for self-defense”, thus setting the ground for its active participation, both political and military, in the cleansing operation of Gaza as well as in the attacks in the West Bank. The central goal is to establish and reinforce its place in the redistribution of international power relations.

This looks exactly like the stance of the Greek state in the case of the war in Ukraine. The Greek state provided the Ukrainian side with weapon systems. It transformed the military base of Alexandroupoli into a NATO junction of fuels and weapon systems and the prime minister shockingly declared “We are at war with Russia”! By being once again the best and most willing disciple of

the NATO alliance, the Greek state looks forward to playing the role of the advanced border guardian of the south-east Mediterranean and Europe.

What is not a coincidence is that the Greek state (regardless of government) has steadily been investing in and reinforcing the Greece-Israel alliance for more than ten years in the context of the broader alliance of Greece-Cyprus-Israel-Egypt. It was one of the very first states to respond to the NATO call for backing up Israel, contributing two battle ships in the South-East Mediterranean and by giving the two military bases of Souda and Elefsina to NATO as its bases of operations. Greece has also responded to the USA call for the “Operation Prosperity Guardian” to create an international navy military formation to confront the Houthis to “protect international navigation and the unhampered traffic of merchandise ships through the Red Sea”. At the same time, the Greek state is prominent in the European mission of battleships named “Aspides” again in the Red Sea, by participating with the battleship “Ydra” while overseeing the



Meetings between the current and former Prime Minister of Greece and the Prime Minister of Israel Netanyahu, in the context of strengthening the Greek-Israeli alliance.

command center and coordinating the European operation from the European Union Operation Headquarters (EU-OHQ) in Larissa. Simultaneously, there is an attempt to balance public opinion with hypocritical calling for humanitarian

aid towards the Gaza civilians and for the Israeli state to act in retaliation with “respect to the international human rights law”.

AUTHORITIES WITHIN PALESTINIAN SOCIETY AND THE ANTI-COLONIAL BASIS OF THE STRUGGLE

EVEN IN THE DREDGES OF CAPITALISM

there is class division, forms of political power, and hierarchy. There is nothing (territory, population, natural world) outside the chains of capitalist exploitation and state regulation-domination. Capitalism and states have colonized the entire planet, as well as every moment of everyday life. Everything is systemically embedded, not only in different degrees of qualitative and quantitative integration, but also the nature of their exception through their exclusion. Moreover, the state of exception is a form of inclusion with the character of devaluation and exclusion, the threshold between the inside and the outside that dissolves their boundaries.

Palestinian society is obviously not exempted. There is class stratification, gender segregation and patriarchy, the power of tradition and religion, powerful hierarchical political organizations/parties (secular or religious), institutions for political decision-making, diplomacy, economic management and police surveillance-repression, such as the Palestinian Authority and the corresponding institutional matrix developed by Hamas in the Gaza Strip.



Ramallah, West Bank, June 2021.

Around five million Palestinians are displaced in the surrounding Arab countries (Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Syria, and Saudi Arabia) as a result of Israeli persecution and colonization. Most of them have been living for decades in refugee camps, in miserable conditions and in a state of exception (no movement, living on the edge of destitution, absence of even basic rights).

Palestinians in the West Bank live under occupation of their olive

trees (one of the most historical symbols of their struggle and under the occupation authorities and settlers have uprooted over 800,000 olive trees since 1967) and other agricultural crops on the fertile lands of the Jordan Valley (many of which have been taken over by settlers along with important water resources). They have also for decades been the main workforce - mostly unskilled - of Israeli companies, either in Israeli cities (Tel Aviv, Haifa, etc.)

or in settlements in the West Bank (Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Hebron, etc.), with colonialism and racism - as always - devaluing the workforce and reducing their wages.

During the Second Intifada (2000-2005), the start of construction of the 750 km wall of separation from the Israeli state in 2003 was combined with the reduction of Palestinian workers in Israeli companies. They were now largely banned from crossing to the other side of the wall and were replaced by migrant workers (with similar or even worse working conditions and wages), who were 'imported' through transnational agreements from various regions, mainly from Asia. According to the latest report of the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), released on 26 October 2023, "unemployment in the occupied West Bank is over 13% and poverty plagues 40% of the Palestinian population, with 22.5% of workers working in Israeli cities or settlements, where wages are higher".

