

READING RESISTANCE

HAMAS, HEZBOLLAH, ANSARALLAH, THE
AYATOLLAH, ALLAH, ET AL

barely edited by
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Those who are in solidarity with our corpses and not our rockets are hypocrites, and not of us.

— SAFFOURI01

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INTRODUCTION

I do **not** recommend this book. This collection contains proscribed speech from proscribed organizations and you may be persecuted accordingly. Especially if you live in the core of White Empire (America, Europe, etc), or want to travel through occupied territory. The Genocide of Gaza is just part of America's long War of Terror which is just a part of the long reign of terror of the colonial powers, which I call White Empire, *ensemble*. We still live under this Empire and it's as nasty as it ever was. We all either live in this Empire or can die by it (that's the rules-based order), so be warned. *Caveat emptor*.

Do not read past the triangle.



This book contains speeches, interviews, novel chapters, poems, and songs from known terrorists and terrorist sympathizers. It contains first person accounts of suicide bombing, plane hijacking, and guerrilla warfare. All of the authors are either dead or supposed to be. If you live within the White Empire, this information is all supposed to be whited-out. You're not supposed to read this. The wartime censorship regime (privatized, like everything else) is real and it is strong.

Even as a lowly blogger writing for a few thousand people, I have an FBI file, and I'm a random Sri Lankan, completely out of their jurisdiction. That shows how big the White Empire is, and how petty. They'll bother your family, they'll stop you at airports, these are serious assholes and you should take them seriously. I'm still warning you, it's not too late to go back now.

If none of this puts you off, know that the person 'editing' this book has no qualifications beyond copy and paste. I am not an editor and this book is not edited. My name is Indrajit (Indi) Samarajiva and my only qualification is curiosity. I have just copy-pasta'd some shit together from books and the Internet. Read critically, be your own editor or, better yet, be a happy idiot and leave. *Caveat editor* as well.

If you're still here, this is an introduction to the heroes of the Battle of Al Aqsa Flood. The ghetto uprising of October 7th. This uprising has already broken 'Israel' and is breaking America, the final boss of colonialism. *Millions* have been killed in America's long genocide of Muslims (*the hegemon gestures vaguely in that direction*), which merely accelerated after 2001 and 2023. America has besieged and bombed the Middle East for decades, and the White Empire has colonized it for centuries. October 7th marks the *end* of the Carbon Crusades, not the beginning.

This book is divided into sections according to the Axis of Resistance, the countries resisting the colonization of the Middle East and not being compradors, playing with their football teams. Of these sections, Iran is the only fully functional nation state, and the Ayatollah Ali Khamenei the only source with a real chance of dying in his sleep. Yemen is half free and fully defiant, Hezbollah is an independent force in Lebanon, and Palestine, despite being the worst off, is leading. This collection proceeds in reverse order, with an emphasis on Palestine and Hamas. As the journalists say, if it bleeds, it leads.

I include a few relevant UN resolutions where they belong, in an Appendix because they're useless.

These texts are selected based on the random media diet of a random Sri Lanka who is incredibly late to the scene and should not be introducing

anything. I am wildly biased, long live the Resistance, Death to America, Death to 'Israel'. I have paid no attention to copyright because I don't believe in it, don't @ me. *Caveat editor, caveat emptor, caveat everything.*

NOTE ON SOURCES

All of the sources in this book (but one) are direct. All of the sources in this book (but a few) are translated. I am not going to do an extensive bibliography because I'm lazy, but I will tell you how to pirate this information for yourself.

Pirate Media

You can access the 'pirate' media best through Telegram. Telegram is obviously a single point of failure and will fail at some point. You used to be able to follow many Axis of Resistance accounts directly directly, but since the arrest of the Telegram founder in France, many accounts have been purged (and you can assume the platform is compromised).

Irregardless, I recommend following

- @PalestineResist, or @RNN_Backup
- @RNN_Archive (history)
- @FotrosResistance (commentary)
- @unity_of_fields (imperial core)

As for finding information within these voluminous accounts, Ctrl-F is

your friend. This list is by no means exhaustive, but you can find other accounts cited therein.

Pirate Books

There are many books referenced here. If your local library (like mine) doesn't have them, you can use LibGen or Anna's Archive. I buy books as much as possible and support authors directly (and depend on such support myself). However, I think everyone has the right to a library, and piracy is the library of the people.

With that note on sources, let's get to the most important one of all. Allah Himself.

PART I

THE HOLY QURAN

In reading the Resistance, it's clear that their philosophical and literary foundation is the Quran. You should read the Quran yourself.

When I started reading, my father—a devout atheist—told me to read the Bible. He said it was the foundation of western literature and essential for understanding anything (we lived in America at the time). In the same way, you need read the Quran to understand the Middle East.

It's not just that most of the Axis of Resistance is a Muslim Resistance (literally what Hamas means), it's that most Resistance fighters of any stripe are Muslim. As Paolo Caridi said in her book on Hamas, *"this so-called Islamization can be found throughout all political forces, even those that are defined simply—and simplistically—as secular, nationalist, or leftist."* Islam is simply part of the social fabric, psychology, and philosophy of the region. When I started reading these texts I didn't get the references until I read the Quran. It's essential.

At this point, I have heard a few Quranic phrases so often that I've (badly) memorized them. *'It was not you who threw but They who threw,' 'among the believers there are men, and they have not changed in the slightest,' 'permission is*

given to those who are fought, etc. In this section I will reproduce those sections in wider context but please be aware *that this is not enough context.*

The Quran is meant to be read in full, in a community, and in Arabic. These excerpts are just for academic purposes and they are wholly inadequate for real understanding. How do you excerpt the Quran? You shouldn't. Please read the whole message yourself. The Quran is also not meant for academic purposes, it is a life changing message from, I believe, God Himself. And I say this as a Buddhist.

As a note on translation, I actually use a random Goodword translation that someone handed me on the streets of Oxford, but herein I am using the Clear Quran translation by Dr. Mustafa Khattab. As mentioned, any translation is inadequate. Note that, as per the translator's notes, "*Half brackets ' ' indicate words inserted into the English which do not directly correspond to Arabic words in the original text.*" Since this text contains excerpts of the Quran, please respect it, as in don't put your feet on this book or otherwise disrespect it, which you shouldn't be doing to books anyways.

1. AMONG THE BELIEVERS THERE ARE MEN

33:23

In every epitaph to every fallen soldier, Hezbollah (and other groups, like Amal) say something like,

“Among the believers are men who have been true to their covenant with Allah. Some of them have fulfilled their vow, and some are still waiting, and they have not changed in the least.”

This is the Truth of Allah, the Most High, the Almighty.

With great pride and honor, the Islamic Resistance exalts the martyr fighter Abbas Khodr Nasser, also known as “Jihad,” born in 1985 from the town of Yaroun in southern Lebanon, who rose as a martyr on the road to Al-Quds.

— HEZBOLLAH

I unfortunately read this a lot on Telegram (follow @PalestineResist or @RNN_Backup). This line is from one-third into Surah Al-Aḥzâb (The Enemy Alliance). I reproduce only part of the Surah here. The relevant line is 33:23, which has been bolded.



THIS MEDINIAN SŪRAH TAKES ITS NAME FROM THE ENEMY ALLIANCE (MENTIONED in verses 9–27) which laid a siege around Medina during the Battle of the Trench in 5 A.H./627 C.E. While the believers are reminded of Allah’s aid against the enemy alliance, the hypocrites are condemned repeatedly...

In the Name of Allah—the Most Compassionate, Most Merciful...

The Battle of the Trench

9. O believers! Remember Allah’s favour upon you when ‘enemy’ forces came to ‘besiege’ you ‘in Medina’, so We sent against them a ‘bitter’ wind and forces you could not see. And Allah is All-Seeing of what you do. **10.** ‘Remember’ when they came at you from east and west, when your eyes grew wild ‘in horror’ and your hearts jumped into your throats, and you entertained ‘conflicting’ thoughts about Allah. **11.** Then and there the believers were put to the test, and were violently shaken.

Stance of the Hypocrites

12. And ‘remember’ when the hypocrites and those with sickness in their hearts said, “Allah and His Messenger have promised us nothing but delusion!” **13.** And ‘remember’ when a group of them said, “O people of Yathrib! There is no point in you staying ‘here’, so retreat!” Another group of them asked the Prophet’s permission ‘to leave’, saying, “Our homes are vulnerable,” while ‘in fact’ they were not vulnerable. They only wished to flee. **14.** Had their city been sacked from all sides and they had been asked to abandon faith, they would have done so with little hesitation.

Warning to the Hypocrites

15. They had already pledged to Allah earlier never to turn their backs ‘in retreat’. And a pledge to Allah must be answered for. **16.** Say, ‘O Prophet,’ “Fleeing will not benefit you if you ‘try to’ escape a natural or violent death. ‘If it is not your time,’ you will only be allowed enjoyment for a little while.” **17.** Ask ‘them, O Prophet’, “Who can put you out of Allah’s reach if He intends to harm you or show you mercy?” They can never find any protector or helper besides Allah.

Hypocritical Tactics

18. Allah knows well those among you who discourage 'others from fighting', saying 'secretly' to their brothers, "Stay with us," and who themselves hardly take part in fighting. **19.** 'They are' totally unwilling to assist you. When danger comes, you see them staring at you with their eyes rolling like someone in the throes of death. But once the danger is over, they slash you with razor-sharp tongues, ravenous for 'worldly' gains. Such people have not 'truly' believed, so Allah has rendered their deeds void. And that is easy for Allah.

Hypocrites Paranoid

20. They 'still' think that the enemy alliance has not 'yet' withdrawn. And if the allies were to come 'again', the hypocrites would wish to be away in the desert among nomadic Arabs, 'only' asking for news about you 'believers'. And if the hypocrites were in your midst, they would hardly take part in the fight.

The Prophet as a Role Model

21. Indeed, in the Messenger of Allah you have an excellent example for whoever has hope in Allah and the Last Day, and remembers Allah often.

Stance of the Believers

22. When the believers saw the enemy alliance, they said, "This is what Allah and His Messenger had promised us. The promise of Allah and His Messenger has come true." And this only increased them in faith and submission. **23. Among the believers are men who have proven true to what they pledged to Allah. Some of them have fulfilled their pledge 'with their lives', others are waiting 'their turn'. They have never changed 'their commitment' in the least.** **24.** 'It all happened' so Allah may reward the faithful for their faithfulness, and punish the hypocrites if He wills or turn to them 'in mercy'. Surely Allah is All-Forgiving, Most Merciful.

Defeat of the Enemy Alliance

25. And Allah drove back the disbelievers in their rage, totally empty-handed. And Allah spared the believers from fighting. For Allah is All-Powerful, Almighty. 26. And He brought down those from the People of the Book who supported the enemy alliance from their own strongholds, and cast horror into their hearts. You 'believers' killed some, and took others captive. 27. He has also caused you to take over their lands, homes, and wealth, as well as lands you have not yet set foot on. And Allah is Most Capable of everything.

2. NOT YOU WHO THREW

8:17

In the name of Allah , the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful.

“So you did not kill them, but it was Allah who killed them. And you did not throw when you threw, but it was Allah who threw.”

Al-Aqsa Martyrs’ Brigades - Youth of Revenge and Liberation fighters confront the zionist enemy forces' storming of the city of Jenin and its camp after discovering the infiltration of a special zionist force into the camp, and they are engaged in violent clashes with the invading forces using bullets and explosive devices.

Indeed, it is a jihad of victory or martyrdom.

14 October 2024

— AL-AQSA MARTYRS' BRIGADES (JENIN)

In relating the many battles of the Battle of Al Aqsa Flood, groups from across the Resistance quote this line from the Quran (8:17). *You did not throw when you threw, but it was Allah who threw.* This is from the Spoils of War (*Al-Anfâl*). I reproduce the surah in full.



THIS SŪRAH WAS REVEALED IN MEDINA TO EXPLAIN HOW THE SPOILS OF WAR should be distributed following the believers' victory over the Meccan pagans at Badr in 2 A.H./624 C.E. The sŭrah urges the believers to be true to Allah and His Messenger, reminding them of how they were outnumbered but Allah sent down angels for their aid. It is made clear that although victory comes only from Allah, the believers should always be ready to defend themselves and be open for peace. The pagans are warned that their plots to hinder others from Allah's Way and oppose the truth will only end in failure—a theme emphasized in both the previous and the following sŭrahs.

IN THE NAME OF ALLAH—THE MOST COMPASSIONATE, MOST MERCIFUL

Distribution of Spoils of War

1. They ask you 'O Prophet' regarding the spoils of war. Say, "Their distribution is decided by Allah and His Messenger. So be mindful of Allah, settle your affairs, and obey Allah and His Messenger if you are 'true' believers."

Qualities of True Believers

2. The 'true' believers are only those whose hearts tremble at the remembrance of Allah, whose faith increases when His revelations are recited to them, and who put their trust in their Lord. 3. 'They are' those who establish prayer and donate from what We have provided for them. 4. It is they who are the true believers. They will have elevated ranks, forgiveness, and an honourable provision from their Lord.

Opposition to Fighting

5. Similarly, when your Lord brought you 'O Prophet' out of your home for a just cause, a group of believers was totally against it. 6. They disputed with you about the truth after it had been made clear, as if they were being driven to death with their eyes wide open.

Establishing the Truth

7. 'Remember, O believers,' when Allah promised 'to give' you the upper hand over either target, you wished to capture the unarmed party. But it was Allah's Will to establish the truth by His Words and uproot the disbelievers; 8. to firmly establish the truth and wipe out falsehood—even to the dismay of the wicked.

Divine Reinforcement

9. 'Remember' when you cried out to your Lord for help, He answered, "I will reinforce you with a thousand angels—followed by many others." 10. And Allah made this a sign of victory and reassurance to your hearts. Victory comes only from Allah. Surely Allah is Almighty, All-Wise.

Sense of Serenity

11. 'Remember' when He caused drowsiness to overcome you, giving you serenity. And He sent down rain from the sky to purify you, free you from Satan's whispers, strengthen your hearts, and make 'your' steps firm.

Warning to Meccan Pagans

12. 'Remember, O Prophet,' when your Lord revealed to the angels, "I am with you. So make the believers stand firm. I will cast horror into the hearts of the disbelievers. So strike their necks and strike their fingertips." 13. This is because they defied Allah and His Messenger. And whoever defies Allah and His Messenger, then 'know that' Allah is surely severe in punishment. 14. That 'worldly punishment' is yours, so taste it! Then the disbelievers will suffer the torment of the Fire.

Do Not Flee

15. O believers! When you face the disbelievers in battle, never turn your backs to them. 16. And whoever does so on such an occasion—unless it is a manoeuvre or to join their own troops—will earn the displeasure of Allah, and their home will be Hell. What an evil destination!

Victory from Allah

17. It was not you 'believers' who killed them, but it was Allah Who did so. Nor was it you 'O Prophet' who threw 'a handful of sand at the disbelievers', but it was Allah Who did so, rendering

the believers a great favour. Surely Allah is All-Hearing, All-Knowing. 18. As such, Allah frustrates the evil plans of the disbelievers.

Reasoning with Pagans

19. If you 'Meccans' sought judgment, now it has come to you. And if you cease, it will be for your own good. But if you persist, We will persist. And your forces—no matter how numerous they might be—will not benefit you whatsoever. For Allah is certainly with the believers.

Hearing and Obeying

20. O believers! Obey Allah and His Messenger and do not turn away from him while you hear 'his call'. **21.** Do not be like those who say, "We hear," but in fact they are not listening. **22.** Indeed, the worst of all beings in the sight of Allah are the 'wilfully' deaf and dumb, who do not understand. **23.** Had Allah known any goodness in them, He would have certainly made them hear. 'But' even if He had made them hear, they would have surely turned away heedlessly.

Reminder to the Believers

24. O believers! Respond to Allah and His Messenger when he calls you to that which gives you life. And know that Allah stands between a person and their heart, and that to Him you will all be gathered. **25.** Beware of a trial that will not only affect the wrongdoers among you. And know that Allah is severe in punishment.

Allah's Help

26. Remember when you had been vastly outnumbered and oppressed in the land, constantly in fear of attacks by your enemy, then He sheltered you, strengthened you with His help, and provided you with good things so perhaps you would be thankful.

Warning to the Believers

27. O believers! Do not betray Allah and the Messenger, nor betray your trusts knowingly. **28.** And know that your wealth and your children are only a test and that with Allah is a great reward.

Reward of the Believers

29. O believers! If you are mindful of Allah, He will grant you a standard 'to distinguish between right and wrong', absolve you of your sins, and forgive you. And Allah is the Lord of infinite bounty.

Pagan Conspiracy

30. And 'remember, O Prophet,' when the disbelievers conspired to capture, kill, or exile you. They planned, but Allah also planned. And Allah is the best of planners.

Pagan Challenge

31. Whenever Our revelations are recited to them, they challenge 'you', "We have already heard 'the recitation'. If we wanted, we could have easily produced something similar. This 'Quran' is nothing but ancient fables!"

Pagan Denial

32. And 'remember' when they prayed, "O Allah! If this is indeed the truth from You, then rain down stones upon us from the sky or overcome us with a painful punishment." **33.** But Allah would never punish them while you 'O Prophet' were in their midst. Nor would He ever punish them if they prayed for forgiveness.

Punishment Deserved

34. And why should Allah not punish them while they hinder pilgrims from the Sacred Mosque, claiming to be its rightful guardians? None has the right to guardianship except those mindful 'of Allah', but most pagans do not know. **35.** Their prayer at the Sacred House was nothing but whistling and clapping. So taste the punishment for your disbelief.

Pagans' Wasted Efforts

36. Surely the disbelievers spend their wealth to hinder others from the Path of Allah. They will continue to spend to the point of regret. Then they will be defeated and the disbelievers will be driven into Hell, **37.** so Allah may separate the evil from the good. He will pile up the evil ones all together and then cast them into Hell. They are the 'true' losers.

Peace Offer

38. Tell the disbelievers that if they desist, their past will be forgiven. But if they persist, then they have an example in those destroyed before them. **39.** Fight against them until there is no more persecution—and 'your' devotion will be entirely to Allah. But if they desist, then surely Allah is All-Seeing of what they do. **40.** And if they do not comply, then know that Allah is your Protector. What an excellent Protector, and what an excellent Helper!

Distribution of Spoils of War

41. Know that whatever spoils you take, one-fifth is for Allah and the Messenger, his close relatives, orphans, the poor, and 'needy' travellers, if you 'truly' believe in Allah and what We revealed to Our servant on that decisive day when the two armies met 'at Badr'. And Allah is Most Capable of everything. **42.** 'Remember' when you were on the near side of the valley, your enemy on the far side, and the caravan was below you. Even if the two armies had made an appointment 'to meet', both would have certainly missed it. Still it transpired so Allah may establish what He had destined—that those who were to perish and those who were to survive might do so after the truth had been made clear to both. Surely Allah is All-Hearing, All-Knowing.

Vision of Enemy Force

43. 'Remember, O Prophet,' when Allah showed them in your dream as few in number. Had He shown them to you as many, you 'believers' would have certainly faltered and disputed in the matter. But Allah spared you 'from that'. Surely He knows best what is 'hidden' in the heart. **44.** Then when your armies met, Allah made them appear as few in your eyes, and made you appear as few in theirs, so Allah may establish what He had destined. And to Allah 'all' matters will be returned 'for judgment'.

Word of Advice

45. O believers! When you face an enemy, stand firm and remember Allah often so you may triumph. **46.** Obey Allah and His Messenger and do not dispute with one another, or you would be discouraged and weakened.

Persevere! Surely Allah is with those who persevere. **47.** Do not be like those 'pagans' who left their homes arrogantly, only to be seen by people and to hinder others from Allah's Path. And Allah is Fully Aware of what they do.

Satan Tempts the Meccan Pagans

48. And 'remember' when Satan made their 'evil' deeds appealing to them, and said, "No one can overcome you today. I am surely by your side." But when the two forces faced off, he cowered and said, "I have absolutely nothing to do with you. I certainly see what you do not see. I truly fear Allah, for Allah is severe in punishment."

Trust in Allah

49. 'Remember' when the hypocrites and those with sickness in their hearts said, "These 'believers' are deluded by their faith." But whoever puts their trust in Allah, surely Allah is Almighty, All-Wise.

Evil Ending

50. If only you could see when the angels take the souls of the disbelievers, beating their faces and backs, 'saying,' "Taste the torment of burning! **51.** This is 'the reward' for what your hands have done. And Allah is never unjust to 'His' creation."

Fate of the Wicked

52. Their fate is that of the people of Pharaoh and those before them—they all disbelieved in Allah's signs, so Allah seized them for their sins. Indeed, Allah is All-Powerful, severe in punishment. **53.** This is because Allah would never discontinue His favour to a people until they discontinue their faith. Surely Allah is All-Hearing, All-Knowing. **54.** That was the case with Pharaoh's people and those before them—they all rejected the signs of their Lord, so We destroyed them for their sins and drowned Pharaoh's people. They were all wrongdoers.

Those Who Violate Peace Treaties

55. Indeed, the worst of all beings in the sight of Allah are those who persist in disbelief, never to have faith—**56.** 'namely' those with whom you

'O Prophet' have entered into treaties, but they violate them every time, not fearing the consequences. **57.** If you ever encounter them in battle, make a fearsome example of them, so perhaps those who would follow them may be deterred.

No Betrayal in Treaties

58. And if you 'O Prophet' see signs of betrayal by a people, respond by openly terminating your treaty with them. Surely Allah does not like those who betray.

Military Deterrence

59. Do not let those disbelievers think they are not within reach. They will have no escape. **60.** Prepare against them what you 'believers' can of 'military' power and cavalry to deter Allah's enemies and your enemies as well as other enemies unknown to you but known to Allah. Whatever you spend in the cause of Allah will be paid to you in full and you will not be wronged.

Advice to the Prophet: Opt for Peace

61. If the enemy is inclined towards peace, make peace with them. And put your trust in Allah. Indeed, He 'alone' is the All-Hearing, All-Knowing. **62.** But if their intention is only to deceive you, then Allah is certainly sufficient for you. He is the One Who has supported you with His help and with the believers. **63.** He brought their hearts together. Had you spent all the riches in the earth, you could not have united their hearts. But Allah has united them. Indeed, He is Almighty, All-Wise. **64.** O Prophet! Allah is sufficient for you and for the believers who follow you.

Readiness to Fight

65. O Prophet! Motivate the believers to fight. If there are twenty steadfast among you, they will overcome two hundred. And if there are one hundred of you, they will overcome one thousand of the disbelievers, for they are a people who do not comprehend. **66.** Now Allah has lightened your burden, for He knows that there is weakness in you. So if there are a hundred steadfast among you, they will overcome two hundred. And if

there be one thousand, they will overcome two thousand, by Allah's Will. And Allah is with the steadfast.

Decision on Captives

67. It is not fit for a prophet that he should take captives until he has thoroughly subdued the land. You 'believers' settled with the fleeting gains of this world, while Allah's aim 'for you' is the Hereafter. Allah is Almighty, All-Wise. **68.** Had it not been for a prior decree from Allah, you would have certainly been disciplined with a tremendous punishment for whatever 'ransom' you have taken. **69.** Now enjoy what you have taken, for it is lawful and good. And be mindful of Allah. Surely Allah is All-Forgiving, Most Merciful.

Ransomed Captives

70. O Prophet! Tell the captives in your custody, "If Allah finds goodness in your hearts, He will give you better than what has been taken from you, and forgive you. For Allah is All-Forgiving, Most Merciful." **71.** But if their intention is only to betray you 'O Prophet', they sought to betray Allah before. But He gave you power over them. And Allah is All-Knowing, All-Wise.

Guardianship Among Believers

72. Those who believed, emigrated, and strived with their wealth and lives in the cause of Allah, as well as those who gave them shelter and help—they are truly guardians of one another. As for those who believed but did not emigrate, you have no obligations to them until they emigrate. But if they seek your help 'against persecution' in faith, it is your obligation to help them, except against people bound with you in a treaty. Allah is All-Seeing of what you do.

Guardianship Among Disbelievers

73. As for the disbelievers, they are guardians of one another. And unless you 'believers' act likewise, there will be great oppression and corruption in the land.

True Believers

74. Those who believed, migrated, and struggled in the cause of Allah, and those who gave 'them' shelter and help, they are the true believers. They will have forgiveness and an honourable provision.

Relatives Inherit One Another

75. And those who later believed, migrated, and struggled alongside you, they are also with you. But only blood relatives are now entitled to inherit from one another, as ordained by Allah. Surely Allah has 'full' knowledge of everything.

3. PERMISSION TO FIGHT

22:39

In the name of Allah, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful.

“Permission [to fight] has been granted to those who are being fought, because they were wronged. And indeed, Allah is competent to give them victory.”

This is the truth of Allah, the Most High, the Almighty.

In support of our steadfast Palestinian people in the Gaza Strip, in support of their brave and honorable resistance, in defense of Lebanon and its people, at 02:30 on Saturday, 12-10-2024, the fighters of the Islamic Resistance targeted a gathering of "israeli" enemy soldiers in "Misgav Am" with artillery shells.

“And victory is only from Allah, the Mighty, the Wise.”

Saturday, 12-10-2024

08 Rabi' Al-Thani 1446 AH

— HEZBOLLAH

This line, from *Al-Ḥajj* (22:39) refers to the basic concept of self-defense, and is used frequently by the Resistance. Hezbollah and the Islamic Resistance in Iraq, especially, use it when announcing successful operations.



THIS MEDINIAN SŪRAH TAKES ITS NAME FROM THE PASSAGE THAT TALKS ABOUT pilgrimage rituals (verses 25-37), along with condemnations to the pagans for hindering the believers from reaching the Sacred House in Mecca. After fifteen years of persecution, here the believers receive the permission to fight back in self-defence (verse 39). Idolatry is condemned and the idols are rejected as pathetic, incapable of even creating a fly. In conclusion, the believers are told that they can achieve success through prayer and good deeds—a theme which extends to the beginning of the next sūrah.