As for the Gaza Strip, its inhabitants have less and more difficult access to resources. Being a former refugee camp, there are not many jobs in the Gaza Strip or businesses. Most

of the residents are unemployed or temporarily employed, supported by benefits and charity food lines. Only residents from neighborhoods such as Beit Hanoun or Jabaliya, in the northern part of the Strip, were allowed to cross the wall under special permissions to work in Israeli towns and businesses near northern Gaza. Even before the start of Israeli military operations after October 7, more than half of the population of the Gaza Strip was living below the poverty threshold.

The basic mechanism for the creation of a ruling class, in political and economic terms, in Palestine was the establishment of the Palestinian Authority, an institutional model of a state apparatus, created after the Oslo Accords in 1993, which, among other responsibilities (negotiations with the Israeli state and the international factor, creation of security forces and detention centers to manage social disobedience), undertook the management of large amounts of international funding (mainly of Western origin) to strengthen the Palestinian Authority itself.

The personal wealth of Fatah²³ members, by misappropriating financial assets from these funds, resulted in a significant reduction in its popularity, combined with its yielding to the Israeli state and its abandoning resistance. Hamas in the Gaza Strip has been managing similar funds for years from financial aid from surrounding Arab states, which, in addition to any social aid, also serve to strengthen its position as an armed party.

The main sectors from which the wealthy layers in Palestinian society come are the supervisory staff of the parties-organizations, the officials of the institutions, an extensive network of Non-Governmental Organizations²⁴ (associated with

23 Socialist organization, the main body of the PLO, led for decades by Yasser Arafat until his death in 2004, which has controlled the Palestinian Authority since its foundation.

24 "When it comes to funding, everybody talks about sustainability and democracy, and they come here and give workshops to the 'natives' [...] The funders don't deal with the occupation. For example, they talk about the problem of water but they work around the occupation and they won't talk about the core problem, which is that Israel steals our water [...] It's a system of control. And we are losing the essence of what these organizations should be working for. It has created a bubble of very rich NGO workers, both foreign and

political personnel and international aid funds), contracting companies that subcontract pieces of Israeli and multinational companies at the level of projects, production, construction and of course the omnipresent parasitic caste of traders.

Political authority is constituted as a model state and refers to institutions of political decision-making, diplomacy, economic management, and police supervision-suppression, either in its formal-recognized version such as the Palestinian Authority - which since 2007 only has authority in the West Bank - or in its informal form such as the corresponding institutional apparatus that Hamas has set up without international recognition in the Gaza Strip. It is no coincidence that mainly in the West Bank but also in the Gaza Strip there have been anti-government demonstrations, strikes and even street fights, on issues related to the living conditions and in the context of major events such as the so-called 'Arab Spring' uprisings

Palestinian. A class of rich people in Ramallah, pretending to give aid." Lina Nabulsi, Bethlehem, West Bank - INTERVIEWS WITH PALESTINIAN RADICAL WOMEN, edited by Shoal Collective, published by Active Distribution, September 2021

in 2011, which the authorities in charge have dealt with repression²⁵.

Concerning gender divisions, the place of women in Palestinian society, conservatism, and the influence of religiosity, Lina Nabulsi is informative:

“I grew up under occupation [...] During the second intifada, which started in 2000, I began to understand the situation better. [...]”

“At that time there was more space for women than there is now. Society has become much more conservative since then. In such bloodshed and death, religion is the

only thing people can hold on to [...]”

“But because women are part of the struggle against the Israeli occupation, we have been granted more freedom than in other places. Due to this, women are better off here compared to other Arab countries.”

25 “They [the US] brought Salam Fayyad to power, that World Bank motherfucker,* and his mandate was to basically end ‘corruption’ and create institutions (He was Prime Minister of the Palestinian Authority between 2007 and 2013. He had previously worked for the IMF and World Bank). Then we started seeing that more and more of the government budget was going toward ‘security’. I realised that police were getting trained to fight against their own people. Soldiers were getting trained in protest dispersal. Our security forces were getting trained by Americans and Europeans [...]”

During the 2011 protests, both Hamas in Gaza, and Fatah here in the West Bank, did everything they could to destroy our movement. Here in Ramallah the protests got crushed by the PA. They targeted us and went after us individually, isolating us from each other. There was coordination between the Palestinian and Israeli security forces to get activists [...]

When I was arrested and taken into custody by the PA I saw people bleeding, being tortured. You get tortured first in the Palestinian prisons, and then your forced confessions get used by the Israelis. Often, you get released from the Palestinian jail, then soon after you are arrested by the Israelis. There is coordination between them through the DCO (District Coordinating Office – an institution created during the Oslo agreements).” Lina Nabulsi, Bethlehem, West Bank - INTERVIEWS WITH PALESTINIAN RADICAL WOMEN, edited by Shoal Collective, published by Active Distribution, September 2021



Female fighters of the Palestinian resistance in the 1960s

All this, however, does not evolve in a parallel universe to the Israeli colonial regime of apartheid, displacement, extermination, imprisonment, repression, but it is manifested and constituted in the context of the occupation reality and entangled with it. Something that is also posed by the very radical subjects of the social grassroots movements, who live there and struggle from a social-emancipatory perspective (far from ethnocentric logics and national-liberation fixations) equally against the Israeli occupation, capitalism,

patriarchy, racism, state control, and totalitarianism.

And with the particularity, that it is a regime of “settler colonialism”: the occupying, racist, exploiting power is not a state based elsewhere in the world, which has remotely imposed itself militarily and administratively, exploiting the resources and human potential of the native population. The Israeli state claims this same territory for itself and its settlers, using the methodology of a constant increase in the settler population and the gradual displacement of the previous inhabitants of the territory.



The Israeli state's military operations since October 7 have displaced almost the entire population of the Gaza Strip in its southernmost point, Rafah.

“It never occurred to me when I crossed the Rafah border that I wasn’t going to go back, never. But then the siege even prohibited us from returning to our refugee camps. I’m a refugee; I was born a refugee and then I find myself in a completely different setting and from afar, watching my family, my loved ones, friends and everybody that I care about surviving through siege, military occupation, and apartheid and subjugated to daily forms

of violence [...] Especially in Gaza, which Israel treats as a laboratory where they could develop innovative ways of control, applying mechanisms that were never probably used in any other context in the history of humanity -it’s just incredible how normalised these extreme injustices are.”²⁶

“We are dealing with an occupying, colonial, racist and apartheid regime.”²⁷

26 Shahd Abusalama, Gaza, living in UK - INTERVIEWS WITH PALESTINIAN RADICAL WOMEN, edited by Shoal Collective, published by Active Distribution, September 2021

27 Mona Al-Farra, Gaza - INTERVIEWS WITH PALESTINIAN RADICAL WOMEN, edited by Shoal Collective, published by Active Distribution, September 2021

AGAINST THE “LOGIC” OF SET-OFFS AND EQUAL DISTANCES

THERE IS NO SUCH DISTINCTION as Palestine and Israel²⁸. There is the historical region of Palestine and the occupying apartheid state of Israel. The simultaneous and in contrast to each other reference to Palestine and Israel indirectly, but evidently, recognizes and normalizes the state of Israel, its persecutions, settlements, walls, humiliations, tortures, imprisonments, murders. Resistance groups, secular or religious, besides the rightful critique against them from an anti-authoritarian point of view,

28 “Apartheid and the politics of occupation are the very basis of the state of Israel [...] The occupation doesn’t stop at the checkpoint. It is all around us, and thus there is no “here” and “there.” Israel is the occupation.” Yossi Bartal, *Anarchists Against the Wall - Direct Action and Solidarity with the Palestinian Popular Struggle*, 2013.

as well as the distance that we, as anarchists, inevitably take from them (for their hierarchical structure, their authoritarian character and aspirations, their political tactics, and calculations), are guerrilla groups against an occupying state. There are no armies and borders of two opposing states. There is simply an occupation. The Israeli state intentionally has never concretely defined its borders, obviously aiming to occupy the entire historic territory of Palestine, which has been its political goal for several decades.