IN THE NAME OF ALLAH—THE MOST COMPASSIONATE, MOST MERCIFUL

The Horror of Judgment Day

1. O humanity! Fear your Lord, for the 'violent' quaking at the Hour is surely a dreadful thing. 2. The Day you see it, every nursing mother will abandon what she is nursing, and every pregnant woman will deliver her burden 'prematurely'. And you will see people 'as if they were' drunk, though they will not be drunk; but the torment of Allah is 'terribly' severe.

Denying Allah's Might

3. 'Still' there are some who dispute about Allah without knowledge, and follow every rebellious devil. 4. It has been decreed for such devils that whoever takes them as a guide will be misguided and led by them into the torment of the Blaze.

Allah's Power to Create

5. O humanity! If you are in doubt about the Resurrection, then 'know that' We did create you from dust, then from a sperm-drop, then 'developed you into' a clinging clot 'of blood', then a lump of flesh—fully formed

or unformed—in order to demonstrate ‘Our power’ to you. ‘Then’ We settle whatever ‘embryo’ We will in the womb for an appointed term, then bring you forth as infants, so that you may reach your prime. Some of you ‘may’ die ‘young’, while others are left to reach the most feeble stage of life so that they may know nothing after having known much. And you see the earth lifeless, but as soon as We send down rain upon it, it begins to stir ‘to life’ and swell, producing every type of pleasant plant. **6.** That is because Allah ‘alone’ is the Truth, He ‘alone’ gives life to the dead, and He ‘alone’ is Most Capable of everything. **7.** And certainly the Hour is coming, there is no doubt about it. And Allah will surely resurrect those in the graves.

Punishment of the Wicked

8. ‘Still’ there are some who dispute about Allah without knowledge, guidance, or an enlightening scripture, **9.** turning away ‘in pride’ to lead ‘others’ astray from Allah’s Way. They will suffer disgrace in this world, and on the Day of Judgment We will make them taste the torment of burning. **10.** ‘They will be told,’ “This is ‘the reward’ for what your hands have done. And Allah is never unjust to ‘His’ creation.”

Half-Hearted Worship

11. And there are some who worship Allah on the verge ‘of faith’: if they are blessed with something good, they are content with it; but if they are afflicted with a trial, they relapse ‘into disbelief’, losing this world and the Hereafter. That is ‘truly’ the clearest loss. **12.** They call besides Allah what can neither harm nor benefit them. That is ‘truly’ the farthest one can stray. **13.** They invoke those whose worship leads to harm, not benefit. What an evil patron and what an evil associate!

Reward of True Believers

14. Indeed, Allah will admit those who believe and do good into Gardens, under which rivers flow. Surely Allah does what He wills.

A Challenge to the Cynics

15. Whoever thinks that Allah will not help His Prophet in this world and the Hereafter, let them stretch out a rope to the ceiling and strangle them-

selves, then let them see if this plan will do away with 'the cause of' their rage.

The Sole Guide and Judge

16. And so We revealed this 'Quran' as clear verses. And Allah certainly guides whoever He wills. **17.** Indeed, the believers, Jews, Sabians, Christians, Magi, and the polytheists—Allah will judge between them 'all' on Judgment Day. Surely Allah is a Witness over all things.

Submission to the Almighty

18. Do you not see that to Allah bow down 'in submission' all those in the heavens and all those on the earth, as well as the sun, the moon, the stars, the mountains, the trees, and 'all' living beings, as well as many humans, while many are deserving of punishment. And whoever Allah disgraces, none can honour. Surely Allah does what He wills.

The Believers and Disbelievers

19. These are two opposing groups that disagree about their Lord: as for the disbelievers, garments of Fire will be cut out for them and boiling water will be poured over their heads, **20.** melting whatever is in their bellies, along with their skin. **21.** And awaiting them are maces of iron. **22.** Whenever they try to escape from Hell—out of anguish—they will be forced back into it, 'and will be told,' "Taste the torment of burning!" **23.** 'But' Allah will surely admit those who believe and do good into Gardens, under which rivers flow, where they will be adorned with bracelets of gold and pearls, and their clothing will be silk, **24.** for they have been guided to the best of speech, and they have been guided to the Commendable Path.

Violating the Sacred Mosque

25. Indeed, those who persist in disbelief and hinder 'others' from the Way of Allah and from the Sacred Mosque—which We have appointed for all people, residents and visitors alike—along with whoever intends to deviate by doing wrong in it, We will cause them to taste a painful punishment.

The Pilgrimage

26. And 'remember' when We assigned to Abraham the site of the House, 'saying,' "Do not associate anything with Me 'in worship' and purify My House for those who circle 'the Ka'bah', stand 'in prayer', and bow and prostrate themselves. 27. Call 'all' people to the pilgrimage. They will come to you on foot and on every lean camel from every distant path, 28. so they may obtain the benefits 'in store' for them, and pronounce the Name of Allah on appointed days over the sacrificial animals He has provided for them. So eat from their meat and feed the desperately poor. 29. Then let them groom themselves, fulfil their vows, and circle the Ancient House."

Total Devotion to Allah

30. That is so. And whoever honours the rituals of Allah, it is best for them in the sight of their Lord. The 'meat of' cattle has been made lawful for you, except what has 'already' been recited to you. So shun the impurity of idolatry, and shun words of falsehood. 31. Be upright 'in devotion' to Allah, associating none with Him 'in worship'. For whoever associates 'others' with Allah is like someone who has fallen from the sky and is either snatched away by birds or swept by the wind to a remote place. 32. That is so. And whoever honours the symbols of Allah, it is certainly out of the piety of the heart. 33. You may benefit from sacrificial animals for an appointed term, then their place of sacrifice is at the Ancient House.

Good News for the Humble

34. For every community We appointed a rite of sacrifice so that they may pronounce the Name of Allah over the sacrificial animals He has provided for them. For your God is only One God, so submit yourselves to Him 'alone'. And give good news 'O Prophet' to the humble: 35. those whose hearts tremble at the remembrance of Allah, who patiently endure whatever may befall them, and who establish prayer and donate from what We have provided for them.

Purpose of Sacrificial Animals

36. We have made sacrificial camels 'and cattle' among the symbols of Allah, in which there is 'much' good for you. So pronounce the Name of Allah over them when they are lined up 'for sacrifice'. Once they have

fallen 'lifeless' on their sides, you may eat from their meat, and feed the needy—those who do not beg, and those who do. In this way We have subjected these 'animals' to you so that you may be grateful. 37. Neither their meat nor blood reaches Allah. Rather, it is your piety that reaches Him. This is how He has subjected them to you so that you may proclaim the greatness of Allah for what He has guided you to, and give good news to the good-doers.

Permission to Fight in Self-Defence

38. Indeed, Allah defends those who believe. Surely Allah does not like whoever is deceitful, ungrateful. 39. **Permission 'to fight back' is 'hereby' granted to those being fought, for they have been wronged. And Allah is truly Most Capable of helping them 'prevail'.** 40. 'They are' those who have been expelled from their homes for no reason other than proclaiming: "Our Lord is Allah." Had Allah not repelled 'the aggression of' some people by means of others, destruction would have surely claimed monasteries, churches, synagogues, and mosques in which Allah's Name is often mentioned. Allah will certainly help those who stand up for Him. Allah is truly All-Powerful, Almighty. 41. 'They are' those who, if established in the land by Us, would perform prayer, pay alms-tax, encourage what is good, and forbid what is evil. And with Allah rests the outcome of all affairs.

Warning to Meccan Pagans

42. If they deny you 'O Prophet', so did the people of Noah before them, as well as 'the tribes of' 'Âd and Thamûd, 43. the people of Abraham, the people of Lot, 44. and the residents of Midian. And Moses was denied 'too'. But I delayed 'the fate of' the disbelievers 'until their appointed time' then seized them. And how severe was My response! 45. Many are the societies We have destroyed for persisting in wrongdoing, leaving them in total ruin. 'Many are' also the abandoned wells and lofty palaces! 46. Have they not travelled throughout the land so their hearts may reason, and their ears may listen? Indeed, it is not the eyes that are blind, but it is the hearts in the chests that grow blind. 47. They challenge you 'O Prophet' to hasten the torment. And Allah will never fail in His promise. But a day with your Lord is indeed like a thousand years by your counting.

48. Many are the societies whose end We delayed while they did wrong, then seized them. And to Me is the final return.

The Prophet's Duty

49. Say, 'O Prophet,' "O humanity! I am only sent to you with a clear warning. **50.** So those who believe and do good will have forgiveness and an honourable provision. **51.** But those who strive to discredit Our revelations, they will be the residents of the Hellfire."

Satan's Influence

52. Whenever We sent a messenger or a prophet before you 'O Prophet' and he recited 'Our revelations', Satan would influence 'people's understanding of' his recitation. But 'eventually' Allah would eliminate Satan's influence. Then Allah would 'firmly' establish His revelations. And Allah is All-Knowing, All-Wise. **53.** All that so He may make Satan's influence a trial for those 'hypocrites' whose hearts are sick and those 'disbelievers' whose hearts are hardened. Surely the wrongdoers are totally engrossed in opposition. **54.** 'This is' also so that those gifted with knowledge would know that this 'revelation' is the truth from your Lord, so they have faith in it, and so their hearts would submit humbly to it. And Allah surely guides the believers to the Straight Path. **55.** Yet the disbelievers will persist in doubt about this 'revelation' until the Hour takes them by surprise, or the torment of a terminating Day comes to them.

Justice on Judgment Day

56. All authority on that Day is for Allah 'alone'. He will judge between them. So those who believe and do good will be in the Gardens of Bliss. **57.** But those who disbelieve and deny Our revelations, it is they who will suffer a humiliating punishment. **58.** As for those who emigrate in the cause of Allah and then are martyred or die, Allah will indeed grant them a good provision. Surely Allah is the Best Provider. **59.** He will certainly admit them into a place they will be pleased with. For Allah is truly All-Knowing, Most Forbearing.

Divine Justice

60. That is so. And whoever retaliates in equivalence to the injury they have received, and then are wronged 'again', Allah will certainly help them. Surely Allah is Ever-Pardoning, All-Forgiving.

Allah's Power

61. That is because Allah causes the night to merge into the day, and the day into the night. Indeed, Allah is All-Hearing, All-Seeing. **62.** That is because Allah 'alone' is the Truth and what they invoke besides Him is falsehood, and Allah 'alone' is truly the Most High, All-Great. **63.** Do you not see that Allah sends down rain from the sky, then the earth becomes green? Surely Allah is Most Subtle, All-Aware. **64.** To Him belongs whatever is in the heavens and whatever is on the earth. Allah 'alone' is truly the Self-Sufficient, Praiseworthy.

Allah's Grace

65. Do you not see that Allah has subjected to you whatever is in the earth as well as the ships 'that' sail through the sea by His command? He keeps the sky from falling down on the earth except by His permission. Surely Allah is Ever Gracious and Most Merciful to humanity. **66.** And He is the One Who gave you life, then will cause you to die, and then will bring you back to life. 'But' surely humankind is ever ungrateful.

One Message, Different Laws

67. For every community We appointed a code of life to follow. So do not let them dispute with you 'O Prophet' in this matter. And invite 'all' to your Lord, for you are truly on the Right Guidance. **68.** But if they argue with you, then say, "Allah knows best what you do." **69.** Allah will judge between you 'all' on Judgment Day regarding your differences. **70.** Do you not know that Allah 'fully' knows whatever is in the heavens and the earth? Surely it is all 'written' in a Record. That is certainly easy for Allah.

Almighty Allah or False Gods?

71. Yet they worship besides Allah that for which He has sent down no authority, and of which they have no knowledge. The wrongdoers will have no helper. **72.** Whenever Our clear revelations are recited to them, you 'O Prophet' recognize rage on the faces of the disbelievers, as if they

are going to snap at those who recite Our revelations to them. Say, “Shall I inform you of something far more enraging than that? ‘It is’ the Fire with which Allah has threatened those who disbelieve. What an evil destination!”

The Fly Challenge

73. O humanity! A lesson is set forth, so listen to it ‘carefully’: those ‘idols’ you invoke besides Allah can never create ‘so much as’ a fly, even if they ‘all’ were to come together for that. And if a fly were to snatch anything away from them, they cannot ‘even’ retrieve it from the fly. How powerless are those who invoke and those invoked! 74. They have not shown Allah the reverence He deserves. Surely Allah is All-Powerful, Almighty.

Divine Choice

75. Allah selects messengers from both angels and people, for Allah is truly All-Hearing, All-Seeing. 76. He knows what is ahead of them and what is behind them. And to Allah ‘all’ matters will be returned ‘for judgment’.

Advice to the Believers

77. O believers! Bow down, prostrate yourselves, worship your Lord, and do ‘what is’ good so that you may be successful. 78. Strive for ‘the cause of’ Allah in the way He deserves, for ‘it is’ He ‘Who’ has chosen you, and laid upon you no hardship in the religion—the way of your forefather Abraham. ‘It is Allah’ Who named you ‘the ones who submit’ ‘in the’ earlier ‘Scriptures’ and in this ‘Quran’, so that the Messenger may be a witness over you, and that you may be witnesses over humanity. So establish prayer, pay alms-tax, and hold fast to Allah. He ‘alone’ is your Guardian. What an excellent Guardian, and what an excellent Helper!

4. FIGHT THEM

9:14

In the Name of Allah, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful

“Fight them, Allah will punish them by your hands and will disgrace them and give you victory over them and heal the breasts of a believing people.”

This is the Truth of Allah Almighty.

— AL-ASIFAH FORCES, JENIN

Besides the honor and duty of fighting, there is a deep sense of impending victory. You can read this in messages from the 1980s to today. I include the introductory paragraph from the *Clear Quran* and a selection of the text itself.



THIS SÛRAH, WHICH IS PERCEIVED AS A CONTINUATION OF THE PREVIOUS SÛRAH, begins by openly terminating the peace treaties constantly violated by the pagans. The believers are urged to march forth with the Prophet (ﷺ) for the Battle of Tabûk in the summer of 9 A.H./631 C.E. Hypocrites are exposed and

their false excuses are refuted. Muslims are reminded of how Allah turned the believers' initial defeat into sweeping victory at the Battle of Hunain and how Allah saved His Messenger (ﷺ) from the pagans during his migration to Medina. Allah's acceptance of repentance is echoed throughout the sūrah, hence its title.

Order to Fight

13. Will you not fight those who have broken their oaths, conspired to expel the Messenger 'from Mecca', and attacked you first? Do you fear them? Allah is more deserving of your fear, if you are 'true' believers. 14. 'So' fight them and Allah will punish them at your hands, put them to shame, help you overcome them, and soothe the hearts of the believers—15. removing rage from their hearts. And Allah pardons whoever He wills. For Allah is All-Knowing, All-Wise.

Wisdom Behind Fighting

16. Do you 'believers' think that you will be left without Allah proving who among you 'truly' struggles 'in His cause' and never takes trusted allies other than Allah, His Messenger, or the believers? And Allah is All-Aware of what you do.

Maintenance of Mosques

17. It is not for the polytheists to maintain the mosques of Allah while they openly profess disbelief. Their deeds are void, and they will be in the Fire forever. **18.** The mosques of Allah should only be maintained by those who believe in Allah and the Last Day, establish prayer, pay alms-tax, and fear none but Allah. It is right to hope that they will be among the 'truly' guided.

Not Equal

19. Do you 'pagans' consider providing the pilgrims with water and maintaining the Sacred Mosque as equal to believing in Allah and the Last Day and struggling in the cause of Allah? They are not equal in Allah's sight. And Allah does not guide the wrongdoing people.

Reward of the Believers

20. Those who have believed, emigrated, and strived in the cause of Allah with their wealth and their lives are greater in rank in the sight of Allah. It is they who will triumph. **21.** Their Lord gives them good news of His mercy, pleasure, and Gardens with everlasting bliss, **22.** to stay there for ever and ever. Surely with Allah is a great reward.

Warning to the Believers

23. O believers! Do not take your parents and siblings as trusted allies if they choose disbelief over belief. And whoever of you does so, they are the 'true' wrongdoers. **24.** Say, 'O Prophet,' "If your parents and children and siblings and spouses and extended family and the wealth you have acquired and the trade you fear will decline and the homes you cherish—'if all these' are more beloved to you than Allah and His Messenger and struggling in His Way, then wait until Allah brings about His Will. Allah does not guide the rebellious people."

Victory Is from Allah Alone

25. Indeed Allah has given you 'believers' victory on many battlefields, even at the Battle of Hunain when you took pride in your great numbers, but they proved of no advantage to you. The earth, despite its vastness, seemed to close in on you, then you turned back in retreat. **26.** Then Allah sent down His reassurance upon His Messenger and the believers, and sent down forces you could not see, and punished those who disbelieved. Such was the reward of the disbelievers. **27.** Then afterwards Allah will turn in grace to whoever He wills. And Allah is All-Forgiving, Most Merciful.

5. KILL THEM

2:191

“And kill them wherever you overtake them and expel them from wherever they have expelled you.”

Confronting the enemy's invasion

Our fighters are engaged in fierce battles with the enemy forces storming the fighting fronts and are showering the occupation forces with heavy volleys of bullets in the Ayyash axis.

Our fight is ongoing and our weapons are drawn in all arenas.

Al-Aqsa Flood.

Sunday 20-10-2024

— SARAYA AL-QUDS - JENIN BRIGADE; WAR MEDIA

This section (2:191, The Cow, Al-Baqarah) has a clear explanation of the Islamic rules of war and proportionality which the Islamic Resistance follows.



ETIQUETTE OF FIGHTING ENEMY COMBATANTS

190. Fight in the cause of Allah 'only' against those who wage war against you, but do not exceed the limits. Surely Allah does not like transgressors.

191. Kill them wherever you come upon them and drive them out of the places from which they have driven you out. For persecution is far worse than killing. And do not fight them at the Sacred Mosque unless they attack you there. If they do so, then fight them—that is the reward of the disbelievers. **192.** But if they cease, then surely Allah is All-Forgiving, Most Merciful.

Resisting Oppression

193. Fight against them 'if they persecute you' until there is no more persecution, and 'your' devotion will be to Allah 'alone'. If they stop 'persecuting you', let there be no hostility except against the aggressors. **194.** 'There will be retaliation in' a sacred month for 'an offence in' a sacred month,^[71] and all violations will bring about retaliation. So, if anyone attacks you, retaliate in the same manner. 'But' be mindful of Allah, and know that Allah is with those mindful 'of Him'. **195.** Spend in the cause of Allah and do not let your own hands throw you into destruction 'by withholding'. And do good, for Allah certainly loves the good-doers.

6. MARTYRDOM

4:74

The final journey of the martyr of the nation

In his final journey, the martyr leader Ismail Haniyeh sat in the plane, the Quran in his hand, his eyes on verse 74 of Surah An-Nisa:

"So let those who sell the life of this world for the Hereafter fight in the cause of Allah, and he who fights in the cause of Allah and is killed or achieves victory - We will bestow upon him a great reward."

A divine message... Glory be to Allah Almighty.

In those moments, he was bidding farewell to the world in a state of worship and reverence, declaring his attachment to the Hereafter over the world, and affirming the path of jihad he chose with sincerity and faith.

We ask Allah to accept him as a martyr and to elevate his rank in the highest heavens.

— HAMAS

This surah (Women, An-Nisa) is wide ranging and I reproduce only the part that Ismail Haniyeh (and many martyrs like him) were reading or thinking of before their deaths.



FIGHTING AGAINST OPPRESSION

74. Let those who would sacrifice this life for the Hereafter fight in the cause of Allah. And whoever fights in Allah's cause—whether they achieve martyrdom or victory—We will honour them with a great reward. 75. And what is it with you? You do not fight in the cause of Allah and for oppressed men, women, and children who cry out, "Our Lord! Deliver us from this land of oppressors! Appoint for us a saviour; appoint for us a helper—all by Your grace."

Fighting Satan's Allies

76. Believers fight for the cause of Allah, whereas disbelievers fight for the cause of the Devil. So fight against Satan's 'evil' forces. Indeed, Satan's schemes are ever weak.

Those Who Cower

77. Have you 'O Prophet' not seen those who had been told, "Do not fight! Rather, establish prayer and pay alms-tax.?" Then once the order came to fight, a group of them feared those 'hostile' people as Allah should be feared—or even more. They said, "Our Lord! Why have You ordered us to fight? If only You had delayed 'the order for' us for a little while!" Say, 'O Prophet,' "The enjoyment of this world is so little, whereas the Hereafter is far better for those mindful 'of Allah'. And none of you will be wronged 'even by the width of' the thread of a date stone.

PART II

HAMAS

Hamas has become a shibboleth for scary Muslim, part of the Pavlovian conditioning of western audiences to fear anything Muslim or Muslim sounding. Like bloody-minded children watching Saturday morning cartoons (which are really just ads for toy companies), western news is just advertising for arms dealers. Never do they ask the relevant question, “*are we the baddies?*”

The word Hamas is repeated over and over again in the western media with little context or chance for them to speak for themselves. If you read Hamas’s statements or follow their actions (especially during the Al Aqsa Flood) you’ll actually see a disciplined, rational, actor, certainly more moral than the génocidaires they’re resisting. As Paolo Caridi said in her book, *Hammas: From Resistance To Regime*:

“Hammas is part of the Palestinian social fabric, and one that takes a less radically fundamentalist approach to religion and politics, compared to the Taliban. On the contrary, most of the Hammas’s leadership and cadres perceive themselves as moderates, centrists, or moderate conservatives. In post-World War II Western European historical and provocative terms, they can be thought of

as an Islamic version of the Christian Democrats. Thus they say Erdogan, not Taliban, hoping that this association with the moderate Islamism of Turkey might help them overcome the obstacles in the contemporary Western perception of Islamism.”

Erdogan sucks, I wouldn't condemn Hamas like that preening comprador, but they are a moderate party facing immoderate violence and slander. The best way to pierce the veil of propaganda is to just read the people they slander yourself. Which is what this section is for.

7. WHO IS HAMAS?

2024

After October 7th, Hamas gave a long press conference explaining who they were and why they rebelled. This was completely ignored, because ignorance is what the western media actually produces. I repeat, but they just repeat the word 'Hamas' over and over and count on people to free associate *Muslim, terrorist, scary*, like good Pavlovian dogs of war. But this information is out there.

Months after October 7th, Hamas published a document called *Our Narrative... Operation Al-Aqsa Flood*, which is sort of a jihadi (not a bad word, down dog) FAQ. It answered the frequently asked questions,

1. Why Operation Al-Aqsa Flood?
2. The events of Operation Al-Aqsa Flood and responses to the Israeli allegations
3. Towards a transparent international investigation
4. A reminder to the world, who is Hamas?
5. What is needed?

I reproduce two of the answers here, who Hamas is, and why they did the Al Aqsa Flood.



A reminder to the world, who is Hamas?

1

The Islamic Resistance Movement “Hamas” is a Palestinian Islamic national liberation and resistance movement. Its goal is to liberate Palestine and confront the Zionist project. Its frame of reference is Islam, which determines its principles, objectives and means. Hamas rejects the persecution of any human being or the undermining of his or her rights on nationalist, religious or sectarian grounds.

2

Hamas affirms that its conflict is with the Zionist project not with the Jews because of their religion. Hamas does not wage a struggle against the Jews because they are Jewish but wages a struggle against the Zionists who occupy Palestine. Yet, it is the Zionists who constantly identify Judaism and the Jews with their own colonial project and illegal entity. . 3 The Palestinian people have always stood against oppression, injustice, and the committing of massacres against civilians regardless of who commit them. And based on our religious and moral values, we clearly stated our rejection to what the Jews were exposed to by the Nazi Germany. Here, we remind that the Jewish problem in essence was a European problem, while the Arab and Islamic environment was – across history – a safe haven to the Jewish people and to other peoples of other beliefs and ethnicities. The Arab and Islamic environment was an example to co-existence, cultural interaction and religious freedoms. The current conflict is caused by the Zionist aggressive behavior and its alliance with the western colonial powers; therefore, we reject the exploitation of the Jewish suffering in Europe to justify the oppression against our people in Palestine.

3

The Palestinian people have always stood against oppression, injustice, and the committing of massacres against civilians regardless of who

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4

The Hamas Movement according to international laws and norms is a national liberation movement that has clear goals and mission. It gets its legitimacy to resist the occupation from the Palestinian right to self-defense, liberation and self-determination. Hamas has always been keen to restrict its fight and resistance with the Israeli occupation on the occupied Palestinian territory, yet, the Israeli occupation did not abide by that and committed massacres and killings against the Palestinians outside Palestine.

5

We stress that resisting the occupation with all means including the armed resistance is a legitimized right by all norms, divine religions, the international laws including the Geneva Conventions and its first additional protocol and the related UN resolutions e.g. The UN General Assembly Resolution 3236, adopted by the 29th session of the General Assembly on Nov. 22, 1974 which affirmed the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people in Palestine, including the right to self-determination and the right to return to “their homes and property from where they were expelled, displaced and uprooted.”

6

Our steadfast Palestinian people and their resistance are waging a heroic battle to defend their land and national rights against the longest and brutalist colonial occupation. The Palestinian people are confronting an unprecedented Israeli aggression that committed heinous massacres against Palestinian civilians, most of them were children and women. In the course of the aggression on Gaza, the Israeli occupation deprived our people in Gaza of food, water, medicines and fuel, and simply deprived them from all means of life. In the meantime, the Israeli warplanes savagely struck all Gaza infrastructures and public buildings including schools, universities, mosques, churches and hospitals in a clear sign of ethnic cleansing aimed at expelling the Palestinian people from Gaza. Yet, the backers of the Israeli occupation did nothing but kept the genocide ongoing against our people.

7

The Israeli occupation's use of the "self-defense" pretext to justify its oppression against the Palestinian people is a process of lie, deception and turning the facts. The Israeli entity has no right to defend its crimes and occupation but the Palestinian people who have such right to oblige the occupier to end the occupation. In 2004, the International Court of Justice (ICJ) gave an advisory opinion in the case concerning the "Legal Consequences of the Construction of a Wall in the Occupied Palestinian Territory" which stated that "Israel" – the brutal occupying force – cannot rely on a right of self-defense to build such wall on the Palestinian territory. Furthermore, Gaza under the international law is still an occupied land, thus, the justifications for waging the aggression on Gaza is baseless and lacks its legal capacity, as well as lacks the essence of the self-defense idea.

8. WHY OPERATION AL AQSA FLOOD?

2024

We are forced to defend our people with what we have, and this is what we have. What are we supposed to do? Should we raise the white flag? That's not going to happen. Does the world expect us to be well-behaved victims while we're getting killed? For us to be slaughtered without making a noise? That's impossible. We decided to defend our people with whatever weapons we have.

— YAHYA SINWAR

This is another section of *Our Narrative... Operation Al-Aqsa Flood*, explaining why Hamas executed the operation.



1

The battle of the Palestinian people against occupation and colonialism did not start on Oct. 7, but started 105 years ago, including 30 years of British colonialism and 75 years of Zionist occupation. In 1918, the Palestinian people owned 98.5% of the Palestine land and represented 92% of

the population on the land of Palestine. While the Jews, who were brought to Palestine in mass immigration campaigns in coordination between the British colonial authorities and the Zionist Movement, managed to seize control of not more than 6% of the lands in Palestine and to be 31% of the population prior to 1948 when the Zionist Entity was announced on the historic land of Palestine. At that time, the Palestinian people were denied from the right to self-determination and the Zionist gangs engaged in an ethnic cleansing campaign against the Palestinian people aimed at expelling them from their lands and areas. As a result, the Zionist gangs seized control by force of 77% of the land of Palestine where they expelled 57% of the people of Palestine and destroyed over 500 Palestinian villages and towns, and committed dozens of massacres against the Palestinians which all culminated in the establishment of the Zionist Entity in 1948. Moreover, in continuation of the aggression, the Israeli forces in 1967 occupied the rest of Palestine including the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and Jerusalem in addition to Arab territories around Palestine.

2

Over these long decades, the Palestinian people suffered all forms of oppression, injustice, expropriation of their fundamental rights and the apartheid policies. The Gaza Strip, for example, suffered as of 2007 from a suffocating blockade over 17 years which turned it to be the largest open-air prison in the world. The Palestinian people in Gaza also suffered from five destructive wars\aggressions all of which “Israel” was the offending party. The people in Gaza in 2018 also initiated the Great March of Return demonstrations to peacefully protest the Israeli blockade, their misery humanitarian conditions and to demand their right-to-return. However, the Israeli occupation forces responded to these protests with brutal force by which 360 Palestinians were killed and 19,000 others were injured including over 5,000 children in a matter of few months.

3

According official figures, in the period between (January 2000 and September 2023), the Israeli occupation killed 11,299 Palestinians and

injured 156,768 others, the great majority of them were civilians. Unfortunately, the US administration and its allies did not pay attention to the suffering of the Palestinian people over the past years but provided cover to the Israeli aggression. They only lamented the Israeli soldiers who were killed on Oct. 7 even without seeking the truth of what happened, and wrongfully walked behind the Israeli narrative in condemning an alleged targeting of Israeli civilians. The US administration provided the financial and military support to the Israeli occupation massacres against the Palestinian civilians and the brutal aggression on the Gaza Strip, and still the US officials continue to ignore what the Israeli occupation forces commit in Gaza of mass killing.

4

The Israeli violations and brutality were documented by many UN organizations and international human rights groups including Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch, and even documented by Israeli human rights groups. However, these reports and testimonies were ignored and the Israeli occupation is yet to be held accountable. For example, on Oct. 29, 2021, Israel's Ambassador to the UN Gilad Erdan insulted the UN system by tearing up a report for the UN Human Rights Council during an address at the General Assembly, and threw it in a dustbin before leaving the podium. Yet, he was appointed in the following year – 2022 – to the post of vice-president of the UN General Assembly.

5

The US administration and its western allies have always been treating Israel as a state above the law; they provide it with the needed cover to maintain prolonging the occupation and cracking down the Palestinian people, and also allowing "Israel" to exploit such situation to expropriate further Palestinian lands and to Judaize their sanctities and holy sites. Despite the fact that the UN had issued more than 900 resolutions over the past 75 years in favor of the Palestinian people, "Israel" rejected to abide by any of these resolutions, and the US VETO was always present at the UN Security Council to prevent any condemnation to "Israel's" poli-

cies and violations. That's why we see the US and other western countries complicit and partners to the Israeli occupation in its crimes and in the continued suffering of the Palestinian people.

6

As for “the peaceful settlement process”. Despite the fact that the Oslo Accords signed in 1993 with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) stipulated the establishment of a Palestinian independent state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip; “Israel” systematically destroyed every possibility to establish the Palestinian state through a wide campaign of settlements’ construction and Judaization of the Palestinian lands in the occupied West Bank and Jerusalem. The backers of the peace process after 30 years realized that they have reached an impasse and that such process had catastrophic results on the Palestinian people. The Israeli officials confirmed at several occasions their absolute rejection to the establishment of a Palestinian state. Just one month before Operation Al-Aqsa Flood, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu presented a map of a so-called “New Middle East,” depicting “Israel” stretching from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea including the West Bank and Gaza. The entire world at that – UN General Assembly’s - podium were silent towards his speech full of arrogance and ignorance towards the rights of the Palestinian people.

7

After 75 years of relentless occupation and suffering, and after failing all initiatives for liberation and return to our people, and also after the disastrous results of the so-called peace process, what did the world expect from the Palestinian people to do in response to the following:

- The Israeli Judaization plans to the blessed Al-Aqsa Mosque, its temporal and spatial division attempts, as well as the intensification of the Israeli settlers’ incursions into the holy mosque.

- The practices of the extremist and right-wing Israeli government which is practically taking steps towards annexing the entire West Bank and Jerusalem into the so-called “Israel’s sovereignty” amid plans on the Israeli official table to expel Palestinians from their homes and areas.
- The thousands of Palestinian detainees in Israeli jails who are experiencing deprivation of their basic rights as well as assaults and humiliations under direct supervision of the Israeli fascist minister Itamar Ben-Gvir.
- The unjust air, sea, and land blockade imposed on the Gaza Strip over 17 years.
- The expansion of the Israeli settlements across the West Bank in an unprecedented level, as well as the daily violence perpetrated by settlers against Palestinians and their properties.
- The seven million Palestinians living in extreme conditions in refugee camps and other areas who wish to return to their lands, and who were expelled 75 years ago.
- The failure of the international community and the complicit of superpowers to prevent the establishment of a Palestinian state.

What was expected from the Palestinian people after all of that? To keep waiting and to keep counting on the helpless UN! Or to take the initiative in defending the Palestinian people, lands, rights and sanctities; knowing that the defense act is a right enshrined in international laws, norms and conventions. Proceeding from the above, Operation Al-Aqsa Flood on Oct. 7 was a necessary step and a normal response to confront all Israeli conspiracies against the Palestinian people and their cause. It was a defensive act in the frame of getting rid of the Israeli occupation, reclaiming the Palestinian rights and on the way for liberation and independence like all peoples around the world did.

9. KHALED MASHAL

OCTOBER 19, 2023

There is a quote from Khaled Mashal, former leader of Hamas, that I frequently refer to. It talks about the sheer amount of sacrifice (millions) required for liberation from the colonial regimes that value our lives so cheaply. This is from an October 19, 2023 interview on Al-Arabiya Network (Saudi Arabia), via MEMRI (both sources are dubious, but at least you can hear Mashal speaking).



RASHA NABIL: THE KIND OF ATTACK HAMAS CARRIED OUT IS NOT A REGULAR operation. It is more like a declaration of war. So some people ask what you expected would be the Israeli reaction. We are watching the great human tragedy that is unfolding in the Gaza Strip. The people of Gaza woke up to this. The other factions, the Palestinian Authority, and the people of Gaza were not consulted about this. You made the decision all by yourselves.

Mashal: That ingenious moment when the Al-Qassam Brigades managed to surprise the enemy and all the intelligence agencies in the world had to be kept [a secret] known only to a small group of people. We did not embark on a new [enterprise of] resistance. It is all part of the atmosphere

of resistance. When a certain measure is taken, it is in the context of the legitimate resistance that our people have agreed upon...

Nabil: Okay, you have made some important points. You say that this is legitimate resistance in your view, but what the people in the West have seen on their TV screens, was transgressions by Hamas against Israeli civilians. You are responsible for Hamas's image abroad. Hamas is now being compared to ISIS.

Mashal: This is an accusation fabricated by Netanyahu, and unfortunately, the West is collaborating with this.

Dear sister, nations are not easily liberated. The Russians sacrificed 30 million people in World War II, in order to liberate it from Hitler's attack. The Vietnamese sacrificed 3.5 million people until they defeated the Americans. Afghanistan sacrifice millions of martyrs to defeat the USSR and then the US. The Algerian people sacrificed six million martyrs over 130 years. The Palestinian people are just like any other nation. No nation is liberated without sacrifices.

Nabil: How can you demand that the West, and the world in general, support the Palestinian cause, when the things Hamas perpetrated against the Israeli civilians are in the headlines? You know that Israel gained a lot of sympathy because of these scenes. Is treating civilians this way part of Hamas's ideology?

Mashal: Sister, I told you that Hamas, the Al-Qassam Brigades, and our military organizations focus their resistance on the occupation forces, on the soldiers, but in all wars, there are some civilian victims. We are not responsible for them.

Nabil: Will you apologize for what was done to the Israeli civilians on October 7?

Mashal: With all due respect, your question... Forgive me for saying this... Apologies should be demanded from Israel. You asked me a question and I am answering it with clarity. Hamas does not kill civilians on purpose. It focuses on the soldiers. Period.

Nabil: You said that what Hizbullah is doing is good, but it is not rising to the required level. Can we understand from this that Hizbullah and the resistance axis have so far failed your expectations regarding their reactions?

Mashal: We, in Palestine, are fighting. This is our position and decision. Outside of Palestine – we are grateful to whoever is standing by us. Hizbullah... The Lebanese front is now on fire, and we are grateful for that – whether it is done by Lebanese, by Palestinians, or by anyone. Hizbullah has an active role there. Those clashes in South Lebanon are good, and support our cause, but the scope of the battle... When the title is Al-Aqsa Flood, and when such a heinous crime is perpetrated against Gaza – greater things are needed, certainly. But we should not single out Lebanon and Hizbullah. Let us talk about the countries bordering with Israel. The great Egypt that has waged large wars... Today, the Egyptians are boiling [with anger]... We salute the Egyptian people, and we want more. I demand a more powerful position by the Egyptian leaders...

Nabil: What do you mean by 'more'? With regard to Lebanon, you know this and you can see it on the social media – the situation of the people in Lebanon is very bad. The last thing they need is another war that will come with another bill to pay. They say: Khaled Mashal is sitting in an air-conditioned room, talking about war, Jihad, and bombings.

Mashal: We are in the middle of the battlefield. Nobody is sitting this one out. The Hamas leaders in Gaza and abroad are running this war together.

Nabil: You decided to launch the October 7 attack, and now you are asking the Arab [countries] to join in. The Arabs did not participate in making this decision.

Mashal: Nobody in the Arab world said to Egypt: Why did you surprise us with the 1973 war? This is because Egyptian land in Sinai was under occupation. People might object to an Arab country deciding all by itself to launch an offensive against a neighbor or another party. But when people are under occupation, they have a natural right to do so. Nobody has the right to ask us why we did this, and whether or not we consulted with anyone.

Nabil: Has Iran lived up to your expectations so far? Iran has been speaking about the destruction of Israel.

Mashal: Our job is to make requests and remind people [of their promises], and everyone is responsible for their own decision.

Nabil: What do you plan to do about the hostages? What do you want in exchange?

Mashal: As I've said, these are prisoners. Before talking about the prisoners held by us, there are prisoners held by the enemy. There were about 5,500 of them, and now they number 10,000. Every day, Israel arrests 100, 200, or 1,000 from the West Bank. The rule we follow is that prisoners are swapped for prisoners. We took over 1,000 prisoners in exchange for Gilad Shalit. Today, we have in our hands dozens of soldiers and officers. *Inshallah*, we will use them to empty the [Israeli] prisons, and all our sons and daughters from all the factions will be released, *inshallah*.

10. ABU OBEIDA

20 NOVEMBER 2023

Abu Obeida is the *nom de guerre* of the Al Qassam Brigades spokesman. His speeches are eagerly awaited around the region, indeed, the world. This is his speech from 83 days into the Battle of Al Aqsa Flood and the accelerated genocide of his people. He is, as of publication date, still speaking. This translation is from the Resistance News Network.



AFTER 83 DAYS SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE BATTLE OF AL-AQSA FLOOD on October 7th, which set the zionist entity on the path to demise and collapse by the power of Allah, and after this great steadfastness by the great, noble people of Gaza—who are part of us and we are part of them, living their pain and hopes—and after this great epic written by our fighters and our resistance, which broke the enemy and dragged its nose through the mud of great Gaza: the maker of men and conqueror of invaders.

The greatest military jihadist salute cannot be deserved by anyone in this world as much as it is deserved by our people in Gaza, who have always been a support, backbone, and cradle for their resistance—which is from them, with them, for them, and for their cause. Words cannot do justice to

our legendary people, nor can they describe their glory, pride, and greatness.

O our nation, and all the free people of the world, we have been fighting for decades, leading up to the Al-Aqsa Flood, for our people, our land, our holy sites, and our Al-Aqsa, amidst the disgusting official abandonment of regimes and an international community governed by the law of the jungle and controlled by the zionists of the White House.

These oppressors, murderers, and sorcerers who want to tell the world that history began from October 7th, ignore the slow, silent killing of our people for many years, the Judaization, settlements, desecration of Al-Aqsa, the siege of Gaza, aggression against prisoners, and displacement of our people by all means. Then they weep for the zionists when we dealt their army the blow of the century and made them pay for their crimes, and told the world that we are a people seeking justice, freedom, and life.

We have never been seekers of war and destruction. It would have been better for the western and eastern zionists to recognize the rights of our people and end the occupation, but they preferred to buy time for the criminal occupation to annihilate our people and liquidate our cause. But we, as a people with a right, a cause, a message, and a resistance, faithful to these rights, continued to prepare and fight because we know that rights can only be reclaimed by extracting them by force.

Every nation on earth that has been occupied has wrested its freedom through blood, body parts, and combat. We have the best evidence and proof in Vietnam, Afghanistan, South Africa, Iraq, Algeria, Lebanon, and others.

O our heroic people, our nation, and all the free people of the world, we in the Al-Qassam Brigades, after eighty-three days of battle, aggression, and combat, affirm that our fighters are still in the field, confronting the aggression around the clock.

Since the beginning of the ground aggression, our fighters have targeted more than 825 military vehicles, including troop carriers, tanks, bulldozers, trucks, and other vehicles.

Our fighters in all defensive positions continue to inflict significant losses on the enemy in its incursion areas, reaping the lives of its soldiers by the dozens and engaging in close combat with their vehicles and forces on the ground.

Our fighters continue to write a historic epic and unique heroics, choosing their targets and planning to fatally strike the enemy using all available means, including machine guns, medium weapons, sniper rifles, hand grenades, explosive devices, anti-tank and anti-personnel and anti-fortification shells, and striking gatherings of forces with mortar and rocket shells.

Our fighters also carried out special operations by re-detonating the enemy's unexploded ordnances in its vehicles and among its soldiers, rigging buildings and blowing them up with invading soldiers, detonating minefields, and targeting three enemy helicopters with anti-aircraft missiles in the last two days.

The state of weakness, exhaustion, and confusion of the enemy forces has become a clearly and indisputable reality, which calls everyone in our people and nation to realize their revenge against this arrogant enemy, whose soldiers are incapable of confronting the owners of the land, the right, and the will.

We have published many, many pictures documenting our fighters targeting the enemy's soldiers and vehicles, and this is just a fraction of the overall operations on the ground.

Our priority is to stop the aggression against our people and end the criminal Nazi genocide that the enemy has been waging for 12 weeks against our innocent civilian people, following its failure on October 7th, and its further failure in the ground war.

Stopping the aggression is the most important priority. We feel the extent of the pain, suffering, injustice, and savagery that our people face in front of the world, this official world divided between a criminal oppressor and a helpless spectator, watching a cowardly and aggressive force pour out its wrath and the accumulation of its failures on the innocent and the safe.

The one who thwarts the aggression and stops it, humiliated and defeated, is the steadfastness of our people and our fighters in the field, breaking its objectives.

Accordingly, there are no exchange deals or other proposals that we can accept before the aggression against our people is completely stopped.

The day October 7th and the days that followed entrenched it in the memory of our people, our nation, and the free world, as well as in the memory and consciousness of the Zionist occupiers. It will remain deeply engraved as a defining moment in the historic struggle of our people with this occupying entity.

What the enemy has been doing for 83 days is an attempt to erase, obscure, and alter this significant impact in the form of the collapse and defeat of the occupation and its criminal army, but every street and neighborhood in the Gaza Strip will remain a testament to the greatness of our people and the valor of our fighters in contrast to the savagery of this enemy and those behind it who falsely claim Western civilization and human rights.

Gaza has exposed all the lying and shameful organizations and institutions that carry the sword of human rights against oppressed nations, only to protect and beautify the ugly image of forces of injustice, occupation, and aggression.

O our generous people, the epitome of patience and victory, what this cowardly enemy excels at is destruction and killing, attempting in vain what it has been repeating for decades to convey a message and idea to our people that their resistance is futile. But we say that we, along with our people in the same trench, will rebuild what the Nazi occupation has destroyed, sharing a morsel of bread and a drink of water with our people.

This aggression will soon break and fail by the power of Allah, and our people will emerge head held high, crowned with dignity and glory. Every pure drop of blood shed from a martyr or wounded in this

sacred war will bear witness to the great victory and the upcoming liberation by the will of Allah.

Rest assured, our great people, that with your resistance, steadfastness, and firmness in Al-Aqsa Flood, you have crafted the coffin of this temporary criminal occupation. The shedding of innocent blood has always been a defining mark for the destruction, planning, and defeat of invaders. This is a certainty by the laws of heaven and the models of history and experiences of nations.

We ask the Almighty Allah to have mercy on our martyrs, accept our jihad, heal our wounded, bind the wounds of our people, free our prisoners and path [Al-Aqsa], strengthen our fighters, and grant victory to our people and resistance.

Indeed, it is a jihad of victory or martyrdom.

11.HAMAS CHARTER

2017

The Hamas Charter has evolved from the original document in 1988 to the current version of 2017. One of the main changes is that Zionists rather than Jews are designated as the enemy. This is an evolution that happened across most of the Resistance, as they began to know their enemy better.



PRAISE BE TO ALLAH, THE LORD OF ALL WORLDS. MAY THE PEACE AND blessings of Allah be upon Muhammad, the Master of Messengers and the Leader of the mujahidin, and upon his household and all his companions.

Preamble

Palestine is the land of the Arab Palestinian people, from it they originate, to it they adhere and belong, and about it they reach out and communicate.

Palestine is a land whose status has been elevated by Islam, a faith that holds it in high esteem, that breathes through it its spirit and just values and that lays the foundation for the doctrine of defending and protecting it.

Palestine is the cause of a people who have been let down by a world that fails to secure their rights and restore to them what has been usurped from them, a people whose land continues to suffer one of the worst types of occupation in this world.

Palestine is a land that was seized by a racist, anti-human and colonial Zionist project

Palestine is a land that was seized by a racist, anti-human and colonial Zionist project that was founded on a false promise (the Balfour Declaration), on recognition of a usurping entity and on imposing a fait accompli by force.

Palestine symbolises the resistance that shall continue until liberation is accomplished, until the return is fulfilled and until a fully sovereign state is established with Jerusalem as its capital.

Palestine is the true partnership among Palestinians of all affiliations for the sublime objective of liberation.

Palestine is the spirit of the Ummah and its central cause; it is the soul of humanity and its living conscience.

This document is the product of deep deliberations that led us to a strong consensus. As a movement, we agree about both the theory and the practice of the vision that is outlined in the pages that follow. It is a vision that stands on solid grounds and on well-established principles. This document unveils the goals, the milestones and the way in which national unity can be enforced. It also establishes our common understanding of the Palestinian cause, the working principles which we use to further it, and the limits of flexibility used to interpret it.

The movement

1. The Islamic Resistance Movement “*Hamas*” is a Palestinian Islamic national liberation and resistance movement. Its goal is to liberate Palestine and confront the Zionist project. Its frame of reference is Islam, which determines its principles, objectives and means.

The Land of Palestine

2. Palestine, which extends from the River Jordan in the east to the Mediterranean in the west and from Ras al-Naqurah in the north to Umm al-Rashrash in the south, is an integral territorial unit. It is the land and the home of the Palestinian people. The expulsion and banishment of the Palestinian people from their land and the establishment of the Zionist entity therein do not annul the right of the Palestinian people to their entire land and do not entrench any rights therein for the usurping Zionist entity.

3. Palestine is an Arab Islamic land. It is a blessed sacred land that has a special place in the heart of every Arab and every Muslim.

The Palestinian people

4. The Palestinians are the Arabs who lived in Palestine until 1947, irrespective of whether they were expelled from it, or stayed in it; and every person that was born to an Arab Palestinian father after that date, whether inside or outside Palestine, is a Palestinian.

Catastrophes... cannot erase the identity of the Palestinian people nor can they negate it

5. The Palestinian identity is authentic and timeless; it is passed from generation to generation. The catastrophes that have befallen the Palestinian people, as a consequence of the Zionist occupation and its policy of displacement, cannot erase the identity of the Palestinian people nor can they negate it. A Palestinian shall not lose his or her national identity or rights by acquiring a second nationality.

6. The Palestinian people are one people, made up of all Palestinians, inside and outside of Palestine, irrespective of their religion, culture or political affiliation.

Islam and Palestine

7. Palestine is at the heart of the Arab and Islamic Ummah and enjoys a special status. Within Palestine there exists Jerusalem, whose precincts are blessed by Allah. Palestine is the Holy Land, which Allah has blessed for humanity. It is the Muslims' first Qiblah and the destination of the journey performed at night by Prophet Muhammad, peace be upon him. It is the

location from where he ascended to the upper heavens. It is the birthplace of Jesus Christ, peace be upon him. Its soil contains the remains of thousands of prophets, companions and mujahidin. It is the land of people who are determined to defend the truth – within Jerusalem and its surroundings – who are not deterred or intimidated by those who oppose them and by those who betray them, and they will continue their mission until the Promise of Allah is fulfilled.

8. By virtue of its justly balanced middle way and moderate spirit, Islam – for Hamas - provides a comprehensive way of life and an order that is fit for purpose at all times and in all places. Islam is a religion of peace and tolerance. It provides an umbrella for the followers of other creeds and religions who can practice their beliefs in security and safety. Hamas also believes that Palestine has always been and will always be a model of coexistence, tolerance and civilizational innovation.

9. Hamas believes that the message of Islam upholds the values of truth, justice, freedom and dignity and prohibits all forms of injustice and incriminates oppressors irrespective of their religion, race, gender or nationality. Islam is against all forms of religious, ethnic or sectarian extremism and bigotry. It is the religion that inculcates in its followers the value of standing up to aggression and of supporting the oppressed; it motivates them to give generously and make sacrifices in defence of their dignity, their land, their peoples and their holy places.

Jerusalem

10. Jerusalem is the capital of Palestine. Its religious, historic and civilizational status is fundamental to the Arabs, Muslims and the world at large. Its Islamic and Christian holy places belong exclusively to the Palestinian people and to the Arab and Islamic Ummah. Not one stone of Jerusalem can be surrendered or relinquished. The measures undertaken by the occupiers in Jerusalem, such as Judaisation, settlement building, and establishing facts on the ground are fundamentally null and void.

11. The blessed al-Aqsa Mosque belongs exclusively to our people and our Ummah, and the occupation has no right to it whatsoever. The occupa-

tion's plots, measures and attempts to judaize al-Aqsa and divide it are null, void and illegitimate.

Refugees and right of return

12. The Palestinian cause in its essence is a cause of an occupied land and a displaced people. The right of the Palestinian refugees and the displaced to return to their homes from which they were banished or were banned from returning to – whether in the lands occupied in 1948 or in 1967 (that is the whole of Palestine), is a natural right, both individual and collective. This right is confirmed by all divine laws as well as by the basic principles of human rights and international law. It is an inalienable right and cannot be dispensed with by any party, whether Palestinian, Arab or international.

13. Hamas rejects all attempts to erase the rights of the refugees, including the attempts to settle them outside Palestine and through the projects of the alternative homeland. Compensation to the Palestinian refugees for the harm they have suffered as a consequence of banishing them and occupying their land is an absolute right that goes hand in hand with their right to return. They are to receive compensation upon their return and this does not negate or diminish their right to return.

The Zionist project

14. The Zionist project is a racist, aggressive, colonial and expansionist project based on seizing the properties of others; it is hostile to the Palestinian people and to their aspiration for freedom, liberation, return and self-determination. The Israeli entity is the plaything of the Zionist project and its base of aggression.

15. The Zionist project does not target the Palestinian people alone; it is the enemy of the Arab and Islamic Ummah posing a grave threat to its security and interests. It is also hostile to the Ummah's aspirations for unity, renaissance and liberation and has been the major source of its troubles. The Zionist project also poses a danger to international security and peace and to mankind and its interests and stability.

16. Hamas affirms that its conflict is with the Zionist project not with the Jews because of their religion. Hamas does not wage a struggle against the

Jews because they are Jewish but wages a struggle against the Zionists who occupy Palestine. Yet, it is the Zionists who constantly identify Judaism and the Jews with their own colonial project and illegal entity.