In the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, there is no war but a military reprisal operation by the Israeli state as a response to a resistance action that was entitled “terrorist”. Following the action of Hamas and appointing collective responsibility to the Palestinian people, the Israeli state

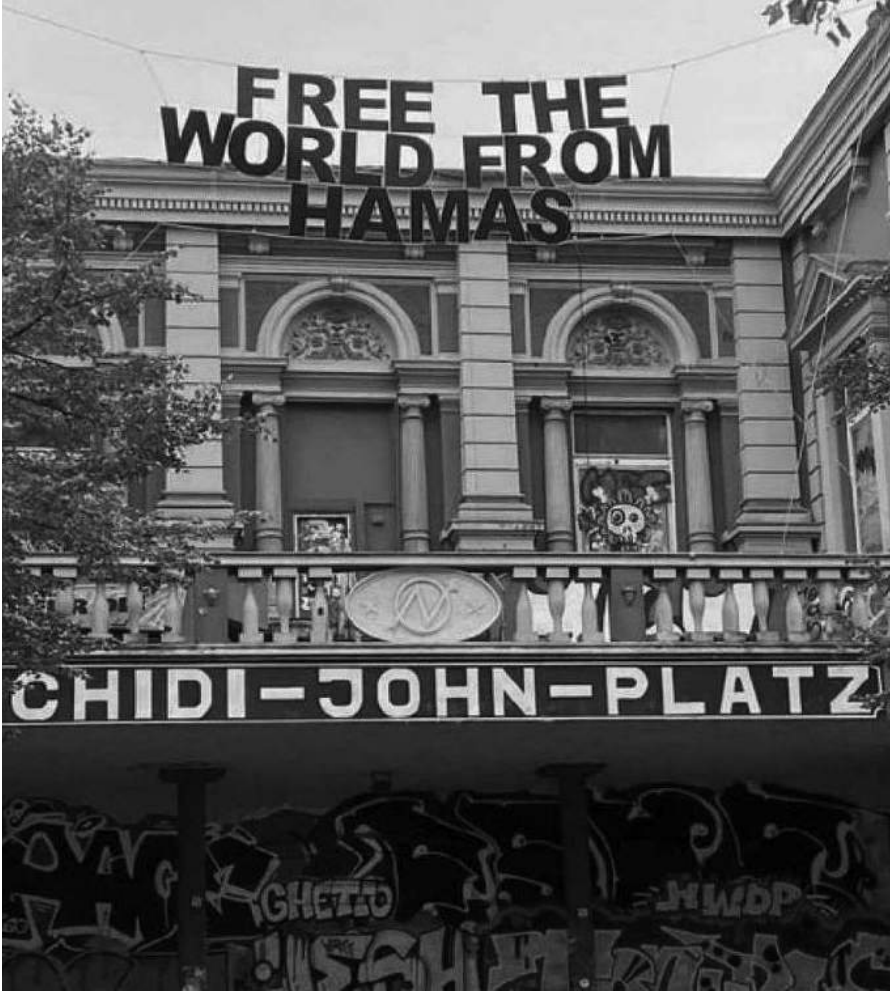
has since then initiated a massacre of tens of thousands of people in a few months, most of them unarmed, among them a great number of children. This constitutes one of the worst genocides since the World War II, a greater disaster in human losses than Nakba in 1948.

Seeing this situation through a narrow and sterile class analysis and/or a trials of power diagnosis on both sides as the main enemy of the oppressed on both sides of the borders (which actually do not exist), stems from the inability to understand that power asymmetries within the Palestinian society arise from the dialectic, the limits, the contradictions, the distortions of the anti-colonial struggle itself. These are ideological approaches that try in a false way (like any ideology) to fit reality into closed systems of ideas and tools. It is no coincidence that within these approaches and methodologies occur false parallelisms with the Ukrainian front (where a war between states and coalitions of states is taking place) that do not result in solidarity imperatives with the Palestinian population against their extermination and displacement.

The colonial reality of an occupying apartheid state is the foundation on which both the most radical characteristics as well as traditional or more contemporary forms of power are developed (political power, manipulation and repression, class division, poverty and wealth concentration, religious power, conservatism, gender segregation and oppression). It is the foundation on which both the social liberation aspects of the struggle against all kinds of oppression and exploitation, as well as the national liberation focus/targeting, and fixation (whether religious or secular) are developed.

Likewise, October 7 is not the starting point of a military conflict between Hamas and the Israeli state, but a point of continuity and yet an intersection in a 75-year-long colonial history. It is an act of resistance against the occupying power and its murderous military aggression in the Gaza Strip all these years since its withdrawal in 2005.