17. Hamas rejects the persecution of any human being or the undermining of his or her rights on nationalist, religious or sectarian grounds. Hamas is of the view that the Jewish problem, anti-Semitism and the persecution of the Jews are phenomena fundamentally linked to European history and not to the history of the Arabs and the Muslims or to their heritage. The Zionist movement, which was able with the help of Western powers to occupy Palestine, is the most dangerous form of settlement occupation which has already disappeared from much of the world and must disappear from Palestine.

The position toward Occupation and political solutions

18. The following are considered null and void: the Balfour Declaration, the British Mandate Document, the UN Palestine Partition Resolution, and whatever resolutions and measures that derive from them or are similar to them. The establishment of "Israel" is entirely illegal and contravenes the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and goes against their will and the will of the Ummah; it is also in violation of human rights that are guaranteed by international conventions, foremost among them is the right to self-determination.

19. There shall be no recognition of the legitimacy of the Zionist entity. Whatever has befallen the land of Palestine in terms of occupation, settlement building, judaisation or changes to its features or falsification of facts is illegitimate. Rights never lapse.

20. Hamas believes that no part of the land of Palestine shall be compromised or conceded, irrespective of the causes, the circumstances and the pressures and no matter how long the occupation lasts. Hamas rejects any alternative to the full and complete liberation of Palestine, from the river to the sea. However, without compromising its rejection of the Zionist entity and without relinquishing any Palestinian rights, Hamas considers the establishment of a fully sovereign and independent Palestinian state, with Jerusalem as its capital along the lines of the 4th of June 1967, with

the return of the refugees and the displaced to their homes from which they were expelled, to be a formula of national consensus.

There shall be no recognition of the legitimacy of the Zionist entity

21. Hamas affirms that the Oslo Accords and their addenda contravene the governing rules of international law in that they generate commitments that violate the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. Therefore, the Movement rejects these agreements and all that flows from them, such as the obligations that are detrimental to the interests of our people, especially security coordination (collaboration).

22. Hamas rejects all the agreements, initiatives and settlement projects that are aimed at undermining the Palestinian cause and the rights of our Palestinian people. In this regard, any stance, initiative or political programme must not in any way violate these rights and should not contravene them or contradict them.

23. Hamas stresses that transgression against the Palestinian people, usurping their land and banishing them from their homeland cannot be called peace. Any settlements reached on this basis will not lead to peace. Resistance and jihad for the liberation of Palestine will remain a legitimate right, a duty and an honour for all the sons and daughters of our people and our Ummah.

Resistance and Liberation

24. The liberation of Palestine is the duty of the Palestinian people in particular and the duty of the Arab and Islamic Ummah in general. It is also a humanitarian obligation as necessitated by the dictates of truth and justice. The agencies working for Palestine, whether national, Arab, Islamic or humanitarian, complement each other and are harmonious and not in conflict with each other.

25. Resisting the occupation with all means and methods is a legitimate right guaranteed by divine laws and by international norms and laws. At the heart of these lies armed resistance, which is regarded as the strategic choice for protecting the principles and the rights of the Palestinian people.

26. Hamas rejects any attempt to undermine the resistance and its arms. It also affirms the right of our people to develop the means and mechanisms of resistance. Managing resistance, in terms of escalation or de-escalation, or in terms of diversifying the means and methods, is an integral part of the process of managing the conflict and should not be at the expense of the principle of resistance.

The Palestinian political system

27. A real state of Palestine is a state that has been liberated. There is no alternative to a fully sovereign Palestinian State on the entire national Palestinian soil, with Jerusalem as its capital.

28. Hamas believes in, and adheres to, managing its Palestinian relations on the basis of pluralism, democracy, national partnership, acceptance of the other and the adoption of dialogue. The aim is to bolster the unity of ranks and joint action for the purpose of accomplishing national goals and fulfilling the aspirations of the Palestinian people.

The PLO is a national framework for the Palestinian people

29. The PLO is a national framework for the Palestinian people inside and outside of Palestine. It should therefore be preserved, developed and rebuilt on democratic foundations so as to secure the participation of all the constituents and forces of the Palestinian people, in a manner that safeguards Palestinian rights.

30. Hamas stresses the necessity of building Palestinian national institutions on sound democratic principles, foremost among them are free and fair elections. Such process should be on the basis of national partnership and in accordance with a clear programme and a clear strategy that adhere to the rights, including the right of resistance, and which fulfil the aspirations of the Palestinian people.

31. Hamas affirms that the role of the Palestinian Authority should be to serve the Palestinian people and safeguard their security, their rights and their national project.

32. Hamas stresses the necessity of maintaining the independence of Palestinian national decision-making. Outside forces should not be

allowed to intervene. At the same time, Hamas affirms the responsibility of the Arabs and the Muslims and their duty and role in the liberation of Palestine from Zionist occupation.

33. Palestinian society is enriched by its prominent personalities, figures, dignitaries, civil society institutions, and youth, students, trade unionist and women's groups who together work for the achievement of national goals and societal building, pursue resistance, and achieve liberation.

34. The role of Palestinian women is fundamental in the process of building the present and the future, just as it has always been in the process of making Palestinian history. It is a pivotal role in the project of resistance, liberation and building the political system.

The Arab and Islamic Ummah

35. Hamas believes that the Palestinian issue is the central cause for the Arab and Islamic Ummah.

36. Hamas believes in the unity of the Ummah with all its diverse constituents and is aware of the need to avoid anything that could fragment the Ummah and undermine its unity.

37. Hamas believes in cooperating with all states that support the rights of the Palestinian people. It opposes intervention in the internal affairs of any country. It also refuses to be drawn into disputes and conflicts that take place among different countries. Hamas adopts the policy of opening up to different states in the world, especially the Arab and Islamic states. It endeavours to establish balanced relations on the basis of combining the requirements of the Palestinian cause and the Palestinian people's interests on the one hand with the interests of the Ummah, its renaissance and its security on the other.

The Humanitarian and international aspect

38. The Palestinian issue is one that has major humanitarian and international dimensions. Supporting and backing this cause is a humanitarian and civilisational task that is required by the prerequisites of truth, justice and common humanitarian values.

39. From a legal and humanitarian perspective, the liberation of Palestine is a legitimate activity, it is an act of self-defence, and it is the expression of the natural right of all peoples to self-determination.

40. In its relations with world nations and peoples, Hamas believes in the values of cooperation, justice, freedom and respect of the will of the people.

41. Hamas welcomes the stances of states, organisations and institutions that support the rights of the Palestinian people. It salutes the free peoples of the world who support the Palestinian cause. At the same time, it denounces the support granted by any party to the Zionist entity or the attempts to cover up its crimes and aggression against the Palestinians and calls for the prosecution of Zionist war criminals.

42. Hamas rejects the attempts to impose hegemony on the Arab and Islamic Ummah just as it rejects the attempts to impose hegemony on the rest of the world's nations and peoples. Hamas also condemns all forms of colonialism, occupation, discrimination, oppression and aggression in the world.

12.PAOLO CARIDI

ON SUICIDE BOMBING

This is a chapter of academic work by the Italian reporter Paolo Caridi, from her book *Hamas: From Resistance To Regime*. It ends its interviews and research in 2012, but is very helpful for understanding the group and you should read it in full. In this Caridi discusses why Hamas started and stopped suicide bombing.



Tracing Baruch's Footsteps

In the Middle East, and in Israel and Palestine in particular, dates are important. Dates are tombstones that mark an infinite history of loss. They are also milestones that carve out different narratives: in the two parallel yet intertwined historical trajectories, dates describe the situation, responsibilities, and guilt of each party and its adversary. If, on the Israeli side, the chronology of suicide attacks is an integral part of the attitude the Israelis take toward armed Palestinian factions, on the other side there is one day that will never be forgotten—and not just by Hamas militants. It is February 25, 1994, during Ramadan: the final Friday of what for Muslims is the most sacred month. In Hebron, as in Jerusalem, the number of faithful who gather in mosques increases during this period; some say there were 800 present on the morning when Baruch Goldstein, a radical

settler, extremist Kach movement militant, and Brooklyn-born doctor, opened fire with his Galil automatic rifle inside the Ibrahimi Mosque, the most sacred after the ones on the Haram al-Sharif in Jerusalem. It is said that he fired at least one hundred bullets. On the ground, after it was all over, there were twenty-nine dead among the faithful and a far higher number of injured. Goldstein himself was beaten to death by the outraged crowd.

That day, which went down in history as the Hebron Massacre, is also considered in Palestinian accounts to be a watershed for Hamas. The Islamist movement claimed responsibility for its first suicide attack—in Afula, in northern Israel—exactly forty days after the massacre. In the Arab and Muslim world, the mourning period lasts precisely until the fortieth day, when the deceased are remembered at a family gathering that closes the period of grief. In the reconstruction later offered by Hamas militants, it was the Hebron Massacre that led the Harakat al-Muqawwama al-Islamiyya to conclude that terrorism should become the principal instrument of the struggle against Israel. Further, it should be a struggle in which civilians would not be spared, just as Goldstein had targeted civilians—and what is more, targeted them in a holy place, during Islam’s holiest month—to carry out the folly of his political act.

The Israeli government’s condemnation of the terrorist attack was not enough to stop Hamas, which considered the massacre at the mosque—within which the remains of Abraham himself are preserved—a point of no return. The government’s condemnation was perceived by Palestinians as only one side of the coin, the other side being the funeral procession that accompanied Goldstein from Jerusalem to the radical settlement of Kiryat Arba, near Hebron. Palestinians witnessed hundreds of settlers gathering around Goldstein’s tomb hailing him as a hero, and they knew that on the tombstone—in Kiryat Arba’s park, which is dedicated to Meir Kahane, the rabbi who founded the Kach movement—Baruch Goldstein is called a “saint,” a man “killed to sanctify God’s name.” Palestinians also knew that the more extremist among the settlers trace an analogy between Goldstein’s act and Samson’s biblical gesture—dying in the act of destroying the temple of the Philistines. The precedent of political suicide was also hinted at by Moussa Abu Marzouq, currently second-in-

command of Hamas's politburo abroad, who said in an interview with *Time Magazine* in 2002—while the Second Intifada's bloodiest wave of suicide attacks was taking place—that “Hamas was actually not the first group to resort to these operations. Israel began these operations when the Israeli terrorist [Baruch] Goldstein dashed to al-Khalil Mosque and killed twenty-seven [sic] people there while they were praying inside the mosque.”

Many years later, Sheikh Ahmed Haj Ali argued that “had there not been the 1994 Ibrahimi Mosque massacre, there would have been no suicide bombings.” Haj Ali, the leader of the Muslim Brotherhood in the West Bank, born in 1941, was elected by a landslide in Nablus in the January 2006 elections on the Change and Reform ticket while held in an Israeli prison under administrative detention. He is not alone in making this point. In an interview dating back to 1998, and therefore preceding the emergence of a political line that later aimed to soothe the West, Abdel Aziz al-Rantisi, one of Hamas's most radical leaders, said that suicide attacks “began after the massacre committed by the terrorist Baruch Goldstein [in the Hebron mosque in 1994] and intensified after the assassination of Yahya Ayyash.” All the leaders who were asked what the massacre at the Ibrahimi Mosque represented gave the same answer: it was a turning point in determining whether to choose an armed strategy. Osama Hamdan, Hamas's representative in Lebanon, states that “before the Hebron massacre armed operations had soldiers and settlers as targets” and goes so far as to claim that “the Israeli authorities had at the very least been informed of what was about to happen” by radicals among the Israeli settlers. Ahmed Youssef, one of the most moderate leaders within Gaza, echoes this position, arguing that “history would have been different had Hebron not happened—a real crime against humanity. Without Hebron, Hamas would not have been able to justify suicide attacks.” According to this interpretation, the use of suicide attacks was a sort of retaliation in kind, an equal and opposite measure, to the actions carried out by one man, Baruch Goldstein, who knew full well when he entered the Ibrahimi Mosque that he would not leave it alive and that he was going to sacrifice himself in a suicide that was as insane as it was political. A similar interpretation was also offered by Ismail Abu Shanab, one of the main figures

in the negotiations that led to the truce of June 2003, later killed by the Israelis after a suicide attack—one of the bloodiest—in Jerusalem the following August. Abu Shanab told the experts of the International Crisis Group that the Hebron Massacre “did not leave us any choice. They attacked us at our weakest point, so we had to do the same in return. We did not want this kind of struggle, but were left with no choice.”

The reading Hamas offers of the massacre in the Hebron mosque is, therefore, unambiguous. And it was indeed after the massacre that the Islamist movement began to recruit groups of youngsters unknown to Israeli authorities, youngsters who had not been arrested or stopped by the police, who were untraceable in the dossiers on Palestinians, and who would carry out what—according to the dominant philosophy within certain sectors of Hamas—had become a martyrdom, thereby becoming *shaheed*. According to Beverley Milton-Edwards, it was through this philosophy of martyrdom that Hamas “elevated the act of *jihad* in the aftermath of Goldstein’s Jewish equivalent.” In this sense, the decision to blow oneself up, causing death and destruction all around the explosion, was not simply offensive: “*jihad* is, in this context, an act of defence, the suicide bombings are a retaliation against an aggression.” According to Milton-Edwards, this is because the legitimization of the attacks is found in a verse of the Qur’an that exhorts the faithful to “fight in the way of God those who fight with you . . . And slay them wherever you come upon them, and expel them from where they expelled you.” In the same interview to *Time Magazine* cited earlier, Abu Marzouq offers a kind of periodization of Hamas’s armed struggle: the first two years, until 1989, without resorting to military operations; then, until 1993, clashes with “light arms against Israeli soldiers,” operations defined by the then head of the politburo as a “popular demand” in order to react to the killing of the boys who threw the stones in the 1987 revolt. Then, when the Israelis began to “face Palestinian civilians with weapons . . . we could have done nothing but to answer with the same weapon.” An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth.

However, reprisals and revenge did not stop at the first suicide attack. Nor at the second. Within a brief space of time, the reprisal mutated into a “strategy of tension” that aimed to inflict as much damage as possible upon

the emerging peace process and the Declaration of Principles by Rabin's Israel and Arafat's Palestine. The Hebron Massacre became secondary in the legitimization of the use of suicide attacks, to the point that Hamas no longer spoke of revenge and of civilians killed just as Baruch Goldstein killed civilians. There was no longer talk of a symmetrical reaction to the crimes committed by Israel against Palestinian civilians, or of a classic "eye-for-an-eye" logic. The justifications Hamas used changed. In order to legitimize indiscriminate attacks inside Israeli cities—in cafés, in buses, and at crowded crossroads—it began to argue that Israeli society was militarized, that it was a society in which everyone undertakes military service and remains reservists until they are at least forty. Hamas thus attempted to legitimize its continued use of terrorism by stretching the concept of a "soldier," and therefore of a combatant, such that the victims of suicide attacks were no longer civilians. This trajectory by some within Hamas appears to confirm what some of the most pragmatic leaders have said, namely, that it is not at all clear that all of the leadership agreed with suicide attacks, at least from an ethical and political point of view. One of the longest-standing leaders in Gaza, Sayyed Abu Musameh, has stated that he "did not support the suicide attacks" and that already "in 1990 there was an internal document in which he stated his opposition to violence perpetrated against civilians and against Arab soldiers." This is also confirmed by Ahmed Youssef, who wrote to the leadership of the Islamist movement in 1998 advising that suicide operations be stopped, and that given the reactions these had triggered around the world, another method of opposing the Israelis should be found.

Negotiations to suspend the suicide attacks would achieve some temporary successes, particularly within the Palestinian world, but these periods of calm—which were neither written about nor publicized until they had been broken by a new attack—were, however, always temporary. One such period of calm, for example, had been obtained by the PNA in September 1995 and lasted through the months prior to the first Palestinian elections. These were months during which Hamas was discussing whether it should be taking part in the elections inside the territory under the PNA's as yet embryonic control, and the very same months in which the Islamist movement was establishing a full-fledged party, Al Khalas.

This unwritten calm was broken on January 5, 1996, by the targeted assassination of Yahya Ayyash, “The Engineer.” Israel always wanted to maintain its freedom to act, and would strike against the instigators of the suicide attacks even if it meant that on some occasions diplomatic possibilities would be sacrificed on the altar of a military solution to the terrorist threat. Ayyash’s case was exemplary in this sense. He was the organizer of numerous suicide attacks, and despite the fact that Shimon Peres’s government foresaw that the Engineer’s assassination would trigger a response from Hamas’s military wing, particularly at a very delicate time when the Islamist movement was engaged in animated discussions over its participation in elections, the Israeli government preferred to eliminate him.

The main question, which has not yet been met with a definitive answer at a historical and a political level, concerns what kinds of relations there might have been between the political and military wings within Hamas. After all, the Islamist movement was born on December 9, 1987, under a specific banner that explained its objectives and modus operandi: “Islamic Resistance Movement.” Resistance is the core around which Hamas has always revolved, even before its formal birth. Both times Sheikh Ahmed Yassin was arrested, before and after 1987, he was imprisoned because he was implicated in organizing armed groups. However, things appeared to change after the reorganization carried out by Abu Marzouq in 1989, the year after which political leaders tended to increasingly emphasize—at least in their official declarations—the separation between political and military wings, and between Hamas as an Islamist movement and the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades. Fatah would later do the same, during the Second Intifada, with Al-Aqsa Martyrs’ Brigades, an armed but independent group. However, the key question remains unresolved—just as the relationship between Ireland’s Sinn Féin and the IRA at the apex of the Troubles remained unresolved, or indeed the relationship between Herri Batasuna and ETA in the Basque Country, or between certain African liberation movements and their respective armed wings—at least as far as the details of organizational structures and internal communications were concerned.

How much did Hamas's political wing know about the military wing's plans? In brief: All the political leaders insist that they did not know anything concerning the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades's plans. This would suggest a degree of autonomy rooted in the very clandestine organizational structure around which Hamas is constructed. If known leaders, who have a public profile, knew of the military wing's plans, it would obviously be easier to obtain from these public leaders the information necessary to prevent the attacks. It is not a coincidence that over the years little more has been known of military commanders other than their names—second- if not thirdhand information mixed in with other urban myths surrounding the figure of the guerrilla fighter. There are revelations concerning the more recent leaders, such as Mohammed al-Deif or Ahmed al-Ja'bari, journalistic scoops that arise from time to time when reporters manage to get a tour of the sites from which Qassam rockets are fired from Gaza against southern Israeli cities, or when they manage to meet a militant or even a commander. Nonetheless, the veneer of secrecy remains intact, to the detriment of the image of the Islamist movement, which remains confused.

The umbilical cord to that central word in Hamas's definition—"resistance"—has never been severed. According to Islamist leaders, this is because the Israeli occupation is not over. In this sense, the Islamist movement cannot achieve a fully postconflict posture while the conflict itself endures. At the same time, the question concerning the real relationship between Hamas's two wings remains unresolved. One thing is certain, however, and that is that the political wing has never disowned the military wing, even during the harshest phase of the suicide attack strategy, even when the embarrassment of certain political leaders in taking responsibility for some of those attacks at particular historical junctures was evident. The unspoken agreement, therefore, appears to be that the political wing should never and can never disown the military wing. Eyad al-Sarraj made the psychoanalytic point with regard to Hamas's structure that the organization acts according to the classical rules of tribalism, closing ranks at moments it considers vital.

A question follows from this: What freedom of action has the military wing had over the two decades of Hamas's existence? The latitude it has

had has certainly been significant, especially at certain specific moments. This independence has strongly influenced the course of events, such as during the terrible months of the spring of 1996, for example, which were punctuated by a series of bloody suicide attacks. The later phase, after Hamas had undertaken the path of electoral participation, was similarly marked by the kidnapping of Gilad Shalit in June 2006, just as negotiations between Mahmoud Abbas and the Hamas-led government were in full swing, not to mention Hamas's armed takeover of the Gaza Strip exactly a year later. Aside from the attack against the commercial district of Dimona in February 2008, which was believed by the Israelis themselves to have been carried out by splinter groups, the commitment that had been made by the Islamist movement at the beginning of 2005 to end the series of terrorist attacks has been adhered to by the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades.

Was there a formal consultation process inside Hamas to decide whether or not to stop the suicide attacks inside Israeli cities, limiting the resistance to within the Palestinian territory occupied in 1967? Both in the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip, Hamas leaders are cautious to answer this kind of question. Some declined to comment. Others confirmed that the four constituencies have been consulted on the "increase or decrease of the resistance," that is, on suicide attacks in Israel.

Once that particular "strategy of tension" was over, Hamas's armed wing appears to have restricted itself to a classic military posture, so to speak, or at least to one rooted in conventional guerrilla tactics. Specifically, it resorted to two elements: the launch of Qassam rockets, and the establishment of the Executive Force as a full-fledged military body. The *tanfisiyya*, which had been established in Gaza in April 2006 by the then Interior Minister Said Siyyam in the Hamas government, did not limit itself to being a counterpart to the forces set up by Fatah and the PNA presidency, but has increasingly become a military organization, with its three-thousand-strong force doubling its numbers within the following two years. This kind of military posture crystallized after Hamas's June 2007 coup in Gaza, which enhanced the role of the armed wing in the movement's structure. Indeed, Hamas's seizure of power in the Strip paved the way to a less clandestine, more visible presence of the military wing, which from

2007 to 2010 became less the image of a resistance guerrilla and more that of a tool in the hands of the administrative and governmental structure. “Before, resistance has been fought by the PNA. But now there is a Hamas government, and the fighters can move more freely. Because Hamas is still a resistance movement,” explained Mushir al-Masri, one of the leaders of the young generation and the youngest member of parliament elected in 2006.

13.SHEIKH AHMED YASSIN

THE END OF 'ISRAEL' BY 2027

This is a small excerpt from a June 5, 1999 interview with the founder of Hamas, Sheikh Ahmed Yassin. In this interview, Ahmed Mansour asks and is surprised to hear that 'Israel' will be gone in the first quarter of the 21st century. 2027 to be exact. It suddenly seems possible, even prophetic.



AHMED MANSOUR: "AS SOMEONE WHO WITNESSED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF the State of Israel in 1948, and now that this state has existed for 50 years – how do you see its future?"

Ahmed Yassin: "I say Israel was founded upon in justice and plunder. Any entity founded on injustice and plunder is destined to be destroyed."

Mansour: "Even if it has power that allows it to survive?"

Yassin: "The power of no one in the world lasts forever. You start as a child, then you become a teenager, and a young man, and then you become an aged man, an elderly man, and then it's over. The same is true of countries. They progress little by little until they become extinct. This cannot be helped."

Mansour: "At what stage is Israel now?"

Yassin: "I say that Israel will be gone in the first quarter of the next [21st] century, inshallah. To be precise, I say that by 2027, there will be no Israel."

Mansour: "Why that [specific] date?"

Yassin: "Because I believe in the noble Quran. The Quran tells us that the generations change every 40 years. During the first 40 years, we had the Nakba, in the second 40 years, the Intifada started, with confrontations the fighting, and the bombs, and the third [group of] 40 years, will see [Israel's] end, inshallah."

Mansour: "So this estimate..."

Yassin: "This is a Quranic conclusion."

14. THE THORN AND THE CARNATION

YAHYA SINWAR (2004)

I have well memorized this sentence from Imam Ali, which says: "There are two days in a person's life: the day when death is not your destiny, and the day when death is your destiny. On the first day, no one can harm you, and on the second day, no one can save you."

— YAHYA SINWAR

Yahya Sinwar is known as a doer, but he also wrote a novel which was laboriously written and smuggled out of prison by 2004. Sinwar spent 22 years in 'Israeli' prisons serving four life sentences before he was exchanged (among many) for the IOF soldier Gilad Shalit.

Sinwar is the current leader of Hamas (for as long as God wills it) and public enemy #1 in 'Israel'. Nevermind, he seems to have been martyred as I was editing this. He went down as he lived, fighting bravely to the end. What a man, what an eternal G. Sinwar lived and died a global hero, fighting for his people against impossible odds.

These are excerpts from his novel *The Thorn and The Carnation*. This work of fiction is from the period when Hamas did use suicide bombing as a weapon, "We decided to defend our people with whatever weapons we have," as

Sinwar has said. Hamas's strategy since changed and Sinwar died leading a liberation army with modern weapons.



[SINWAR'S INTRODUCTION TO HIMSELF]

A Palestinian from a family that migrated from the city of Ashkelon in 1948 to the Gaza Strip.

- Born in 1962 in Khan Yunis Refugee Camp.
- Earned a Bachelor's degree in Arabic Language and Literature from the Islamic University of Gaza, and was among the pioneers of the Islamic Resistance in Palestine.
- Imprisoned in early 1988, sentenced to life imprisonment, and has remained a prisoner in the occupation's jails since that date.
- Wrote this novel, 'Clove Thorns,' blending his memories and the story of his people, encompassing their pains and hopes. He made it the story of every Palestinian and all Palestinians, in a dramatic work with real events and mostly fictional characters, with some based on real people.
- The novel addresses most of the key milestones in Palestinian history since the setback of 1967 up to the early stages of the blessed Al-Aqsa Intifada.
- This novel was written in the darkness of captivity in the occupation's prisons in Palestine. Dozens strived to copy it and attempt to hide it from the eyes and tainted hands of the torturers, exerting tremendous effort in doing so, working like ants to bring it into the light, to be accessible to readers and perhaps to be depicted on screens, presenting a true picture of the reality in the Land of Isra.



[EXCERPT FROM THE LAST CHAPTER, SPOILER ALERT]

In July, the occupation forces, with their helicopters, planes, tanks, guided missiles, special forces, and nefarious methods using their agents, attempted ninety-five assassination operations in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, succeeding in about eighty of them. They reaped the lives of dozens of activists and cadres from the well-known Palestinian factions. Missile shells penetrated the windows and offices of the Islamic Studies Center in Nablus, which is located in a building all of which are residential apartments, killing Jamal Salim, Jamal Mansour, and four others working in the center. The crowds in Nablus and in all cities, villages, and camps of the homeland chanted, demanding a deterrent response to the occupation for its crimes. Hundreds of thousands screamed at the top of their voices for revenge, revenge, O Al-Qassam Brigades. Thunderous voices demanded an end to the crimes of the occupation, which began practicing a clear policy secretly named by its leaders as the policy of hunting activists, allowing the occupying forces to target any Palestinian activist from any of the factions, whose name appears on a long list of targets, and whose name appears in any of the investigations conducted by the intelligence of the occupation or is mentioned in any report raised by one of the agents.

A young Palestinian journalist heads to Jerusalem looking for a suitable target for a major martyrdom operation. She finds one of the crowded restaurants, and the next day she carries an explosive device hidden in one of the musical instruments, followed by a young man with empty hands so as not to arouse the suspicion of the security forces scattered everywhere in anticipation of martyrdom operations.

As she approached the restaurant, she slowed down while he quickened his pace, took the package from her, and entered the Sparo restaurant. Minutes after he entered, he detonated the explosive device, causing a loud explosion that scattered the bodies of the dead from the restaurant doors. Screams and cries rose as ambulances and security personnel, along with bomb experts, rushed to the scene. Over fifteen were killed and dozens were injured.

Ibrahim and Hassan, along with a third young man named Adnan, were working quietly in Hassan's lathe and fitting workshop in the Asqoula area of Gaza, following the young man's instructions to prepare the frame of a

mortar shell and its launching cannon after they had packed it with explosives and propellant materials. They placed it in the car's trunk and headed south until they reached the outskirts of the residential area. They set up the cannon, loaded the shell, and recited "In the name of God, God is the greatest, and you did not throw when you threw but it was God who threw." They moved away and threw themselves to the ground as the cannon shook with the sound of the explosion, and the shell soared into the sky before falling near the Nitzarim settlement. The three mujahideen embraced, congratulating each other on the success, and then flew back to the workshop where they continued preparing dozens of shells and simple homemade cannons after having prepared the first cannon and five shells. Ibrahim carried them in his car and sped to the north. There, in the Jabalia camp, he knocked on the door of one of the houses, and a young man came out and got into the car with him. They went to the edges of the residential areas to the north, set up the cannon, and launched the first shell at the Nitzanit settlement. Then they returned in the car where Ibrahim dropped off the young man along with the cannon and the remaining four shells and hurried back to the workshop where he loaded the newly completed cannon and five shells into the car and sped to the south. He knocked on a door in the Khan Yunis camp, came out with one of the young men to the outskirts of the camp, set up the cannon, and fired the first shell, then returned where he dropped off the young man, took the cannon and the remaining shells.

The threats and warnings from the occupation leadership about the launching of mortar shells at their settlements caused some who dominated political life in the West Bank and Gaza to tremble, and voices of some moderates were raised, calling to stop these futile games that might bring harm.

Ibrahim and Hassan continued preparing more of them, listening to the news and those calls while they smiled. Ibrahim said in wonder at these people, "What do they want? They want us to be killed by the occupation forces and do nothing but wail and raise white flags and beg for mercy from the butcher who knows no mercy."

Work, beloved ones, work, for this is a jihad... victory or martyrdom. We must make weapons, however simple, and strive to improve them every day to increase their destructive power and range, and strike the enemy who possesses all those military capabilities. Despite the simplicity of our weapons and our limited means, with God's help, we will create a new equation in the conflict, establishing a balance of terror and deterrence. They bombard us, so we bombard them. May God be pleased with Umar Ibn Al-Khattab, who said: "By God, if I found nothing but dust, I would fight them with it." And we, thank God, have much more than dust. We must fight them with everything we possess and always strive to enhance our capabilities. We are just beginning this battle, which the Prophet Muhammad, peace be upon him, spoke of in the authentic hadith reported in Sahih Bukhari and Sahih Muslim: "The Hour will not come until you fight the Jews, and the stone will say, 'O Muslim, O servant of Allah, this is a Jew behind me; come and kill him.' This day is coming, and it is near, God willing.

Abu Ali Mustafa, the General Secretary of the Popular Front, steps out of his car and ascends the stairs to his office in a building in Ramallah. Minutes after he sits in his office chair, an Apache helicopter targets the building and bombs his office, provoking modest protests on how the occupation forces could target a political figure and a Palestinian leader while the civilized world turns a blind eye and deaf ear.

Weeks later, two young men spend a week at the Hyatt Hotel in Jerusalem, where the extremist Jewish minister Rehavam Ze'evi, who called for the expulsion of Palestinians and was a general in the occupation army and served as head of government combatting what they called Palestinian terrorism, sometimes stays. Shortly after seven in the morning, as he leaves his room, one of the young men calls out to him. Ze'evi turns, their eyes meet for a moment, and shots ring out from the young man's pistol, killing the criminal. The young men then rush to a car in the hotel garage and make their escape, turning the hotel and its surroundings upside down. The occupation government threatens and warns, and voices rise on the Palestinian side calling for a cessation of the resistance, of suicide operations, and of firing mortar shells. Ibrahim listens to these voices and calls, smiling, and says: "This won't last... This won't last. The occupation

will not allow us to stop; it will continue its assault, and we have no choice but to kneel and surrender all our rights, then perhaps the aggression will stop."

Our governor and torturer is the same occupier, and since we cannot accept bowing down or relinquishing all our rights, and because our enemy will not accept us unless we do, this situation will not last long. Our enemy will resume pressuring us to concede, and of course, we will not. Instead, they will continue killing and aggression, thinking we will yield. Therefore, we must continue preparing and getting ready. Let's go, Hasan, let's go.

Ibrahim, Hasan, and the third young man, Adnan, drive to Khan Yunis where they meet a mujahid and proceed to a machining and milling workshop on Jalal Street. There, they focus on preparing ammunition and cannons, explaining the process to the workshop owner and another mujahid, then moving to another and then another workshop to train their owners.

A young man from the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades steps out of a car in central Tel Aviv with a bag, heading towards a wedding hall filled with occupiers. He opens the bag, pulls out an AK-47 rifle, several magazines, and a few hand grenades. He moves closer and begins shooting and throwing grenades, then continues firing until a large force from the occupation army engages him, and his soul ascends to the highest heavens after killing and injuring dozens of them.

Advanced aircraft of the occupation army bomb mujahideen, activists, and Palestinian youths across the nation, and the occupation's war machine harvests lives indiscriminately. Soldiers rampage behind heavy tanks, helicopters, modern weapons, and massive bulldozers devour everything in their path from houses, workshops, and farms. Palestinian mujahideen and fidayeen prepare explosives from basic materials like fertilizers and some chemicals, making belts which they strap around their waists, and launch into the heart of the brutal enemy to give them a taste of the suffering they inflict on our people day and night. Operations intensified in major cities like Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Haifa, Netanya, and Ashdod, spreading terror and panic among the occupiers. The streets are empty except for an old man or

a young one hurrying to finish their errands quickly. Cafes are entirely empty, restaurants are deserted, public transport and buses are empty, rarely does one or two persons board along with the driver.

In central Tel Aviv and West Jerusalem, sandbags are stacked in front of doors and shops to a height of over one and a half meters, resembling military sites and barracks. Thousands of soldiers are everywhere, outnumbering civilians by many times. Every day or several days, barriers and barricades are set up where they begin to inspect cars and their occupants, as news of impending operations has reached them. Cars line up in endless queues, life is disrupted at shop doors, and hundreds of shops display signs announcing they are for sale or closed until further notice, as the economic life has collapsed.

Also, Apache helicopters assassinate another person, then another, and tens of thousands of people rush towards the targeted site to try to save the injured if any life remains, screaming and demanding retaliation and punishment of the brutal occupation.

Ibrahim, Hasan, and Adnan sit with plans for longer-range rockets in front of them for mortar shells. Ibrahim asks Adnan if it's technically possible in his workshop to execute these plans. Adnan scrutinizes the plans a second and third time, then nods in agreement. They jump to work, load what they've prepared into the car, and head to Beit Hanoun where they set up the rockets, light the fuse underneath, step back slightly and pray for success. Seconds later, the rocket roars off, crossing the border. The three mujahideen embrace and hurry back to prepare and manufacture more and to teach others in other areas.

Qassam rockets and others begin to launch by the dozens in response to this or that crime. Some voices tremble from the reaction of the occupation which begins to threaten and vow. Ibrahim smiles, saying: "What more can they do than what they have done now—assassinations, invasions, bombings, killings, and destruction? Now they must rebuild, to find something to destroy again." Adnan says, "Don't you see they're betting that people are tired and that the people want to rest, having been exhausted by the high price paid?" Ibrahim smiles and responds: "Who is tired? Who is exhausted? Our mothers and women who pay the price with

the lives of their sons and their homes and everything dear to them, not one of them has spoken a word indicating fatigue. Haven't you seen every time a martyr's mother declares she is ready to sacrifice her other sons for Jerusalem and Al-Aqsa?"

Amidst the others who claim our people are exhausted, they are but a handful with political or economic interests, a small group. Yet, the enduring people are ready to sacrifice everything dear for their honor, dignity, and sanctities.

A boy not yet seventeen, dressed in a camouflaged military uniform and wearing a green cap inscribed with "There is no god but Allah, Muhammad is the messenger of Allah," from the Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades, holds his rifle and several hand grenades. He enters "Abu Nidal's" house in Shuja'iyya, pushing the door into the courtyard, where Umm Nidal jumps up, saying: "My beloved son Muhammad, what is this?" The boy smiles and says, "Mother, I am going on a martyrdom operation." The mother pauses, then Muhammad asks, "Mother, do you remember this olive tree? The one under which Imad was martyred years ago? Do you remember it, mother? Do you remember Imad? And how we loved its fruit because it mingled with Imad's spirit? Remember how you raised us to love Palestine, Jerusalem, jihad, and sacrifice? The time has come, mother. I have seen myself storming their position, slaughtering them like sheep, then becoming a martyr, and I saw myself before the Prophet Muhammad in paradise, as he cheers for me, 'Bravo, Muhammad, bravo.'"

Tears well up in the mother's eyes. She pulls the edge of her scarf to wipe away the tears before they can fall down her cheeks, saying, "May Allah grant you success, my son, and make your aim true," then she embraces him, kissing his hands, his head, his rifle, advising him, "When you storm in, do not hesitate or look back, my son, and let no mercy for them in the religion of Allah take hold of you, my beloved." And until we meet in the eternal garden by the beloved Prophet, goodbye, my heart's joy, my soul's solace, goodbye. Muhammad kisses her head, then bends to kiss her hand, and sets off, saying, "Keep the mobile phone next to you; I will say my final goodbye from there," and leaves. Umm Nidal sits on her prayer rug, deep in her heart praying for her son's success and acceptance.

Muhammad crosses the barbed wires around the Etsion settlement, crawling towards the military religious institute inside. He activates his communicator, pressing a button. Umm Nidal, by the device at her side, hears, "I am here, mother, I have reached my target, dear, goodbye, mother, and see you in paradise," he says. He leaves the device open on his belt to broadcast the sound of the battle, advancing into the building, shouting "Allahu Akbar, Khaybar is out," throwing his grenades one after another, then storms the main hall firing his gun. Umm Nidal murmurs as she hears, "O Allah, make his shot true, for You are the shooter and Your shooting never misses." Gunfire is exchanged with the forces rushing to the site, and Muhammad falls chanting the Shahada, "I testify there is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is His messenger." Umm Muhammad ululates in praise, "Praise be to Allah who honored me with his martyrdom, and I pray to Allah to reunite me with him in His mercy's abode."

As people gathered, one of the neighbors asked Umm Nidal, knowing that her son was going to his death, "You bid him farewell, yet you know he is going to die?" Umm Nidal replied, "By Allah, he is dearer to me than the world and all it contains, but he is worth sacrificing for the sake of Allah, for Jerusalem, and for Al-Aqsa. By Allah, I am ready to sacrifice Nidal, Hossam, and Rawad for the sake of Allah, for the honor of our people, and the dignity of our nation. I yearn for Allah's mercy to reunite us all in a place of truth by His side in the presence of the beloved Prophet, peace and blessings be upon him."

My mobile phone rang. Lifting it to my ear, I heard Ibrahim's voice from the other end: "Hello, Ahmed. Peace be upon you." I responded eagerly, "Ibrahim, peace, mercy, and blessings of Allah be upon you. Where have you been? It's been a while since I've seen you. I've missed you." Ibrahim replied, "That's why I called. How are you? How is everyone there? Send my regards to everyone. Don't forget to kiss Israa and Yasser for me." I asked, "Won't you come to see them? They haven't seen you in a while." He responded, "I don't know; I'll try, but you know how busy I am." I asked, "What's new with you, Ibrahim?" He laughed and said, "You know, Ahmed, I had a vision last night, clear as the dawn. I saw myself reading the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad, peace be upon him, including one from Abu Hurairah, may Allah be pleased with him, that the Prophet said: 'The Day

of Judgment will not come until the Muslims fight the Jews, and the Muslims kill them. When a Jew hides behind rocks and trees, the rocks and trees will say, 'O Muslim, O servant of Allah, this is a Jew behind me; come and kill him,' except the Gharqad tree because it is one of the trees of the Jews.' And another hadith from Abdullah ibn Hawala, who said that the Prophet told him: 'You will be stationed in armies: one in the Levant (including Syria, Jordan, Palestine, and Lebanon), one in Iraq, and one in Yemen.' Abdullah then stood and said, 'Command me, O Messenger of Allah.' The Prophet said, 'Go to the Levant, and those who refuse should go to Yemen and drink from its waters, for Allah has assured me of the Levant and its people.' And another: 'A group from my Ummah will always prevail in their adherence to the commandments of Allah. They will be victorious over their enemies and will not be harmed by those who oppose them, except for what afflicts them of hardship, until Allah's command comes while they are in that state.' They asked, 'O Messenger of Allah, where are they?' He replied, 'In and around Jerusalem.'"

Abdullah bin Hawala said to the Prophet Muhammad, "O Messenger of Allah, assign me a land where I should live, for if I knew you would remain, I would choose nothing over your proximity." The Prophet said, "Go to the Levant," repeating it three times. Seeing his reluctance towards the Levant, the Prophet said, "Do you know what Allah says about it? 'O Levant, O Levant, My hand is over you, O Levant. You are my chosen land from my territories, into which I send my best servants. You are my blessing, and my tool for punishment. You are unique, and to you is the gathering.'"

"One night, during my ascension, I saw a white pillar resembling pearls being carried by angels. I asked, 'What are you carrying?' They replied, 'We are instructed to place the pillar of Islam in the Levant.' While sleeping, I saw a book snatched from under my pillow. I thought Allah had abandoned the inhabitants of Earth, but then I saw it turned into a radiant light leading me to the Levant. Therefore, whoever refuses to go to the Levant should join Yemen and drink from its well, for Allah has guaranteed protection for the Levant and its people."

"Then, Ahmad, I saw myself fasting, and the Prophet Muhammad told me, 'Your iftar is with us today, Ibrahim,' as if awaiting me. I exclaimed, does this mean...but he interrupted, 'Do not shout, Ahmad. I am taking all precautions, but such an invitation cannot be declined.' With that, he hung up."

"I was momentarily stunned, tears welling up in my eyes, realizing these were his parting words. Then, I rushed upstairs to the second floor, and there was Mariam smiling at me. I asked if he had spoken to her, and she said yes, but in a dream. She recounted his farewell that she would never forget, entrusting her with Esraa and Yaser."

"She smiled as tears ran down my cheeks, mocking, 'Why do you weep, you fool? What's gotten into you?' Then the sound of an explosion rang out when an Apache helicopter struck the car Ibrahim was in. My heart seemed to stop as I ran outside."

"Thousands rushed towards the bombed car, some recognizing it as Ibrahim the Righteous. I gathered Ibrahim's remains on a stretcher and the crowd surged like a wild sea around the martyr's body towards the house. At the doorstep, Mariam stood, her headscarf adjusted to cover her hair, smiling as her ululation rose above the clamor, flanked by Yaser and Esraa, with my mother peeking out behind her, dabbing her tear with a handkerchief edge."

I reached the door just as Mahmoud was coming out of the house. I lifted Yaser onto my shoulder, and Mahmoud carried Esraa on his. I reached out to Mariam, and Mahmoud did the same, but instead, she handed each of us a Kalashnikov rifle. We took the rifles, raised them above our heads, and set off with the crowds behind us chanting, "Khaybar, Khaybar, O Jews... the army of Muhammad will return. In the name of Allah, Allah is the greatest... In the name of Allah, the time of Khaybar has come. With our souls, with our blood, we sacrifice for you, O martyr. With our souls, with our blood, we sacrifice for you, Palestine... To Jerusalem we are heading, martyrs by the millions." From the side streets, thousands of masked men from the Al-Qassam Brigades in their recognizable attire lined up endlessly, raising green flags. Similarly, members of the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades in their distinct uniforms lined up endlessly and raised yellow

flags, while the Jerusalem Brigades raised black flags, among others carrying their weapons, waving them in the air in various types.

As I waved my rifle and held Yaser with my other hand on my shoulder, images and the last words Ibrahim spoke to me haunted my mind.

THIS NARRATIVE CONCLUDED IN DECEMBER 2004 AT THE ESHEL PRISON, BE'ER Sheva, Palestine. It was completed in the cells of Be'er Sheva prison with its thirtieth chapter, but the tragedy of its writer and his comrades continues in the dungeons of the occupation's prisons.

15. YAHYA SINWAR (INTERVIEW)

2018

This is a 2018 interview with La Repubblica reporter Francesca Borri for Yedioth Ahronoth.



I KNOW NEXT TO NOTHING ABOUT YOU. YOU ARE SAID TO BE QUITE PRIVATE, A man of few words. You rarely speak with journalists. And actually, this is your first time you're speaking with Western media. But you have been leading Hamas for more than a year. Why did you choose to speak now?

Because now I see a real opportunity for change.

An opportunity? Now?

Now. Yes.

To be honest, what looks most likely here is rather a new war. I was in Gaza last June, and it was just as usual: flying bullets, tear gas, wounded everywhere. And then airstrikes, rockets, more airstrikes. A golden opportunity to get shot. Since April, since the start of this latest wave of protests, you've had nearly 200 dead.

While on the other side, there was only one dead. And so, first of all, I would say that 'war' is quite a misleading word: it's not that there is a war at some point, and on the other days we have peace instead. We are always under occupation, it's a daily aggression. It's just of varying intensity. But anyway, the truth is that a new war is in no one's interest. For sure, it's not in ours. Who would like to face a nuclear power with slingshots? But if we can't win—for Netanyahu a victory would be even worse than a defeat, because it would be the fourth war. It can't end as the third one, which already ended as the second one, which already ended as the first one. They should take over Gaza. And they are trying their best to get rid of the Palestinians of the West Bank and keep a Jewish majority. I don't think they want an additional two million Arabs. No. War achieves nothing.

It sounds a bit odd, coming from someone from Hamas's military wing.

I am not the leader of a militia, I'm from Hamas. And that's it. I am the Gaza leader of Hamas, of something much more complex than a militia—a national liberation movement. And my main duty is to act in the interest of my people: to defend it and its right to freedom and independence. You are a war correspondent. Do you like war?

Not at all.

And so why should I? Whoever knows what war is, doesn't like war.

But you have been fighting for all your life.

And I am not saying I won't fight anymore, indeed. I am saying that I don't want war anymore. I want the end of the siege. You walk to the beach at sunset, and you see all these teenagers on the shore chatting and wondering what the world looks like across the sea. What life looks like. It's breaking. And should break everybody. I want them free.

Borders have been basically sealed-off for 11 years. Gaza doesn't even have water anymore, only sea water. How is living here?

What do you think? 55 percent of the population is under 15. We are not speaking of terrorists, we are speaking of kids. They have no political affiliation. They have just fear. I want them free.

80 percent of the population depends on aid. And 50 percent is food insecure—50 percent is hungry. According to the UN, Gaza will soon be unfit to live in. Yet still in recent years Hamas has found resources to dig its tunnels.

And luckily. Otherwise we would all be dead. The way you see it, it's the way the Zionist propaganda tells it. The siege didn't come after the tunnels; it wasn't a reaction to tunnels. It's the other way round. There was a siege and a humanitarian crisis, and to survive we had no other option than digging tunnels. There were times when even milk was banned.

You know what I mean. Don't you think you bear some responsibility?

Responsibility is on the besieger, not on the besieged. My responsibility is to work with whoever can help us to end this deadly and unjust siege, and I am thinking especially on the international community. Because Gaza can't go on like this, the situation here is unsustainable. And in this way, an explosion (escalation) is unavoidable.

So why you don't buy milk, rather than guns?

If we hadn't bought (guns), we wouldn't be alive by now. We've bought it, don't worry. We've bought milk, and much else: food, medicine. We are 2 million. Do you have any idea what does it mean to get food and medicine for 2 million people? Tunnels are used only minimally for resistance—and because otherwise you may not die of hunger, but you would die of airstrikes. And Hamas pays for resistance out of its own pocket, not with public funds. Out of its own pocket.

So Hamas has been doing well in government.

What do you think, that being in power in Gaza is like being in power in Paris? We have been in power for years in many municipalities, exactly because of our reputation for efficiency and transparency. Then in 2006 we won the general elections, and we were blacklisted. There is no electricity, it's true, and this affects everything else. But do you think that we have no engineers? That we are unable to build a turbine? Of course we do. But how? With sand? You can have the best surgeon in town, but you are pretending

he can operate with fork and knife. Look at your skin, it's already peeling away. Here if you arrive from outside, if you arrive from the world, you get sick straight away. What should grab your eye is that we are still alive.

And so, Hamas is now apparently thinking of a ceasefire. Negotiators are working around the clock. What do you mean by "ceasefire"?

I mean a ceasefire. Quiet. The end of the siege.

Quiet for quiet.

No, wait. Quiet for quiet, and the end of the siege. A siege is not quiet.

And quiet... For how long?

That's not the main issue, honestly. What really matters is rather what happens on the ground in the meantime. Because if the ceasefire means that we don't get bombed, but still we have no water, no electricity, nothing, then we are still under siege—it makes no sense. Because the siege is a type of war, it's just war through other means. And it's also a crime under international law. There's no ceasefire under siege. But if we see Gaza returning to normalcy ... if we see not only aid, but investments, development—because we are not beggars, we want to work, study, travel, like all of you, we want to live, and to stand on our own—if we start to see a difference, we can go on. And Hamas will do its best. But there is no security, no stability, neither here nor in the region, without freedom and justice. I don't want the peace of the graveyard.

OK, but maybe it's just a trick to reorganize yourself. And in six months, you'd go back to war. Why should the Israelis trust you?

First of all, I never went to war—war came to me. And my question, in all truth, is the opposite. Why should I trust them? They left Gaza in 2005, and they simply reshaped the occupation. They were inside, now they block borders. Who knows what's really going on in their minds? And yet, that's what trust is all about. And perhaps that's our mistake. We always think in terms of 'Who's gonna do the first step, you or me?'

OK, but... Again. Should the ceasefire not work...

But for once, can we imagine instead what happens if it works? Because it might be a powerful motivation for doing our best to make it work, no? If for a moment we imagined Gaza as it actually was, not a long time ago—have you ever seen some photos of the 1950s? When in the summer we had tourists from everywhere?

And Gaza had plenty of cafés, shops, palm trees. I've seen those photos. Yes.

But today as well... Have you seen how brilliant our youth is? Despite it all. How talented, how inventive and dynamic they are? With old fax machines and old computers, a group of twenty-somethings assembled a 3D printer to produce the medical equipment that is barred from entry. That's Gaza. We are not only destitution and barefoot children. We can be like Singapore, like Dubai. And let's make time work for us. Heal our wounds. I have been in jail for 25 years. He lost a son—killed in a raid. Your translator—he lost two brothers. The man who served us tea—his wife died from an infection. No big deal, a cut. But there were no antibiotics, and that's how she died. For something any pharmacist could treat. Do you think it's easy for us? But let's start with this ceasefire. Let's give our kids the life we never had. And they will be better than us. With a different life, they will build a different future.

Are you giving up?

We've been struggling all our life to get a normal life. A life free from occupation and aggression. We are not surrendering, we are persisting.

And during this ceasefire, Hamas would keep its weapons? Or you would accept international protection, like the blue helmets? Like Srebrenica? My guess is you won't.

You guess right.

Sorry if I keep at it, but should this ceasefire not work? Not to jinx it, but you know, the past is not really encouraging. So far, hardliners have knocked out any deal attempt.

So far. First of all, you seem to be quite confident, but there is no agreement yet. We are ready to sign it, Hamas and nearly all the Palestinian

groups are ready to sign it and comply with it. But for now, there is only the occupation. Having said that, if we will be attacked, that's obvious, we will defend ourselves. As always. And we will have a new war. But then, in a year, you will be here again. And again I will be here to say: war achieves nothing.

You have an iconic weapon: rockets. Quite makeshift rockets, actually, which are usually stopped by the Iron Dome, and to which Israel replies with its much more powerful missiles. Thousands Palestinians have been killed. Have the rockets been useful?

Let's be clear: having an armed resistance is our right, under international law. But we don't only have rockets. We have been using a variety of means of resistance. Always. Such a question, honestly, is more for you than for me—for all you journalists. We make the headlines only with blood. And not only here. No blood, no news. But the problem is not our resistance, it is their occupation. With no occupation, we wouldn't have rockets. We wouldn't have stones, Molotov cocktails, nothing. We would all have a normal life.

But do you think they have fulfilled their purpose?

Certainly not. Otherwise we wouldn't be here. But so, what about the occupation? What was its purpose? Raising killers? Have you watched the video where a soldier shoots at us as if we were bowling pins? And he laughs, laughs. They (the Jewish people) were people like Freud, Einstein, Kafka. Experts of maths and philosophy. Now they are experts of drones, of extrajudicial executions.

You now have a new iconic weapon: arson kites. They are driving Israel crazy, because they elude the Iron Dome, nor can they be shot down one by one.