That is why we cannot follow parts of the movement who felt the need, before arguing about anything else, to condemn the October 7 attack and compare it, in terms of



Rote Flora squat, Hamburg.

characteristics, with the operations of the Israeli state. Probably because of the power of the Israeli propaganda apparatus (Hasbara), its control and manipulation of information, which organized in a few hours a “debate” on social media based on its dilemmas. Some of these parts even devoted themselves exclusively to

condemning the action and Hamas, implying that its disappearance would make the world a better place, thus aligning themselves with the rhetoric and policies of their states. Like the slogan “FREE THE WORLD FROM HAMAS” outside the Rote Flora squat in Hamburg.

CRITICISM OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION/ ANTI-IMPERIALIST APPROACH AND IDEOLOGY

“THE PALESTINIAN PREDICAMENT *for the last hundred years is the result of nationalism eclipsing anti-colonialism, which was a much more inclusive struggle. Historically the struggle was never about Palestinian nationalism. I think Palestinian nationalism was a reaction to Zionist immigration and to the Jewish nationalist project. Palestinian nationalist discourse began as a strategic discourse to counter it.*”²⁹

Just as we cannot follow a logic of setoffs and equal distances, which bypasses the occupation reality and

29 Lama Suleiman, Haifa - INTERVIEWS WITH PALESTINIAN RADICAL WOMEN, edited by Shoal Collective, published by Active Distribution, September 2021

is influenced by the manipulation of information and Hasbara’s dilemmas, we distance ourselves from the national liberation/anti-imperialist approach and the logic of identification with the armed Palestinian organizations, such as the slogan “victory in the arms of the Palestinian resistance”. This approach, on the one hand homogenizes differentiated parts of the armed resistance (even if they have made common declarations in the last months) and on the other hand adopts positions, ideologies and objectives that are far from the social/class liberation vision.

The national-liberation/anti-imperialist analysis is a specific form of the Marxist-Leninist stage theory, adapted to the national-liberation movements, which were mainly manifested after World War II. The so-called “stage theory” sees stages everywhere and is ultimately an approach that postpones the question of social transformation indefinitely to some undefined future. For example, countries that appear underdeveloped, economically, and politically, must first develop capitalist structures in the economic sphere and bourgeois democracy at the constitutional level before the effort for social revolution can begin. Those under colonial rule must first throw off the foreign yoke and establish an independent national bourgeois state (through the alliance and the united national front of the popular strata with the bourgeois strata) before the unfolding of the class struggle towards socialism. Finally, when socialist transformation is in some way initiated, the party that claims to represent the working class will have to proceed to seize power, through the creation of a workers’ state, under its own direction. For the definitive crushing of the bourgeoisie/power and the

reactionary counter-revolutionary forces (among them the anarchist revolutionary parts which having been systematically targeted by these mechanisms), until the withering away of the socialist state and the passage to a communist classless society (!!!). A theory³⁰ which, while not historically confirmed, is constantly being revisited.

But not every anti-colonial/anti-replacement struggle is necessarily national liberationist, or that is not its only aspect. And certainly, within the Palestinian communities’ different versions and approaches to the anti-occupation struggle and its relation to other forms of oppression and exploitation have been actively manifested and articulated. In the final analysis, the Marxist-Leninist national liberation/anti-imperialist approach to these struggles is not necessarily the interpretation of what happened, but rather the strategy on which the specific parties’

30 On the basis of this position and strategy had preceded, in the framework of Stalin’s anti-fascist strategy, during the World War II, the “popular anti-fascist fronts” of the CCs in European countries, in partnership with liberal bourgeois and progressive socialists and reformists, for the containment of the Nazis and the defense of the Soviet homeland.

organizations worked, encapsulating, marginalizing, and suppressing the different versions, efforts and perspectives expressed in many cases.

It is no coincidence that this approach has led various anti-imperialist organizations and groups to declare their support for state forces and coalitions (such as the Iranian alliance with Hezbollah, Shiite militias in Iraq and Syria, Houthis, etc.) on the criterion that

they are set against the USA-NATO imperial “axis of evil”, even though these states and coalitions of powers serve their own sovereign interests and aspirations³¹.