Kites are not a weapon. At most, they set on fire some stubble. An extinguisher, and it's over. They are not a weapon, they are a message. Because they are just twine and paper and an oil-soaked rug, while each battery of the Iron Dome costs \$100 million. Those kites say: you are immensely more powerful. But you will never win. Really. Never.

West Bank Palestinians face the same occupation, and yet they opted for quite a different strategy: appealing to the UN, to the international community.

And that's crucial. All is crucial, all means of resistance. But, if I may say so, sorry: when it comes to Palestine, the international community is rather part of the problem. When we won the elections—and we won free and fair elections—the reaction was a blockade. Immediately. We've proposed a government with Fatah, and not just once but a hundred times, and nothing. The only reply has been the blockade. If it turned out the way it did, it is also your fault (of the international community). Now as well. You warn Hamas: We'll deal with you only if there is Fatah. Then you warn Fatah: We'll deal with you only if there isn't Hamas. The rift we have been so criticized for is also an effect of the blockade. Of your pressures that are sometimes nothing less than threats. With a national unity government, Ramallah would not get a penny anymore. It would go bankrupt.

The blockade is in place because Hamas is viewed as an anti-systemic movement, an unconstitutional movement so to say. That doesn't abide to the rules of the game.

Which game? The occupation?

You know... Oslo. The two-state solution.

But Oslo is over. I think that's the only point everyone agrees upon here. But really everyone. It's been simply an excuse to distract the world with endless negotiations, and in the meantime build settlements everywhere and physically erase any feasibility of a Palestinian state. 25 years have come and gone, and what did we get? Nothing. But most of all, why do you always insist on Oslo? Why do you never speak of what happened later? Like the National Unity Document, for instance, which was based on the well-known 2006 Prisoners' Document. And that outlines our current strategy, I mean, Hamas, Fatah, all of us, all together—a state within 1967 borders, with Jerusalem as its capital. And with the right of return for refugees, of course. 12 years have come and gone, and you keep on asking: Why don't you accept the 1967 borders? I've got the feeling that the problem is not on our side.

The international community spends million dollars on the Palestinians.

Spends. Exactly. It simply spends. Wrongly. You honored the Oslo Accords with a Nobel Peace Prize, and you vanished. Nobody monitored their implementation. The key question is: Was it the right strategy (for the Palestinians) to help establish their own state and all its institutions? And among other things, I have to remind you that the fourth Geneva Convention is clear: the cost of the occupation is to be on the shoulders of the occupier. It's not your job to build roads and schools, and above all to rebuild what gets demolished. Otherwise, instead of opposing the occupation, you make it easier.

The staunchest opponent of this ceasefire seems to be not Israel—which is now focused on Iran—but Fatah, which fears it might be a Hamas success.

A success? This ceasefire is not for Hamas or Fatah: it is for Gaza. For me, what matters is that you finally realize that Hamas is here. That it exists. That there is no future without Hamas, there is no possible deal whatsoever, because we are part and parcel of this society, even if we lose the next elections. But we are a piece of Palestine. More than that, we are a piece of the history of the entire Arab world, which includes Islamists as well as seculars, nationalists, leftists. But with that said, please let's avoid the word 'success.' Because it's outrageous for all the terminally ill patients that right now are on the border waiting for it to open. For all the fathers that tonight won't dare to look at their kids, because they won't have any meal (to provide them). What success we are talking about?

You went in jail when you were 27. And when you got out, you were 50. How was readjusting to life? To the world?

When I entered, it was 1988. The Cold War was still going on. And here, the Intifada. To spread the latest news, we printed fliers. I came out, and I found the internet. But to be honest, I never came out—I have only changed prisons. And despite it all, the old one was much better than this one. I had water, electricity. I had so many books. Gaza is much tougher.

What have you learned from prison?

A lot. Prison builds you. Especially if you are Palestinian, because you live amid checkpoints, walls, restrictions of all kinds. Only in prison do you finally meet other Palestinians, and you have time for talking. (You're) thinking about yourself, too. About what you believe in, the price you are willing to pay. But it's like if now I ask you: what have you learned from war? You would say: A lot. You would say: War builds you. But for sure you would like not to have ever been in war. I have learned a lot, yes. But I don't wish prison on anybody. But really anybody. Not even those who today—across that barbed wire—knock us down like bowling pins and laugh, and don't realize that they might end up in 25 years at the Hague.

In the International Criminal Court.

Of course. Because again: there's no future without justice. And we'll seek justice.

But you know that some Palestinians might also end up at the Hague.

Under international law, we have all the right to resist the occupation. But the court is the court, of course. And it will work on whatever it will have to work on. And yet, its role is essential. And not only to stop crimes—it's essential to punish criminals. Its role is essential for the victims as well, because only a trial allows a reconstruction of what happened, and in this way, its processing, somehow. When it comes to grief, no third party can replace victims. No political deal whatsoever can overcome their loss and move on. That's up to the victims.

You were released in the Gilad Shalit swap. And Hamas currently has two Israelis, plus the remains of two soldiers killed during the last war. In a ceasefire deal, I guess a prisoner swap would be an essential clause for you.

More than essential—a must. It isn't a political issue, for me it is a moral issue. Because your readers probably believe that if you are in jail, you are a terrorist, or somehow an outlaw. A car thief. No. We all get arrested, sooner or later. But literally—all of us. Take a look at Military Order 101. Without army authorization, it's a crime even to wave a flag, or be more than ten (people) in a room for tea, chatting about politics. Perhaps you are just chatting about Trump, but you can be sentenced to up to 10 years.

Somehow, it's a rite of passage. It's our coming of age. Because if there is something we are united by, something that really makes us all equal—all Palestinians—it's prison. And for me it is a moral obligation: I will try more than my best to free those who are still inside.

In some way, you achieved more through kidnappings than through rockets.

Which kidnappings?

Like Gilad Shalit's.

Gilad Shalit wasn't a hostage, he was a war prisoner. You see why we rarely speak with journalists? A soldier gets killed, and you publish a photo of him on the beach, and your readers think we shot him in Tel Aviv. No. That guy wasn't killed while wearing Bermuda shorts and carrying a surfboard, but while wearing a uniform and carrying an M16, and firing on us.

And with the ceasefire?

With the ceasefire no one will fire on us, right? And so no one will be captured.

You were talking of prison, of coming of age. Hamas has turned 30, how did you change?

How did you see all this, 30 years ago?

Thirty years ago I was 8.

And that's it: we changed as you changed. As everybody changed. It was 1988, and as I told you, we still had the Cold War. And the world was much more ideological than today. Much more black and white, friends and enemies. And our world, too, was a bit like that. Then, over time, you learn that you can find friends, and enemies, where you wouldn't expect.

The Hamas Charter is still quite black and white.

That's our first document. And perhaps... the last one matters more. Why do you ask me of a Charter from 30 years ago, and not of all that had followed it, which shows our evolution? Dozens and dozens of documents, it's all there: our relationship with civil society and with other political

groups, the regional context, the international context, and the occupation, of course. The answer to all your questions is there. And truthfully, we expected you to get the signal and start a dialogue with Hamas. Because, again, we are not a transitory phenomenon. There is no future without Hamas. And yet you keep on asking of something from 30 years ago. And so, as for Oslo, I've got the feeling that the problem is not on our side.

Who is the problem?

All of those who still view us as an armed group, and nothing more. You don't have any idea of what Hamas really looks like. Just a glimpse: half of our employees are women. Would you have ever guessed that? You focus on resistance, on the means rather than the goal—which is a state based on democracy, pluralism, cooperation. A state that protects rights and freedom, where differences are faced through words, not through guns. Hamas is much more than its military operations. It's in our DNA. We are first and foremost a social movement, not just a political movement. We set up soup kitchens, schools, hospitals. Since ever. Because to do your part, you don't need to be minister of welfare. If you are Hamas, you are a citizen before you are a voter.

Yet when most of my readers think of Hamas, they don't think of charities. They rather think of the second intifada and suicide attacks. To Israelis, you are a terrorist.

And that's what they are for me—in light of their crimes against us.

A perfect start for a ceasefire.

And what should I say? We hit civilians? They hit civilians. They suffered? We suffered. Tell me about any of their dead, and I will tell you of one of our dead. Of ten of our dead. And so? That's why you are here? You are here to talk of the dead, or to avoid new casualties? But most of all, you. Do you think you are innocent, only because you are Italian—neither Arab nor Jewish? How easy it is for you to come from far away and feel wise and fair. We all have blood on our hands. You too. Where were you during these 11 years of siege? And during these 50 years of occupation? Where were you?

What kind of life do you hope for your children?

A life as Palestinians, of course. Head high. Always. Despite it all, I hope they will be strong, and keep on struggling till the day they get freedom and independence. Because I want my kids to dream of becoming doctors not to treat only the wounded, but cancer patients. Like all of the kids of the world. I want them to be safely Palestinians, so that they can be much more than Palestinians.

I forgot to ask you about the "deal of the century," Donald Trump's peace plan. Even though it's not very clear what it is all about, there's nothing on paper.

It's actually a very clear obliteration of our prospect of freedom and independence. There's no sovereignty, no Jerusalem. No right of return... There is only one thing: our (refusal). And that's not only Hamas's position. That's something we all agree about. No.

And so for now you will go on with protests, with the demonstrations that you started in April. Every Friday along the fence. You've been seen there quite often.

And I'll tell you two names only: Ibrahim Abu Thuraja and Fadi Abu Salah. They were both 29, and they were both in a wheelchair. Just two of the many amputees of the last wars. And that's when you realize that here you don't get killed because you are a danger—because what danger are you, on a wheelchair, for an army that is across a barbed wire, hundreds of meters away from you? No. Here you don't get killed for what you do, but for what you are. You get killed because you are Palestinian. You don't stand a chance.

If you were to sum up everything you said in one sentence only. What's the message you would like readers to remember the most?

It's time for change. It's time to end this siege. End this occupation.

And do you think you will be believed?

You were here in June, together with hundreds of other journalists, and your coverage was the toughest one on us. And you are also translated into

Hebrew. And yet you are here, again, because you deeply respect us, and we deeply respect you. Sometimes, somehow, the messenger is also the message. You will leave now, and write it all. Will you be read? Will you be listened to? I don't know. But we have done our part.

You seem to be quite confident.

I'm just realistic. It's time for change.

16.SHEIKH SALEH AL-AROURI

INTERVIEW ON AL-AQSA CHANNEL

Our heroic martyrs, when they are from the leadership, and from the first ranks [of leadership], they awaken all the ranks of our people to be part of the Resistance. This is the indication of sincerity. When the leaders and the first ranks come forward to martyrdom...

We affirm in a categorical and definitive way that our blood and souls are not greater nor dearer than that of any martyr. We are equal. The martyr that precedes us by one day is better than us. Better than us.

— SHEIKH SALEH AL-AROURI

Sheikh Saleh Al-Arouri was the founding commander of the Al-Qassam Brigades, martyred in Lebanon in January, 2024. This is an interview he gave the the Al-Aqsa Channel just a few months before.



25 AUGUST 2023

We will not surrender, and our people do not intend to surrender. They have never before discussed the idea of surrender. We are a people who have not succumbed to their fate and accepted what this occupation imposes on them.

The occupation wants to uproot our people from our land, our history, our present, our future, and our holy places, and plant in its place this falsehood they brought from all corners of the world. That's why we have no intention of surrendering, nor any intention of compromising.

This Zionist government says you either accept being our slaves, or we will uproot you from this land. We say to them: as long as this war is of an eradication nature, the newcomers, the invaders, and the scattered ones coming from everywhere in the world are the ones who will be uprooted and will go, just as it happened with other invaders and colonizers. This people will remain.

It is very natural for our people to return to their resistance time and again. This resistance has been ongoing since the inception of the Zionist project. It is true that the resistance comes in waves, sometimes rising and sometimes declining due to the severity of oppression, siege, conspiracies, and some illusions that some are convinced of, like the illusions of peace.

The collective consciousness, the subconscious, and the constants of our people return time and again to the true path of dealing with the occupiers, which is resistance. Thus, all the bets and all attempts to create the new Palestinian and intensifying oppression, persecution, displacement, house demolitions, and killing are futile.

Now, the West Bank returns to its recurrent pages of glory, and our people are united in the West Bank, Gaza, the interior, and the diaspora, holding firmly to their right and their *thawabet*, always ready to face challenges with resistance in order to assert their rights, defend their holy sites, their past, present, and future.

Our people always have the ability to surprise the occupation, and among these surprises is the escalation of resistance in the West Bank in the face of unprecedented challenges.

It's the occupation that caused the escalation of this resistance by escalating unprecedented actions against our people, our holy sites, and through settlement.

The Hamas movement is a part of this people and at the heart of the resistance. We do not disavow or shy away from resistance. Thus, we are present in the resistance, and we do not allow ourselves to be absent from our people's resistance.

In the Hamas movement, we strive to be at the heart and weight of the resistance. We don't consider this an accusation but rather an honor for us and our duty to be at the forefront of those defending our people, our land, and our holy sites.

Organized movements like Hamas always prepare and work towards launching resistance. However, when the confrontation turns into a comprehensive popular resistance, it's due to the occupation and its measures which push all members of our nation to engage in resistance.

I am more optimistic when there are individual acts of resistance from people who aren't part of any organization because we are all part of one organization named the Palestinian people. This is our organization for which all factions and the people work.

The occupation imposed on all members of our nation to engage in resistance when it publicly declared its plans. The Zionist government stated that it is working on a settlement control in the West Bank, a control that's irrevocable, and will Judaize Al-Quds and take over the Al-Aqsa Mosque.

The Zionist government made settlement decisions and put all the tools in the hands of the finance minister, Smotrich, who is the most extreme and insane person. He says that during the remaining term of this government, he will transfer at least one million settlers to the West Bank.

The occupation and its government made decisions, utilized tools, and created organizational and legal structures to accomplish their plans of controlling the West Bank, Al-Quds, and the Al-Aqsa Mosque through millions of settlers. Thus, they imposed on us the battle of confronting the settlement and occupation.

Hamas's stances are clear: as a Palestinian people, we must engage in our battle against the settlements. Until now, Hamas focuses its operations against the settlements because it's the heart of the occupation, and it's the most dangerous face of the occupation.

We, as a people, are capable of confronting the occupation. Every day we delay in igniting a comprehensive battle against settler colonialism in the West Bank, we will face this battle in harder and worse conditions.

Smotrich was on a visit to France and presented during a press conference there a map of Palestine and Jordan. According to the decisive plan he and the entire Zionist right adopt, Jordan is the homeland of the Palestinians, and historical Palestine remains entirely for them without a Palestinian people.

Instead of confronting this project after they've occupied the West Bank with millions of settlers and prepared all the reasons, we should confront them now. We have the opportunity, given their internal division and the global division and an unprecedented negative stance against this government due to its extremism and its violations of all international laws and norms. We have the chance to engage in our battle against the settlements and win it.

We have the opportunity to remove the occupation and the settlements from the West Bank instead of them removing us from it. There's no escape from a comprehensive battle in the West Bank. Either we drive them out, or they drive us out, and we will drive them out by the will of Allah.

In Hamas, we first planned to show our people, our nation, and the world the danger of this government and its overt, exposed schemes aiming at destroying our people, displacing them, and taking full control over the West Bank. We want to reinforce, push, and provide everything necessary, and to be at the forefront in resisting the settlement project in the West Bank, just as we drove them out of Gaza.

The threat of assassinating the leaders of Hamas is not new to the occupation. Their project began with massacres, killings, displacement, and

torture. Indeed, they assassinate martyrs from our people every day. And we, in Hamas, are part of this people.

We in Hamas are part of this people, and thus we get martyred like our people, we get arrested as they get arrested, our homes get demolished, and we are pursued and hunted. This is the unfortunate normal situation under the occupation. But also, we resist, chase, and fight because we are in the right.

We do not fear the threats of the occupation, and I feel that I have exceeded my default life, and martyrdom is welcome when it comes like the rest of those who preceded us, and Muhammad Al-Deif was threatened with assassination, but he will enter Al-Quds, Allah willing, with the occupation in the dustbins of history.

Does the occupation expect that after its assassination threats, we will declare surrender?! These threats don't scare us, and as the Palestinian people, we have no options; hence, we will not stop resisting.

Once, a defense minister named Lieberman came and said, "I will cut off Ismail Haniyeh's head." Now he's in the dustbin of history, while Ismail Haniyeh still serves our people's cause. Similarly, they tried to kill the leader, Mohammed Deif. Allah willing, he will enter Al-Quds, and they will be the ones out of history.

My message to our people in the West Bank is that this occupation and this government have left us no choice but to fight. No one has an excuse to refrain from participating in this battle. I neither think nor believe that any youth among our people would accept bearing this shame in their history and conscience.

The occupation wants to demolish Al-Aqsa, build the temple, Judaize Al-Quds, uproot our people from the West Bank, and falsify our entire history. Therefore, it's incumbent upon each one of us to have a role in resisting the occupation in the West Bank. I focus on the West Bank because it is the heart of the battle right now.

Every Palestinian, every free and honorable Arab and Muslim, should

contribute to this battle. This is the battle to liberate Al-Aqsa, to defend it and to prevent its Judaization.

The number of youths clashing with the occupation in the West Bank is limited. Yet, this occupier can't sleep at night. They are in a constant state of tension, holding endless meetings, and are in confusion and distress. As a result, the personal security of the settlers is lost, and the government's attempt to bring millions of settlers becomes much more difficult day by day.

Instead of a thousand youths participating in the resistance, a hundred thousand should participate, and a million should participate. Then, the occupation will depart, they will be defeated, and they will destroy their houses with their own hands and with the hands of the resistance fighters.

O sons and daughters of our people... The settlements in the West Bank are illegal in the eyes of international law, the United Nations, the US, and the entire world. Therefore, your fight is legitimate and legal in every sense and at all levels. You are not terrorists in the eyes of the United Nations. You are defending your land that the occupation is trying to steal from you.

O sons and daughters of our people, escalate the resistance to a level that holds the entire world accountable. You will find that the world will stand with us when they see our determination for our right and our readiness to face all challenges to achieve our rights.

My message to the youth of the West Bank, rise up and fight. I know that the Palestinian people in the West Bank have more weapons than the settlers. It's forbidden to neutralize these weapons when settlers attack Palestinians in Turmusa'ya, Huwara, or villages in the Jordan Valley and in Yatta.

Smotrich and Ben-Gvir are not allowed to reside in the West Bank. The settlements are prohibited to be here. Hence, everyone should contribute in some way. Throw a stone or a Molotov cocktail, with a pistol or a homemade rifle; with anything your hand reaches, resist.

The resistance is centered in the north. They had to mobilize most of their ground army in the West Bank because the proliferation and spread of the settlements have become a burden on them. They need 25 to 30 battalions of their army to guard them. Imagine if the resistance spread across the entire West Bank.

Now Al-Khalil has started to be hit, and the army is beginning to mobilize again in the south, so we must fight them throughout the West Bank until the occupation realizes that this endeavor is a losing one.

I heard a comment from one of the leaders of this Zionist government saying that killing a mother in front of her daughter is something that cannot be ignored. I ask: does this apply to us as Palestinians as well? Don't we have sanctity or feelings when a mother is killed with her daughter, when a daughter is killed in front of her family, when children are killed in front of their mother?

Our people have options in responding to the aggression, and the days will reveal to you what you were ignorant of, and bring you news you weren't expecting.

Any aggression on Al-Aqsa Mosque with the intention of controlling it and changing its current status will be met with a regional battle.

This government is leading the region into war, and the problem is that America, along with unfortunately some Arab countries and the [Palestinian] Authority, want calm. And calm means that we, as the Palestinian people, stop resisting, while the plans of the "Israeli" government to control Al-Quds and the West Bank do not stop.

If the occupation government continues with its plans, the entire region will witness a comprehensive war. We are confident that when we reach this all-out conflict, we will inflict a defeat upon the enemy like they have never experienced before.

The regional war that will defeat the occupation if Al-Aqsa is threatened and settlement activity escalates is not just a threat stemming from ancient Arab bravado. We are a resistance that exists on the ground. We have

previously defeated the occupation and expelled it from Gaza, and similarly, the resistance expelled it from southern Lebanon.

The brothers in the Fatah movement are an integral part of this nation. Fatah is a great and grand movement with an honorable history in resistance. It has also offered thousands of martyrs, from its primary leadership to all its organizational levels. It cannot be misled. It knows the right direction, which is why they were part of the first and second Intifadas, and now they fight alongside all the sons of our nation.

The flaw lies in the policies of the [PA] Security Forces, not in all components of these forces. We witnessed during the second Intifada how most of these forces took up arms against the occupation. However, there are, unfortunately, narrow circles whose commitment to the occupation surpasses their commitment to our people. This is very regrettable and very dangerous, but these are small, narrow circles.

The danger is that this small, marginalized narrow circle tries to hide behind the Fatah movement because they know that their position is a historical mistake and a crime to collaborate with the occupation.

Anyone who tries to incite between Fatah and Hamas, provokes the [Palestinian] Authority against Hamas, and claims "Hamas wants to topple the [Palestinian] Authority" serves the enemy directly. Because what threatens all of us and aims to uproot all of us is the occupation, not Hamas.

PART III

ASSORTED PALESTINIANS

The story of Palestinian Resistance is long, longer indeed than the state of 'Israel'. We cannot possibly get into it here. These are three authors plucked at random, there are so many, sadly most of them gone.

17. LEILA KHALED

HIJACKING FLIGHT 840

This is an excerpt from Leila Khaled's book *My People Shall Live: The Autobiography of a Revolutionary*. Leila is one of the few sources here that is still alive.



(JUNE 12, 1970)

I do not see how my oppressor could sit in judgment on my response to his oppressive actions against me. He is in no position to render an impartial judgment or to accuse me of air piracy and hijacking when he has hijacked my home and hijacked me and my people out of our land. If the enemy defines morality and legality in his own terms and decides to apply his ethical and legal doctrines against me because he has the power as well as the means of communications to justify his inhumanity, I am under no moral obligation to listen, let alone obey his dictates. Indeed, I am under a moral obligation to resist and to fight to death the enemy's moral corruption. My deed cannot be evaluated without examining the underlying causes. The revolutionary deed I carried out on August 29, 1969 was an assertion of my spurned humanity, a declaration of the humanity of Palestinians. It was an act of protest against the West for its pro-Zionist (there-

fore anti Palestinian) posture. The list of the sins of the West is overwhelming.

[Proceeds to list them]



AS THE ZIONISTS WERE GATHERING IN LOS ANGELES WITH CALIFORNIA Governor Ronald Reagan and Golda Meir, I was having a pleasant chat with the Singer Sewing Machine Company's Middle East agent on my way to Rome to divert TWA flight 840 to Damascus.



EARLY ON THE MORNING OF AUGUST 29, I CHECKED OUT OF THE HOTEL AND caught a bus to Fiumicino Airport on the outskirts of Rome. Happily, the only snag was a half-hour flight delay. My associate, whom I recognised only from a photograph, appeared on schedule and we exchanged pre-arranged signals. His name was Salim Issawi; he was a Palestinian from Haifa who had been raised in Syria. Salim sat quietly nearby and we tried to ignore each other.

All was going smoothly when suddenly the human element threatened our careful planning. A few seats away there was a little girl with a button on her dress cheerfully proclaiming "Make Friends". That message brought me up short, forced me to remind myself, as I watched her playing with her little sister, that this child had committed no crime against me or my people. It would be cruel to imperil her life by hijacking a plane, the symbolic meaning of which she had no conception -a plane that could explode during our attempted seizure or be blown up by Israeli anti-aircraft fire when we entered the "Israeli airspace".

While these qualms pricked my conscience, the whole history of Palestine and her children came before my eyes. I saw everything from the first day of my exile. I saw my people homeless, hungry, barefoot. The twice "refugee" children of Bagan camp near Amman seemed to stand, a humiliated multitude, in front of me saying, "We too are children and we are a

part of the human race." The scene strengthened me enormously. I said to myself, "What crime did I and my people perpetrate against anyone to deserve the fate we have suffered?" The answer was "None". The operation must be carried out. There can be no doubt or retreat. My children have spoken.

On the bus across the field to the Boeing 707, another unscheduled problem developed. A handsome man in his early thirties came up to me and said "Hello" in a most jovial, enthusiastic manner. "Hello," I replied nonchalantly, as I calmly tried to read *My Friend Che* by Ricardo Rojo. He seemed very eager to talk and asked me who I was and where I was going. I couldn't very well repeat the marriage tale and couldn't invent anything quickly enough. I said, "Guess." He tried, "Greek, Spanish, Italian?" I asked him where he was from. "I am from Chicago," he answered, and continued his questioning. "You wouldn't be South American, would you?" Now that I knew where he was from, I figured it was safe to say that I was a South American. I thought it might end his questioning, at least. "From Brazil?" he asked, looking admiringly at me, and ogling my whole body. "You're getting closer," I said.

"Bolivia?" "Yes," I replied, "but how did you know?" "It's your book that gave you away," he declared. I asked him what he thought of Che. "Good man," he said. "Where are you going?" I countered, trying to change to a less controversial topic. "To Athens, to see my mother. I haven't seen her in fifteen years. I bet she's there already, waiting for me at the airport." I was astounded, and almost told him, "You bloody fool, you'd better get off this plane, because it isn't going to Athens." I tried to ignore him and closed my ears to keep his voice from penetrating my inner conscience. I plunged into a nervous reading of *My Friend Che*.

This encounter made me stop and think, because I understood the longing for one's own country. However, I rationalised his plight by making a distinction between his "exile", which was voluntary, and mine, which was forced. But these human encounters made me decide to be extra careful not to jeopardise the lives of the passengers unnecessarily. Their welfare, however, did not and could not cripple my operation. The deed had to be carried out. There was no turning back.

The plane was airborne for only twenty minutes before the hostesses were graciously trying to serve their five first-class passengers. Neither Salim nor I was anxious to eat. The stewardesses were very solicitous. They offered us drinks and peanuts. Anything we wanted. I settled for a coffee, Salim for a beer. But they made us nervous, as they kept returning and asking us if we wanted anything else. I pretended that I had a stomach ache and asked for a blanket. I innocently placed it over my lap, so I could take my hand grenade out of my purse and put my pistol right in the top of my trousers without being noticed. Salim asked for an aspirin tablet. I was afraid the stewardess might suspect something had she realised that two passengers opposite each other in the first row were sick. In any case, I dreaded the prospect of having a companion with a headache, so was relieved when he merely pocketed the aspirin. Seconds after the only other male passenger in the first class section returned from the small lounge, I gestured to Salim to proceed to the cockpit. Just at that moment, another hostess carrying the crew's lunch trays was opening the door of the cockpit. Salim seized the opportunity and leapt in ahead of her. She screamed, "Oh no!" and her trays flew in the air, causing much noise but no injury. I was behind Salim and ordered the stewardess to get out of the way. She did, quivering and watching us over her shoulder. Salim was so huge that he blocked my view, and I couldn't see the reaction of the crew. I could, however, hear him say that the plane had been taken over by the Che Guevara Commando Unit of the PFLP, and announce that the new captain was Shadiyah Abu Ghazalah.

In the middle of his speech, my pistol slipped down the leg of my trousers and, as I bent down to pick it up, I saw the bewildered looks on the crew's faces. I suppose all they could see was part of my wide-brimmed chic hat. I felt ridiculous for a moment, laughed at my ineptness, put the pistol away, and entered the cockpit solemnly brandishing my hand grenade and declaring I was the new captain. The crew were completely shocked to see me there, but they showed no fear. To demonstrate my credibility, I immediately offered my predecessor, Captain Carter, the safety pin from the grenade as a souvenir. He respectfully declined it. I dropped it at his feet and made my speech. "If you obey my orders, all will be well; if not, you will be responsible for the safety of passengers and aircraft."

"Go to Lydda," I instructed. "To Lod ?" he queried, using the Israeli name. "You understand English, don't you?" I said curtly. "You just listen to my orders and don't ask silly questions." Since I knew the plane carried fuel for almost three hours and 45 minutes, I decided to reaffirm my authority by testing the flight engineer. I turned towards him and asked, "How much fuel do you have, flight engineer?" "For two hours," he promptly replied, without even looking at the fuel gauge. "Liar," I shouted, and told him that I knew just as much as he did about the Boeing, and that if he ever lied to me again I'd break his neck. The pilot tried to calm me down. He thought I was angry, but I was actually overjoyed. He warned the crew not to be obstinate in dealing with their new captain.

Realising that he was prepared to co-operate, I asked Captain Carter to radio Rome so that I could explain my action to the Italian people. He explained that we were too far away. I insisted that he try. He did. We had no luck. I asked a steward to bring our hand luggage forward, and then ordered him and the other first-class passengers to move to the tourist section. Next I demanded that the intercom system be turned on. All orders were complied with, and I read the following message to the passengers:

Ladies and gentlemen, your attention please. Kindly fasten your seat belts. This is your new captain speaking. The Che Guevara Commando Unit of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine which has taken over command of this TWA flight demands that all passengers on board adhere to the following instructions.

Remain seated and keep calm.

For your own safety, place your hands behind your head. Make no move which would endanger the lives of other passengers on this plane.

We will consider all your demands within the safe limits of our plan. Among you is a passenger responsible for the death and misery of a number of Palestinian men, women and children, on behalf of whom we are carrying out this operation to bring this assassin before a revolutionary Palestinian court. The rest of you will be honourable guests of the heroic Palestinian people in a hospitable, friendly country. Every one of

you, regardless of religion or nationality, is guaranteed freedom to go wherever he pleases as soon as the plane is safely landed.

Our destination is a friendly country, and friendly people will receive you.

As I completed reading the message, I observed that the plane had swerved off the course I charted for it. I ordered the captain not to play games if he wanted to reach our destination safely and put him on course again. Then Salim reminded me that fifteen minutes had elapsed since the passengers were asked to hold their hands behind their heads. I quickly advised them to relax and to drink champagne if they so desired, and offered an apology for inconveniencing them.

Shortly afterwards, a stewardess came in and explained that most of the passengers didn't understand English, didn't know what we had said, and would like us to repeat the message. She even offered to translate it into French for them. I repeated the message and assured them that everything was normal, that there was only one person on the plane we were after. Later, this was interpreted by the press as indicating that we were after the Israeli ambassador to the US, General Itzhak Rabin of June War fame. We were not, and if we had been, I would not have boarded flight 840 at Rome, since I saw all the passengers and knew that Rabin was not among them. Saleh Al Moualim, an Israeli Arab on board, must have thought that he was the person we meant, because he became very jittery and frightened. The selective terror tactic worked; the passengers' fear diminished and everyone co-operated with us. In explaining the message to the passengers, I told them that we detested the American government's Middle East actions, and held no grudge against any individual person. They were frightened, however, when I announced that we intended to blow up the plane upon arrival in a friendly country. I announced this only an hour before reaching Damascus.

Meanwhile, I resumed radio contact with the ground, sending messages of solidarity to the Greek revolutionaries and to the people of South Europe. I demanded that the Greek colonels release our imprisoned revolutionaries, and said that the CIA plotters would be toppled by the Greek people. All went according to plan, until we got the Egyptian observation tower on our wave-length. I identified myself to the controller in Arabic

and asked him to convey to the Egyptian people the greetings of the Palestinian revolution. I advised him that I was going to Lydda, and his voice crackled: "Allah, to Lydda, what will you do there?" "Visit the fatherland," I said. "Are you sure of that?" "I certainly am," I replied enthusiastically. He tried to tell me that it was too dangerous. I switched him off, then relented momentarily as he screamed, "Oh Front, Oh Popular, Oh Arab Palestine!" but the rest of the appeal was too incoherent and inaudible.

Within minutes, I could see the coast of my Palestine in the haze. As we approached the land of my birth, it seemed that my love and I were racing towards each other for an eternal embrace. I rushed towards my beloved and saw Palestine for the first time since my forced exile in 1948. I was lost in a moment of passion and meditation. Then I remembered the mission and ordered the pilot to descend, and I addressed a message in Arabic to my fellow exiles in occupied Palestine, telling them we shall return and we shall recover the land. I advised them to remain steadfast and promised to smash the Zionist fortress of conceit. I told Lydda tower in Arabic that we were going to land. He didn't understand, the pilot said, and told us we should ask for clearance and wait. I said, "This is my country. I do not need permission from the Zionist vultures to land."

I spoke to the tower in English, saying: "Here we come again. Shadiah Abu Ghaselah has come back to life. There are millions of Shadiahs who will be returning again and again to reclaim the land." The Israeli tower must have been terrified for a while because I said that we intended to blow up the plane right in the airport. In seconds three Israeli Mirages appeared on the horizon and tried to prevent us from landing. I turned the intercom on so that the passengers could hear the exchange.

I declared anew that the pilot and the Israelis were responsible for the safety of the passengers and the plane, and that we intended to do no harm to anyone if our orders were obeyed. The co-pilot asked if he could speak to the Israelis and I let him. He said, "Popular Front, Free Arab Palestine, Armed people have threatened to explode the plane with hand grenades if your Mirages don't clear out." Until this moment the Israeli tower was still addressing us as TWA 840. My patience ran out and I told him to shut up

and turned him off, saying that there will be no further communications until he addressed us as Popular Front, Free Arab Palestine.

In seconds he did so as we swung around my beloved Haifa. The pilot asked, "What shall I do now?" I said, "Let's take a seven-minute tour of the fatherland." My father's image appeared before my eyes, and I could hear his voice saying "When will we return home?" My whole world came together. I was silent. I looked out at the greenery and mountains of Palestine. I could see Tel Aviv below. I wept out of affection and longing, and said softly, "Father, we shall return. We shall redeem your honour and restore your dignity. We shall become the sovereign of the land some day." Suddenly, I remembered that the mission preceded personal emotions. I instructed the pilot, "Go to Lebanon, where my people live as refugees." The Israeli planes continued to pursue us. At the Lebanese border, they zoomed away. I called Cyprus and sent greetings to its heroic anti-imperialist fighters, and sent messages to my people in South Lebanon. The pilot interrupted. "We must ask for clearance from Beirut." "We don't need to ask for clearance," I said. "This is an Arab country." We circled Beirut briefly before I ordered the pilot to go on to Damascus. He objected, "The airport there couldn't accommodate the Boeing 707." "Look, do you think we're so backward that we couldn't handle your damned plane?" I said strongly. He didn't respond. I took the microphone and addressed the passengers for the last time: "Evacuate immediately on landing; have a happy holiday in Syria. I trust we shall have a smooth landing."

The fuel gauge was reading empty; the pilot sought clearance and I ordered him to land immediately on the runway farthest from the air terminal. "Let's have a smooth landing," I said, "because if I fall, the hand grenade could explode and that would be a terrible anticlimax to a happy journey." He landed smoothly and in less than three minutes the plane was empty. Salim and I tried to tell the passengers to slow down and to take their personal belongings with them. Most ran out barefooted. Even the crew left their jackets behind. As Captain Carter stepped out, I saluted and thanked him for his co-operation. He looked at me in astonishment. The co-pilot said, "You're most welcome."

I checked the plane. All the passengers had left. Salim wired the cockpit and lit the fuse. I slid out on one of the torn emergency chutes and fell to the ground on my rear. Salim followed and landed on my shoulders. The plane did not explode as scheduled. Salim's personal courage made him climb back in and set everything in motion once more. When Syrian soldiers arrived on the scene, I distracted them by saying, "The Israeli officers ran in that direction. Go and get them." Salim was still in the plane. I feared for his safety, but admired his heroism and selfless devotion. I tried to leap in and couldn't. Suddenly he appeared and waved reassuringly. The Boeing still did not explode. He fired a few shots into the wing of the plane, but there was no fuel left, so it wouldn't readily ignite. When sparks finally fluttered, we took cover twenty yards away. Half a mile away, the passengers in the terminal watched the bonfire and the explosion of the Boeing. The Syrian soldiers returned, astounded. They were even more surprised when Salim and I surrendered to them and turned over our weapons. The Al--Hadaf photographer, who was parachuted by the Front to film our landing and the explosion, was so excited that he forgot to remove the lens cap from his camera.

Our Syrian hosts took us to the air terminal, where I delivered a brief speech to the passengers:

Ladies and gentlemen, thank you for your kind attention and co-operation during the flight. I am captain Shadiah Abu Ghazalah. That's not my name; my name is Khaleda. Shadiah is an immortal woman who wrote: "Heroes are often forgotten, but their legends and memories are the property and heritage of the people." That is something historians and analysts cannot understand. Shadiah will not be forgotten by the Popular Front and by the generation of revolutionaries she helped mould in the path of revolution. I would like you to know that Shadiah was a Palestinian Arab woman from Nablus; that she was a schoolteacher and a member of the Popular Front underground; that she died in an explosion at her own home at the age of twenty-one on November 21, 1968, while manufacturing hand grenades for the Front. She was the first woman martyr of our revolution. I assumed her name on flight 840 to tell the world about the crimes the Israelis inflict upon our people and to demonstrate to you that they make no distinctions between men, women and children. But for their own

propaganda objectives they repeatedly state in your press how we attack their "innocent" women and children and how cruel we are. I want you to know that we love children, too, and we certainly do not aim our guns at them. We diverted flight 840 because TWA is one of the largest American airlines that services the Israeli air routes and, more importantly, because it is an American plane. The American government is Israel's staunchest supporter. It supplies Israel with weapons for our destruction. It gives the Zionists tax-free American dollars. It supports Israel at world conferences. It helps them in every possible way. We are against America because she is an imperialist country. And our unit is called the Che Guevara Commando Unit because we abhor America's assassination of Che and because we are a part of the Third World and the world revolution. Che was an apostle of that revolution. We took the plane to Haifa because Comrade Salim and I come from Haifa. Both of us were evicted in 1948. We took you to Tel Aviv as an act of defiance and challenge to the Israelis and to demonstrate their impotence when the Arabs embark on offensive rather than defensive strategy. We brought you to Damascus because Syria is the pulsating heart of the Arab homeland and because the Syrians are a good and generous people. We hope you will enjoy your stay in Damascus. We hope you will go home and tell your friends not to go to Israel-to the Middle East war zone. Please tell your neighbours that we are a people like you who wish to live in peace and security in our country, governing ourselves. Please tell the Americans that if they hate war and the exploitation of others, they should stop their government from making war on us and helping the Israelis to deprive us of our land. Tell your people that coming to Israel helps her to deny our rights. Revolution and peace. Greetings to all lovers of the oppressed!

18. BASIL AL-ARAJ (NON-FICTION)

As RNN said, *“The eternal martyr Basil Al-Araj wrote abundantly before his ascension in March of 2017. In his posthumously published book, “I Have Found My Answers,” (a line from his will) he spoke of war during the 2014 Zionist aggression on Gaza, just prior to the IOF ground invasion on July 17.”*



SINCE THERE IS TALK OF A GROUND OPERATION, SEVERAL POINTS MUST BE considered:

1. The Palestinian resistance consists of guerrilla formations whose strategies follow the logic of guerrilla warfare or hybrid warfare, which Arabs and Muslims have become masters of through our experiences in Afghanistan, Iraq, Lebanon, and Gaza. War is never based on the logic of conventional wars and the defense of fixed points and borders; on the contrary, you draw the enemy into an ambush. You do not stick to a fixed position to defend it; instead, you perform maneuvers, movement, withdrawal, and attack from the flanks and the rear. So, never measure it against conventional wars.
2. The enemy will spread photos and videos of their invasion into Gaza, occupation of residential buildings, or presence in public areas and well-

known landmarks. This is part of the psychological warfare in guerrilla wars; you allow your enemy to move as they wish so that they fall into your trap and you strike them. You determine the location and timing of the battle. So, you may see photos from Al-Katiba Square, Al-Saraya, Al-Rimal, or Omar Al-Mukhtar Street, but do not let this weaken your resolve. The battle is judged by its overall results, and this is merely a show.

3. Never spread the occupation's propaganda, and do not contribute to instilling a sense of defeat. This must be focused on, for soon, we will start talking about a massive invasion in Beit Lahia and Al-Nusseirat, for example. Never spread panic; be supportive of the resistance and do not spread any news broadcast by the occupation (forget about the ethics and impartiality of journalism; just as the Zionist journalist is a fighter, so are you).

4. The enemy may broadcast images of prisoners, most likely civilians, but the goal is to suggest the rapid collapse of the resistance. Do not believe them.

5. The enemy will carry out tactical, qualitative operations to assassinate some symbols [of resistance], and all of this is part of psychological warfare. Those who have died and those who will die will never affect the resistance's system and cohesion because the structure and formations of the resistance are not centralized but horizontal and widespread. Their goal is to influence the resistance's support base and the families of the resistance fighters, as they are the only ones who can affect the men of the resistance.

6. Our direct human and material losses will be much greater than the enemy's, which is natural in guerrilla wars that rely on willpower, the human element, and the extent of patience and endurance. We are far more capable of bearing the costs, so there is no need to compare or be alarmed by the magnitude of the numbers.

7. Today's wars are no longer just wars and clashes between armies but rather are struggles between societies. Let us be like a solid structure and play a game of biting fingers with the enemy, our society against their society.

Finally, every Palestinian (in the broad sense, meaning anyone who sees Palestine as a part of their struggle, regardless of their secondary identities), every Palestinian is on the front lines of the battle for Palestine, so be careful not to fail in your duty.

19. BASIL AL-ARAJ (FICTION)

PANORAMA OF ZE'EVY'S ASSASSINATION

This is a work of creative fiction about a true event, the assassination of a wicked Zionist Minister, translated by Resistance News Network. If you haven't got the clue already, follow them (@PalestineResist on Telegram, for as long as that exists, then look out for alternates).



ON THIS DAY A FEW YEARS AGO, THAT YOUNG MAN SPENT HIS DAY GOING UP and down the stairs of the Regency Hotel in Al-Quds, measuring how much time he would need to withdraw after carrying out the assassination.

He wore his best clothes, deliberately choosing uncomfortable shoes to emphasize the injury he sustained during the Intifada. He placed the Red Cross documents, which proved he had spent several months in prison, in his pocket. He searched for the keffiyeh adorned on one end with the Movement's [PFLP] emblem and headed to the Movement's office to get a membership card.

He found the rank: "Justifier" (from justification). He became angry, objected, and cursed. They told him: "Accept your fate, others have taken the rank of 'sahij' [bootlicker]."

That young man and his comrades received the order to execute assassination, along with two pistols equipped with silencers. The tasks were divided, the target was revealed to them, and they held the final meeting before the execution.

The handsome young man stood in front of the receptionist at the hotel; she smiled at him. The reception staff had grown accustomed to him from the previous days. He requested a room reservation.

He took the key and headed to the elevator. He inspected the three elevators in the hotel as required, then proceeded to his room. He had parked his golden Kia in the hotel parking lot — still unsure where Majdi had gotten it from. He sat down to check the accuracy of the fake ID card that Majdi had also given him. To avoid arousing suspicion, he picked up the phone and asked the receptionist for the numbers to girls of the night.

At the same time, Hamdi was inspecting the eighth floor. He measured the distance between Ze'evi's room and the stairs and was struck by the accuracy of the information: *Yes, just as they told me, only five meters.*

The other members of the cell had rented a car, a Punto, with Jerusalemite plates and a forged identity and were practicing the escape route from the hotel to Ramallah. They also rented another car under the name Louay Awda to be used as a monitoring vehicle after the operation was carried out.

At that moment, Hamdi had finished inspecting the hotel and decided to swim for a bit in the hotel pool. Afterwards, he checked out of the room, paid the bill, and returned to Ramallah. Upon arriving in Ramallah, Hamdi Qur'an met with his comrades Basil Al-Asmar and Majdi Al-Rimawi at the Arab cafe.

Hamdi asked: *"Basil, what have you done?"*

Basil replied: *"I prepared the van and loaded it with the combat equipment you gave me — several hand grenades, three pistols, and a Scorpion submachine gun. I also checked the route from the hotel to Ramallah and from the hotel to Al-Eizariya."*

Hamdi: *"And you, Majdi, did you secure the house in Al-Eizariya?"*

Majdi Al-Rimawi: *“I secured the house that will be used as a safe house in Al-Eizariya.”*

“We have been tasked by the General Commander of the military wing of the Popular Front to assassinate Rehavam Ze’evi in retaliation for the assassination of Abu Ali Mustafa. Ze’evi is the father of four children, 75 years old, holds the position of Minister of Tourism, and is the architect of the transfer project. He stays at the Hyatt Regency Hotel on the eighth floor. At 6:30 AM, he leaves his room for the breakfast hall, and then after fifteen minutes, he returns to his room. That’s when — boom, boom.

“I will be the one to shoot Ze’evi, and you, Basil, will be with me in case someone is accompanying Ze’evi. And you, Majdi, will wait for us at the hotel entrance with the prepared car

“If the plan fails, we will move to the backup plan. We need to open a front in East Al-Quds using the weapons we have as part of a series of operations in response to the assassination of Abu Ali.

We need to head to the hotel now.”

The three arrived at the safe house in Al-Eizariya. Hamdi inspected it, checking the entrances and exits. He instructed Majdi to provide candles, food, and a radio, and to get rid of his mobile phone for good.

Hamdi and Basil got into the car and headed to Bab Al-Amoud in Al-Quds, making sure to visit the Musrara bakery to savor the taste of the city.

Meanwhile, Majdi Al-Rimawi locked himself inside the house, turned off all the lights, and closed the curtains and windows. The house belonged to another comrade named Mohammed.

The house must not raise any suspicions at all.

Majdi Al-Rimawi, born in 1966 in the Souf Refugee Camp in Jerash, has four daughters and lives with his wife and daughters in Beit Rima near Ramallah. He was an auto electrician, a skill he learned during his service in the Jordanian army.

We will never truly know how Majdi spent his night alone, what he was

thinking, or how much he missed his daughters. But let us try to paint some of the details of that night ourselves.

On his way there, he passed by a bookseller on Rukab Street, near the Cookers. He stopped and browsed through the books, noticing that one of the novels was introduced by [George Habash] Al-Hakim. The novel *The Trinity of Fundamentals* was his companion that night. Yes, it was the best choice for someone who had made vanishing his constant companion.

Of course, the revolutionary poems of Nooh Ibrahim had to have played a part in his night. He sang them more than once. *They were three men racing towards death, their feet rising above the neck of the executioner.*

Weakness tried to creep in through thoughts of his wife and daughters, but he quickly pushed the idea away. He tried to imagine the elation on the face of every Palestinian when the breaking news would appear on Al-Jazeera. His determination then grew stronger.

Majdi tried to imagine the upcoming Friday sermon and found nothing more fitting than the verse, *“If you are suffering, they too are suffering just as you are, but you hope from Allah what they do not hope for.”*

This is how the Imam delivered the sermon in our village on that day.

Hamdi and Basil approached the reception desk at the Hyatt Regency. The same receptionist from the previous days greeted them. She said, *“Welcome, Mr. Samer Shehadeh, it seems you’ve been enjoying your stay with us.”*

Casually showing her the remaining \$1,000 that Ahed Abu Ghalama had given him as the budget for the operation, and flashing a few of his bank cards, he replied: *“I’d like a room with two beds, please. I hope it’s on the third floor, as I don’t like heights.”*

At 8:00 AM, the beautiful receptionist finished all the check-in procedures. It seemed she tried to stall, perhaps hoping this handsome young man might invite her on a date. She handed him the key to the room on the third floor.

Hamdi said to Basil, *“Go to the room, then take the stairs up and down several*

times to get familiar with the route to the eighth floor. Five meters from the emergency stairwell door, you'll find room 816, where the target is staying."

Hamdi headed to the hotel's parking lot. Yes, the target was in the hotel; the white Volvo designated for the minister's transportation was parked in its place. He then returned to sit in the hotel lobby, waiting for his comrade Basil.

Basil Al-Asmar, a 29-year-old, arrived at the room on the third floor. He was single, with a sharp temper, and surely had a lover waiting for him. He entered the room, glanced around its corners, and then stepped out onto the balcony overlooking the occupied city. He placed the bag he was carrying under the bed; inside were two pistols equipped with silencers.

Basil left the room, mimicking the movements of undercover operatives he had seen in movies. He glanced right and left, closed the door, and stepped away slightly. Then he returned to make sure the door was securely locked, as he wasn't used to electronic keys. He thought to himself, *"Our keys are different from yours,"* and headed toward the emergency stairs.

Basil reached the eighth floor, which was off-limits to the public, using the emergency stairs designated for hotel staff. He walked past the target's room.

He went down and up the stairs from the eighth floor to the parking lot three times, running down and calmly walking back up. Can I imagine the sweat dripping down his cheeks, his heartbeat growing more intense with each step, and his relatively long, smooth black hair falling over his eyes like that of a noble steed?

He was certain now that he could descend the stairs with his eyes closed.

As Basil ran down the stairs, he encouraged himself by repeating the phrase, *"Death is sweet, death is sweet, death is sweet,"* all the way down.

And as he ascended, breathless and exhausted, he repeated:

"Palestinian, Arab, internationalist.

Palestinian, Arab, internationalist."

That quiet, courteous man with hair streaked with both white and black was sitting there — his name was Ahed Abu Ghalama. He had been assigned by the leadership to head the military wing in the West Bank due to his extensive military experience, numerous encounters with imprisonment, and his sharp intelligence, keen eye, and quick wit. He was an engaged intellectual in every sense of the word.

He ordered his coffee, which he usually preferred without sugar. But that night, he wanted to remember the comrades in Cuba, so he told the young worker at the café, *“I want it with extra sugar.”*

He had not met the three of them before, save for the meeting that brought them together in that secluded café near the park in Ramallah. He stared at them and saw in them Ali, Hussein, Abu Dharr, Spartacus, Lumumba, Omar Al-Zein, Che Guevara, Wadie Haddad, the heroes of Munich, Izz El-Din Al-Qassam, Mustafa Ben Boulaïd, Carlos, Mohammed Boudiaf, Sbeitan Awad, Yahya Ayyash, George Al-Yatim, the peasants of Vietnam, the tobacco farmers of the South, Ali Shoaib. Yes, yes, yes, they were closer to Habib El-Shartouni.

He smiled and said, *“All revolutionaries share one face in my soul.”* He must have been reading Frantz Fanon.

Basil returned to join Hamdi in the hotel lobby. They took a walk around the hotel to review the security procedures and ensure that everything was in order.

They went up to their room to spend the night. Hamdi and Basil arrived at the room. Hamdi secured the hallway in front of the room, and then they entered.

We don't know how they spent their night, but let's paint the details ourselves:

Basil laid down on the bed with his shoes still on.

Hamdi stood in front of him and began to sing a verse from Sheikh Imam's song “Yaish Ahl Baladi” [The People of My Homeland Live] for that young man, a graduate of the industrial college in Al-Khalil.

“Poor people of our country

Oh farmer, oh maker

Oh grease of the water wheels

Oh coal of the factories.”

Hamdi finished the song while Basil smiled. *“Even the press will write about your case. And publish pictures of your uncle and aunt. And songs will be sung about you, Basil. Your name will be heard in the cafés. Moshira and the girls of Al-Jazeera will adore you. And your love story will spread through the alleyways.”*

Hamdi noticed the smell coming from Basil and said to him, *“Go take a shower.”* Basil responded with a laugh, *“I’m not taking a bath until I’ve avenged Abu Ali.”*

Basil jumped off his bed in an acrobatic move, making a loud noise, which prompted Hamdi to reprimand him with a stern look. Basil got up and pulled the bag out from under the bed.

He opened the bag.

He gasped.

“Basil, there’s no weapon. Where’s the weapon? Have we been exposed? Were we tricked?”