In the case of Palestine, the limits of the national-liberationist approach are also met in the fact that the colonial state does not have its base somewhere else but exercises “settler colonialism”³². Therefore, we cannot speak about the withdrawal of the

31 “In this context there is no substantial difference except at the level of rhetoric between soft/defensive patriotism and aggressive/warlike nationalism as presented. Since the different approaches (liberal, fascist, socialist, leftist) are all based on the acceptance of the core of the national state logic, constituting different versions and variations of it. And this realization is of particular importance in the current period, when the escalation of intra-sovereign antagonisms, the disruption of globalization processes and the folding/reconvergence around the nation-state, is once again fueling the rise of nationalisms in Europe, as in other parts of the world. In contrast to the shortcomings, failures and dead ends of the anti-imperialist analysis (in relation to the issue of social-class liberation), which identifies the problem in the confrontation of powerful states or hegemonic coalitions with less powerful states, invests in the development of popular national liberation movements and advocates (directly or indirectly) the ‘self-determination of peoples’ through the creation of their own state or their integration into the nation-state they recognize as their own. An approach that inevitably ends up in the embrace of statism”, from the brochure of the Open Anti-War Assembly of Anarchists “NATIONAL IDEAS GIVE BIRTH TO GRAVEYARDS”, on the war in Ukraine, February 2023.

32 ‘Settler colonialism’ is a kind of expansionist politics with distinct features compared to ‘classical’ colonialism (Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview, Lorenzo Veracini, 2010). In ‘classical’ colonialism, military occupation and administrative organization are primarily aimed at the exploitation (resources and human resources) of the colonized population by the colonial power based (having its metropolitan state) elsewhere on the planet.

“Settler colonialism” is organized/expressed more as an invasion of territory and displacement of the native population. The element of exploitation is not the most decisive (although it is inherent) and the dominant factors are territorial, demographic and political. The settlement of settlers in a region holds out the prospect of establishing their permanent presence and changing the population composition for the purpose of establishing political (i.e. state)



occupying, racist and exploiting power, but about the decolonization of the region (as occupied territory), of the settlers (as persons who may continue to live in the region), of the social relations and consciousness

(as colonial racist institutional matrix and everyday practices), with the precondition of the destruction of the apartheid state in the context of a revolutionary liberating social transformation.

domination in that region. 'Settler colonialism' achieves its objectives when it is 'normalized' as an activity and with it the settlers when, through their long-term settlement, the territory they have occupied is now considered an integral part of the colonizing state.

Settlement is a tool of "demographic engineering", offering houses, jobs and/or land along with promises of a better life. In many cases, the transfer of settlers constitutes a measure after the displacement of a large part of the pre-existing population (such as the 1948 Nakba in the Palestinian region) and continues with a steady expansionist policy, with new settlements, occupation of more land, constant pressure on the local population to 'leave' and even new displacements.

In the context of 'settler colonialism', since the colonial power is not a 'foreign' state from some other part of the world, decolonization refers to a different perspective from that of 'classical' colonialism, where the withdrawal of the colonial power is a precondition.

IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE PALESTINIAN STRUGGLE

IT MUST BE CLEAR FROM THE ABOVE

in what way and from what perspective we stand in solidarity with the Palestinian struggle for life, dignity³³, land and freedom. From the perspective that is not interested in either one or two states in the Palestinian region - looking towards the destruction of all states planet-wide - but seeks to recognize, highlight and connect with the processes at the social base (with all their problems, limits and contradictions), from a social emancipatory point of view and with the logic of coexistence.

33 The concept of dignity is central to the social, literary and philosophical “debate” that takes place in the Middle East and the Arab world and has little to do with the simple moral conceptualization it has in the Western world. It combines concepts such as recognition, self-determination, mutual respect and freedom. The ability to exist as a community (uma) and as a person, in the way I want and define for myself. Its use resembles the invocation of freedom, individual and collective, in the western world.

Contributing with speech and action, from this part of the world and to the extent of our strength, to the resistance against the displacement and extermination of the Palestinians and to the creation of barriers to the Greek Israeli alliance and the active participation of the Greek state in the ongoing massacre. At the same time, we stand by those Jews both within Israel (cases of anti-war protesters and conscientious objectors)³⁴ and elsewhere in the world who dare to raise their voices against the Israeli occupying apartheid state (as in the USA with the occupation of the Capitol by Jews, with the central slogans “not in our name” and “ceasefire”).

34 Even in the conditions of general warlike conscription of Israeli society, there are conscientious objectors who refuse to serve in the Israeli army (I.D.F.) and participate in the genocide in Gaza, resulting in their imprisonment. (www.middleeasteye.net/video/israel-armychoose-jail-over-serving)

Yet fighting against something is never enough; we need to fight for, for a different future, for what we think is the best solution for all people to live with [...] To come together, to live together -Ta'ayush in Arabic- is simultaneously our means and ends [...]

Bringing down the borders of nation and race might be the ultimate goal, but the situation is a bit more challenging than that. Palestinians, as an ethnic group suffering from national oppression as well as devoid of their own self-determination and state, are fighting against their oppression in the most common and familiar way [...]

But what should we do as anarchists in this struggle? What are we actually fighting for, and with whom? Are we trying to be a part of this "national liberation process," as some Israeli radical-Left activists do, and see ourselves as Jewish Palestinians? Or do we believe that national liberation is just a point one should go through, one step forward, and that the day it ends victoriously (and another good question would be, what does the end of a national liberation struggle in Palestine mean?) will also be the day that the exploited Palestinian masses start the social revolution together with their Jewish working-class brothers and sisters? Or is it perhaps totally irrelevant what we think or want because we are a part of the colonialist society, and as such should only offer our unconditional

solidarity with the goals and needs of the oppressed sector?

These questions, although cynically phrased, are not without merit. National liberation is always ambiguous: it is the liberation from colonialist oppression yet at the same time the construction of new models of oppression and exploitation, and it is exactly within this ambivalent situation that we need to choose our path. This becomes even more complicated when we talk about a colonialist situation that cannot be dealt with by driving the colonialist powers back to their home countries. Rather, it is a matter of decolonizing the settler society, taking the Israelis into account not only as the current oppressors but also as a people that deserves the same freedoms and rights as all other peoples in the region.

The joint Palestinian-Israeli struggle -the fight against the wall in which "Anarchists Against the Wall" participates, or the many campaigns in which Ta'ayush supported Palestinian communities in the occupied territories or 1948 Israel -seems to be the best way to tackle the many contradictions we face in a politically productive way. The joint work of Israelis and Palestinians is in this sense one of the goals, and maybe the most important goal, of every campaign we take part in -be it resisting the wall, housing demolitions, or army invasions. Through this work, we deconstruct the racist foundations of the conflict. An Israeli

taking part in a Palestinian demonstration, risking their life and body in the face of brutal army oppression, is challenging not only the basic understandings of the Israeli soldier (soldiers ask us quite often, before or after shooting at us, if we are not afraid to get killed inside the villages by their Palestinian residents) but also those of the Palestinian farmer who meets Israelis only as their oppressor[...]

Naturally, the coming together of Palestinians and Israelis is not an easy task for those on either side. We must remember that many cultural, political, and social differences exist alongside our positions of power within this conflict—positions we cannot simply ignore out of the hope or

belief that we are all just equal partners in a struggle. The struggle to change and challenge Palestinian culture with its patriarchal, militarist, and homophobic elements is not our task but instead that of our Palestinian comrades, to whom we must offer our solidarity—first and foremost by lifting the weight of the occupation from their shoulders, and by fighting those same elements in our own society. Liberation is always a process, and it can evolve and intensify only by removing the biggest obstacle that stands in its way.”³⁵

35 Yossi Bartal, *Anarchists Against the Wall - Direct Action and Solidarity with the Palestinian Popular Struggle*, 2013.

“For Palestine, and all around the world I would like to see a place where we’re allowed to live life. I want a completely different world. I want liberation. A world where respect is returned to humanity in all forms and colours. Where people are allowed to be who they are without living in fear.

I don’t care what they label this place. I don’t care about flags. Freedom without nationality and identity. Not the communist type or the Islamic type. I want a place where everyone of any religion is respected. Animals have to be free as well. I want utopia and I won’t accept anything less.

If we die in the process of fighting for this world, then at least we have died fighting the good fight. The moment we stop believing we can get to this utopia then we don’t have anything left to fight for. Why would you take another breath if you didn’t believe anything can change?”³⁶

36 Lina Nabulsy, *Bethlehem, West Bank - INTERVIEWS WITH PALESTINIAN RADICAL WOMEN*, edited by Shoal Collective, published by Active Distribution, September 2021