Hamdi smiled and said, *“Do you think I’m so naive as to bring the weapon into the hotel and leave it in the room?”*

Hamdi wasn’t a graduate of military or security schools, nor had he ever been formally trained, and the same went for Basil and Majdi. Instead, they relied on the intelligence of the Palestinian farmer, shaped by centuries of experience.

Hamdi continued, *“The weapon is in the car. I already prepared a hidden compartment for it.”*

The yellowish tint left Basil’s face, turning into a deep red out of embarrassment.

The two sat down by the small table. Hamdi took hold of a pen and paper, making sure the surface was solid to avoid leaving any trace of what he was about to write or draw, as a security precaution. He began to redraw the plan and map out the movements, repeating it aloud for Basil. This was the last time they would go over the plan.

Hamdi finished explaining, then lit the paper on fire and used it to light a fine cigarette. He said, *“This feeling of luxury might just kill me — a five-star hotel, delicious coffee, and fine cigarettes.”*

Hamdi slipped into his bed, and so did Basil.

Hamdi was still thinking, his mind occupied with the mechanics of the silencer. How could a 10-centimeter tube muffle the sound of a gunshot? He remembered that Basil was a graduate of the industrial college and thought, He must have some knowledge of physics. He asked Basil, *“Hey Basil, how does the silencer work?”*

At that moment, the last thing on Basil’s mind was the laws of physics. All he knew and cared about was the historical responsibility resting on his shoulders — this was Abu Ali’s revenge.

Basil replied with a laugh, *“Tomorrow, I’ll make sure your silencer sings.”*

Both Hamdi and Basil fell silent, trying to sleep. Hamdi was still running through scenarios in his mind, thinking about what he would say to Ze’evi at the crucial moment.

Should I say to him: *“The revolution has sentenced you to death, in the name of Allah and the people, in the name of the infants of Ain al-Hilweh, in the name of the blood of the revolutionaries in Jerash, in the name of the prisoners in the jails, in the name of Wadie Haddad, in the name of Ahmed Daqamseh, in the name of Suleiman Khater, in the name of Tal al-Zaatar, in the name of the years of slavery endured by Africans, in the name of the Native Americans, in the name of the people of Tasmania, in the name of the severed fingers of the Indians, in the name of the plundered fields of Sri Lanka that give you your afternoon tea, in the name of the comrades in the Japanese Red Army, in the name of the empty stomachs of the comrades in Ireland, in the name of Bobby Sands, in the name of those*

executed by Franco in Spain, in the name of the million martyrs in Algeria, in the name of the medical experiments on the children of the Congo.”

He realized that if he tried to list all the reasons why Ze’evi deserved to be killed, he wouldn’t finish even for many years.

Basil and Hamdi fell into a deep sleep — Basil exhausted from climbing up and down the stairs, and Hamdi, having not tasted sleep for several days. Meanwhile, Majdi tossed and turned, sleeping a little and then waking up, afraid that sleep might steal time from him and cause him to miss his appointment.

Ahed returned home, picked up a pen and paper, and tried to write the communiqué for the operation. A thousand thoughts raced through his mind. He looked at the wall opposite him and saw a picture of Ghassan Kanafani, and immediately knew what to write: ***“All that we do is merely compensatory measures for the absence of arms.”***

If these three armed men are the communiqué, then their actions will be the announcement. I’ll simply release the news to a few media outlets with brief words, nothing more.

Ahed stood up, moved his head from side to side in a stretching motion, smiled, and tried to imagine the sight of Ze’evi covered in his own blood.

His smile grew wider as he looked at the picture of Abu Ali, thinking to himself, What would the zionists’ reaction be if they knew that the one who set the target list for the military wing and identified Ze’evi as a future target was none other than Abu Ali himself? It somewhat comforted him to know that Abu Ali had avenged himself before his own martyrdom.

The clock now strikes 5:30 AM on the morning of October 17th. Majdi Al-Rimawi woke up, grabbed the Škorpion submachine gun, and checked it. The air was a bit chilly, and the feel of the weapon gave him a sense of exhilaration. He left the house of his comrade Saleh Alawi and headed to the hotel in the rental car from Arabi Car Rentals in Al-Quds, under the name Louay Awda, also known as “The Frenchman.”

The clock now reads 5:45 AM. Basil woke up and called out to Hamdi,

trying to wake him. As soon as Basil whispered, Hamdi responded, “Does someone with vengeance sleep?”

Basil replied, “All night, I’ve been thinking about something: How did Ahded get all that precise information about Ze’evi’s movements, his room, and even the number of his Volvo?”

Hamdi said, “That’s something I don’t know, and no one will ever know.” (This question remains unanswered within the Zionist security circles to this day, and no one has found an answer. Ahded did not and will never speak.)

They stood up and put on their shoes. Hamdi heard Basil quietly humming, “*Palestinian, Arab, internationalist.*”

It was now 6:30 AM. Hamdi and Basil had prepared themselves. Ahded stepped into the hotel lobby and made sure that Majdi was waiting in his car across the street. He nodded to him, then noticed Ze’evi’s car still parked in its spot. Ahded returned inside the hotel and entered the breakfast hall. For the first time, he saw Ze’evi, and their eyes met. Ze’evi was with his wife, Yael, having his last breakfast before Hamdi would send him to hell.

Hamdi returned to the room and said to Basil, “Let’s go.” The two of them went down to the parking lot, with caution, vigilance, and readiness dominating the atmosphere. They reached the rented car registered under the name Samer Shehadeh with a forged identity. Hamdi stood guard while Basil took a quick walk around the parking lot to ensure there was no ambush. They then approached the car, and Hamdi opened it, retrieving the bag that contained the weapons. He pulled out the pistols and attached the silencers, saying, “Sorry, Naji.” Each of them hid their pistols within their clothing, and they headed back to the emergency stairs.

The two comrades ascended the stairs to escape to the eighth floor. They stood in front of the elevator, drew their pistols, checked them, and each loaded their weapon.

Hamdi decided not to kill Ze’evi until their eyes met.

Basil hoped that someone would accompany Ze’evi so he could have a bigger part in taking revenge.

The elevator's indicator light showed that it was on its way up.

1

2

3

Ze'evi finished his breakfast with a glass of juice made from oranges stolen from Yaffa. He returned to retrieve his briefcase — perhaps it contained plans for his transfer policy, and certainly, it held a proposed tourist brochure that distorted history and twisted the narrative. He stood in front of the elevator. A blonde girl passed by him, and he stared intently at her curvy figure. He then entered the elevator and pressed the button for the eighth floor.

Hamdi asked Basil to stand by the door of the emergency stairs. Basil obeyed, smiling.

The adrenaline surged higher with each passing number on the elevator's electronic display. Pupils dilated, airways expanded, a tightening sensation gripped the pit of the stomach, the throat grew dry, muscles tensed, and the pulse quickened.

As the number reached 7, Hamdi held his breath to ensure precise aim and readiness. A long reel of trials and memories played in his mind — there was no room for numbers, for they were not just numbers. Faces, names, stories, families, homes, and trees all flashed before Hamdi.

The wailing of women mourning Abu Ali rang in his ears, and the sight of fists raised in the air, vowing revenge at Abu Ali's funeral, gave him even more determination. He saw himself as a person that has been entrusted by every Palestinian with this mission.

The elevator stopped, and the alarm sounded: *Beep, beep, beep*. The elevator doors began to slide open slowly. Hamdi moved his head from side to side, trying to get the best angle to see who was inside. A large figure emerged. Hamdi was certain that the scene was only missing a sneer from this embodiment of racism.

He called out to him by his nickname, “*Hey, Gandhi.*” This was what Hamdi had always wondered — *how could such an ugly thing be named Gandhi? Ah, how much they’ve stolen from our East.* Their eyes met, and Ze’evi stared into Hamdi’s eyes, seeing determination. He realized that this was the man who would carry out his “transfer” to hell.

Hamdi saw in Ze’evi’s eyes the extent of his frailty, weakness, and cowardice. The oppressor is nothing more than an illusion in the mind of the oppressed. These are the only legitimate encounters between us and them, exactly as Hamdi had envisioned, planned, and hoped for.

Three bullets to the upper half of the body, each carrying the collective sighs of the oppressed on earth. The struggle between liberation and colonization was encapsulated in that moment, as Hamdi never took his eyes off Ze’evi’s.

Hamdi looked at him, lying there groaning in his final moments. He realized the mission was complete — Ze’evi had finally drawn his last breath.

Hamdi turned around and his eyes met Basil’s, and in those eyes, he saw all of Palestine.

20. REFAAT ALAREER

THE LAST TWEETS

Refaat Alareer was a teacher, translator, and scholar. In an interview before he died, he said that all he had to throw at the 'Israelis' was his marker, but that he would throw that. And, in many ways, he did throw his words at the oppressor, and they hit the mark.

Alareer's tweets, which are a mere modicum of his work, remain prescient to this day. They tell us where to focus our ire, what is really happening, and who is fake and who should be ignored. I collect the last tweets of Refaat Alareer here, and encourage you to read his greater work and, like so many do, mourn his great loss.



December 5 2023

[On this day, Refaat Alareer was targeted and martyred by 'Israel,' as the Euro-Med Monitor reported]

The Israeli airstrike that killed Prof. Refaat al-Areer was apparently deliberate, Euro-Med Monitor concluded on Friday. The apartment where Refaat and his family were sheltering was surgically bombed out

of the entire building where it's located, according to corroborated eyewitness and family accounts. This came after weeks of death threats that Refaat received online and by phone from Israeli accounts.

We call for an immediate investigation into this apparently deliberate and targeted killing of a prominent Palestinian academic, writer, poet, and activist.

On Wednesday at around 18:00, Refaat al-Areer was killed in his sister's home in al-Sidra neighborhood in al-Daraj area in Gaza city along with his brother Salah and one of his children (Mohammed); his sister Asmaa and three of her children (Alaa, Yahia, and Mohammed); and a neighbor. His brother's wife, Alaa, and two other children, Rafik and Alma, were wounded in the assault.

The airstrike surgically targeted the apartment on the second floor where Refaat was in a 3-storey building, and not the entire building; indicating the apartment was the target and not possible collateral damage.

— EURO-MED MONITOR

December 4

The Democratic Party and Biden are responsible for the Gaza genocide perpetrated by Israel.

Israel has every reason to lie.

We are forcibly and under over 24 hours of bombardment and shelling leaving yet another place of shelter along with thousands of families. Many are still trapped in Shujayia including some of my children and family members.

Israel is destroying and burning so many homes in Shujayia. Many people are still in their homes.

We could die this dawn. I wish I were a freedom fighter so I die fighting back those invading Israeli genocidal maniacs invading my neighborhood and city.

We are enveloped in thick layers of gunpowder and cement. There are several bombs and shells each and every single minute. It's suffocating.

Israel uses rape lies/accusations against native Palestinians to demonize them and justify the Gaza genocide— much like white supremacists used rape lies against black men to justify the lynching and lies. Black people who believe Israel justify the lynching of black men.

When Israel ran out of lies, it regurgitated the rape and sexual violence lie. The first to get the Zionist marching orders is this UN racist Antonio Guterres. ALL the rape/sexual violence allegations are lies. Israel uses them as smokescreens to justify the Gaza genocide.

Since his shameful visit to Israel, elon musk has filled our time line with
Nazis and genocidal mpublianiacs.

More horrific Israeli bombardments and shelling near by in Shujayia east of Gaza City. Pray for us

This never happened. That's why Hajo Meyer called Zionists Nazi criminals... This is as much the truth as a louse can laugh. Every. Zionist. Lie. Is. An. Accusation.[referring Bari Weiss lying that she saw rapes on video]

The building is shaking. The debris and shrapnel are hitting the walls and flying in the streets. Israel has not stopped bombing, shelling, and shooting. Pray for us. Pray for Gaza.

Statistically, about 90% of the population of the Gaza Strip are displaced people who do not live in their original places of residence. 3% of the population of the Gaza Strip were killed or injured. Is there anything more horrific than this in history? Is there anything that can describe what is happening other than genocide?

By refusing to allow fuel reach Gaza Municipality, @unicef is aiding and abetting Israel to commit the most horrific genocide in decades. No fuel

means no water and no garbage disposal and no sewage disposal. This is why diseases are tripling and quadrupling in Gaza. The @UN is complicit and will benefit from this genocide by fattening its white European employees while Palestinians are massacred and plagued with disease and hunger.

Haaretz is NOT a credible source. Haaretz is part and parcel of the Israeli propaganda machine.

[a translation of someone else's tweet] I am currently in Shujayia and my heart and hands are shaking as I type this: "Al-Shuja'iyah neighborhood is witnessing insane bombardments, continuous fire belts. Our hearts tremble with fear for all our loved ones who decided to stay. May Allah protect you, make things easy for you, and be kind to all people. I managed to reach/call our neighbor in Shujaiya. She was screaming from the intensity of the bombings and said, "The smoke is thick and we do not know where our legs are taking us. We are running through the rubble and the bombing continues everywhere."

Observe who cares for the land versus who destroys it.

Massive explosions in Shujayia Neighborhood. Nonstop fire belts by Israeli warplanes. We are gulping in gunpowder filled air.

Israel uses third class Jews as human shields to protect white Jews.

December 3

More of this, please. Biden and the dems must be punished for enabling and arming Israel to commit its genocide in Gaza. [referring to a Politico article that swing state Muslim leaders are campaigning to abandon Biden]

What else should Palestinians do so that the world wakes up and stop Israel's genocide in Gaza?!

Jewish man looks Arab. Israel shoots dead said Jewish man.

WHO KILLED THEM?! People did NOT lose everything thing. ISRAEL has been destroying Palestinians' properties, livelihoods, and lives.

After the Israeli occupation's aggression against Gaza, when a violent earthquake strikes a place, reporters must say: "It is as if an Israeli bombing struck the place." [a translation]

Malaysia is my second home.

Heartbreaking message from Bisan @Wizard_Bisan1. This is how I feel now. This is how everything in Gaza feels.

wizard_bisant

I no longer have any hope of survival like I had at the beginning of this genocide, and I am certain that I will die in the next few weeks or maybe days. I have been sick with severe viral infection for days and cannot move from the mattress!

I suffer from nightmares that are so closely resemble reality that I no longer differentiate between reality and dream. I live in a world other than the one I claimed to be building! I am a community activist who lived on the fantasy that the world was free and just, and I sought to bring rights not only to my people, but to many men and women in third world countries!

I was shocked that I was not from the third world! Indeed, we are the most humane and moral! Yes, because the world approves, supports, and finances the genocide we are being subjected to, legislates it, and gives reasons for for 58 days! While we are a people who have been living on occupied land for 75 years and are still searching for our rights and communicating our voice to the world!

My message to the world: You are not innocent of what is happening to us, you as governments or peoples that support Israel's annihilation of my people. We will not forgive you, we will not forgive you, humanity will not forgive you, we will not forget, even if we die, the history will never forget.

A Message to friends: Thank you and the supporters around the world. You have been compassionate and very strong. We ask you not to lose

hope, even if the world seems completely unfair and your efforts have not yet resulted in a ceasefire.

We do not talk enough about Palestinian mothers and fathers calling their children “Mother” and “Father”, respectively.

1. “Why are you crying, father?”@HamzaAbuToha asks his terrified little daughter Awatef as the Israeli shells rain upon them.
2. “Forgive me, my mother,” the bereaved mother desperately pleads with her dead son.

This applies to grandparents talking to their grandchildren and uncles and aunts talking to their nieces and nephews. This shows how dear our little ones are that they are in the place of our parents not the other way round. It shows how willing adults are to protect and sacrifice for their children in Palestine and some Arab countries. Unfortunately, when we translate that, we tend to domesticate this term of endearment so nonArabs do not get confused. Mo more!

This is how Israel thanks Qatar for mediating the release of its prisoners in Gaza— by bombing Hamad City built by Qatar and destroying and damaging scores of housing units.

There are no journalists in “Israel”— all are soldiers. There are no journalists in “Israel”— all are soldiers. There are no journalists in “Israel”— all are soldiers. There are no journalists in “Israel”— all are soldiers. There are no journalists in “Israel”— all are soldiers.

Jake Tapper is an anti-Palestinian piece of shit spreading misinformation and Nazi propoganda about Palestinians. If you give Jake a gun, he will join iof and start killing Palestinians.

December 2

[video of Mustafa Sawwaf feeding cats in Gaza] For this humanity, Israel is genociding Gaza.

Urgent press release from the Municipality of Gaza @munigaza about @UNICEF's refusal to allow much need fuel reach the Municipality of Gaza and about half a million residents there. Municipality of Gaza warns against the imminent spread of diseases and health problems:

The Municipality of Gaza (MoG) expresses its profound concerns over the halt of the essential services, top of which is water supply, in light of the depletion of fuel. MoG assures that they spare no effort to keep providing the basic services to the people of Gaza, estimated at 500,000 inhabitants situated in Gaza City nowadays, mainly the water supply, wastewater treatment and other health and environmental services.

Arising from the Israeli military attacks on Gaza, since the first day of the war, the Israeli forces cut off the water and electricity supplies, thus hindering the Municipality of Gaza's efforts to operate the municipal facilities in light of the shortages of fuel supplies, which led to harsh dismal living conditions. Hereby, the Municipality of Gaza earnestly communicates the following:

- MoG expresses its grievance over the failures recorded by the United Nations agencies, the UNICEF in particular, in delivering the required fuel quantities to the municipalities in the Gaza and North governorates since the 1st of November, including the days of the temporary pause.
- MoG announces the full stoppage of the basic services and the emergency-response services due to the lack of fuel.
- MoG is concerned over the halt of water wells, profoundly expecting the stoppage of water supplies within very limited hours.
- MoG appeals to all international humanitarian organizations to immediately intervene to deliver the quantities of fuel required to let the municipalities provide the basis services, guaranteed by the international humanitarian law.
- MoG is deeply concerned over the implications arising from the spread of diseases and health issues, due to the accumulation of huge quantities of household solid waste in the temporary sub-stations and streets, in addition to the leakage of untreated

wastewater into the sea and water pools, which are not designated to keep wastewater inside.

Municipality of Gaza December 2, 2023

The president of my University (@IUGAZA) Prof. Sufyan Tayeh has been assassinated by Israeli occupation warplanes. Prof. Sufyan is ranked among the top 2% researchers worldwide. Rest in peace.

This was Prof. Sufyan Tayeh's last message to me [Great message. Thank you again]. I worked with him closely for years. He is a very talented and transparent person. Prof. Sufyan is extremely humble. He would always, despite being very busy, go out of his way to say Salaam and shake hands. Rest in peace.

The @un and @unicef are complicit in the Gaza genocide.

A horrific massacre with hundreds killed and injured in my neighborhood of Shujayia east of Gaza City.

Nonstop Israeli shelling and bombardment all over Gaza City especially is Shujayia and Zairoun neighborhoods.

Gaza City's horizon right now. Nonstop bombardment.

1 December

Israel: Now everyone in Khan Younen must move to Rafah. Israel bombards Rafah.

Did you know many Palestinians, if they are lucky to shower during Israel's onslaughts on Gaza, shower in their underwear?! Just in case Israel happens to bomb their homes or their neighbors' homes.

Figs. [photo of IOF soldier occupying a Palestinian house]

"Zionists are Nazi criminals." Holocaust survivor Hajo Meyer.

Update: in just 12 hours, Israel killed more than 110 Palestinian civilians. The death toll rises every time we refresh the page. End the Gaza Genocide.

Has the @un/@UNRWA announced they will open an investigation into this?! If not, then they are ok with Israel destroying its schools and making them military bases to kill and destroy.

Israel divides the Gaza Strip into blocks... a new phase of the Israeli genocide. Via @Yasser_Gaza:

- The Israeli army has released a map dividing the Gaza Strip into over 2300 small blocks.
- The army has requested Gaza residents to identify the block number they reside in using the map.
- The occupation will later inform residents of Block (X) to move to Block (Z), implementing a new forced displacement as part of its genocide in Gaza.
- the vast majority of Palestinians in Gaza do NOT have electricity or internet due to the Israeli aggression.
- This division follows the United States' request for Israel not to resume the war before laying out a plan to protect civilians.
- This diabolical plan will serve as justification for mass casualties and forced displacement.

In summary, in the second phase of the war, "Israel" continues killing and forced displacing but in a more professional manner this time. The world rejected indiscriminate killing, so there's a shift towards organized killing.

We live in this block. Thank you, Israel. Now we can sleep peacefully.

I swear to God I thought this is a joke or parody! What the fuck is this?! Like what the fuck is this?! [map of Gaza in blocks].

Let's wait for tomorrow and see what Meagan Night has to lecture Palestinian natives who have been under European colonial rule for more than 100 years.

Via my grammarian friend @HamzaAbuToha: The truce ended at 7 am. Suddenly the whole world turned upside down. The Israeli missiles were upon us like rain. I carried Razan and Awatif in my arms and ran in the street. Awatif started crying due to the bombings. I told her: "Did not you

tell me that you are not afraid of the bombings?” She said: “Dad, I am not afraid for me. I am afraid for you.” What should I tell her, O world?!

An Israeli occupation army spokesman says that planes continue to bomb Hamas targets in the Gaza Strip. Hamas targets: [image of bloodied child].

Israel continues to wantonly destroy Gaza’s buildings and infrastructure. This is Al-Salaam Building in Jabalya.

Israel targets a UN school shelter in the northern Gaza Strip on Abu Zeitoun Street resulting in casualties. So far, Israel has massacred over 60 Palestinians across the Gaza Strip.

Not true. Israel has always used this trick to blame Palestinian resistance for breaking the ceasefire. Like in 2014, the so-called projectiles were fired from areas Israel controls. Have you written about the hundreds of Israeli violations that killed and injured many Palestinians?! [tweet alleging Hamas violations of the brief ceasefire].

The cowards at @unrwa take Israeli lies seriously. But they never take Israel killing over 60 of its employees seriously. UNRWA does not even name Israel that kills its employees & destroys and damages its schools and clinics and facilities. The @UN is complicit in this genocide.

The Cowards at @unrwa aid and abet Israeli genocide and ran like rats the moment Israel forcibly displaced Palestinians in Gaza. The @Unrwa does dare mention Israel that killed scores of its employees. But and Israeli Nazi journalist posts lies on X and the unrwa is soon to open and investigation!

Palestinian resistance continue to defend Gaza. “Israeli helicopters transport wounded and dead Israeli soldiers to Soroka Hospital, south of Israel. Injuries and deaths during clashes in Gaza.”

Update: so far Israel has slaughtered over 61 Palestinians in the Gaza Strip and injured dozens.

I have had only 4 showers (as opposed to once or twice a day) in the past 56 days. And I am one of the lucky people in Gaza. There is a joke in Gaza — what’s the fastest thing in the world?! A Gazan taking a shower with cold water during Israeli bombardment.

From Refaat: Israel has killed at least 40 Palestinian civilians so far. At exactly 7 am, Israeli war planes & artillery fired thousands of missiles & shells targeting several areas in Gaza, turning Gaza into clouds & pillars of gunpowder, smoke and cement. It seems Israel fired in a couple of hours what it used to fire in several days.

30 November

Why won't @IntlCrimCourt visit Gaza? Why did @KarimKhanQC visit Israel secretly? What are you hiding?

this is a lie [tweet claiming Sinwar said October 7th was a dress rehearsal] [. (wait for msm media and officials and trolls quoting this) so such a statement was made by sinwar. Gaza Report is a Zionist account that spreads lies and whitewashes Israeli crimes by always tweeting false reports from Gaza that it was Palestinians not Israel who killed themselves.

Dr. Sheldon Cooper's proposition for Israel to bring peace to the Middle East: Relocate Israel to America.

I am sorry but I will keep reminding the world that I was the first to tweet that Israel used mass Hannibal Directives killing some of its own captured soldiers. This was 710 at noon. Hem! Hem!

[some Zionist morons] Also these are the ppl Elon Musk suggests I follow!

Israel has killed two more of my students Omar (left) @tbatiby and Ali Al-Tabatiby @alitabatiby2. Omar, one of the most creatively hard working people I have met, was mercilessly massacred along with his wife Tasnim Haniya and little daughter Nariman and other family members. Omar and his family was forcibly displaced in Khan Younes but Israel chased them with American made missiles and killed them. Rest in peace. We will never forget.

Did you know Israel sometimes booby traps areas they withdraw from to kill more Palestinians? I found this wire that I was told triggers bombs at least one of which as far as we know injured a Palestinian trying to return home to retrieve stuff mainly food.

Almost every other tweet in my For You is of Israeli/Nazi propaganda and anti-Palestinian lies and bigotry. Elon Musk @elonmusk has bowed to Netanyahu within a few hours. What a wuss!

[UN Sec Gen talking about false allegations of sexual violence by Hamas]The Nazis are at it again with the lies and anti-Palestinian bigotry.

I have just accidentally met @BayanPalestine in our quest for internet. Nice to meet you. We promised each other to survive this war and meet again in better times.

Read: How Israel treats Palestinian prisoners. Israel tortured my uncle to death in 1971 and terrorised his family for decades: I interview his only son, Yasser, who was not born then, and I tell their story of trauma and resilience via @scalawagmag.

How Does Israel treat Palestinian prisoners? Read my piece for @scalawagmag on how Israel arrested and tortured my uncle to death in 1971 and terrorised his family for decades: 52 years ago, Israel tortured my uncle, Oun Alareer, to death in its gulags. I interview his only son, Yasser, who was not born when his father was killed, and I tell their story of generational trauma, pain, and resilience to the world. (<https://scalawagmagazine.org/2023/06/death-in-israeli-prisons/>)

Urgent: Now the @unicef has joined Israel in its war on Gaza as it prevents the entry of fuel to the municipality of Gaza. The fuel will power the water wells to supply people with running and drinking water.

The ceasefire killed Henry Kissinger along with the international solidarity day with Palestine. #kissindust

Anthony Bourdain on Henry Kissinger (more now like kissindust) “Once you've been to Cambodia, you'll never stop wanting to beat Henry Kissinger to death with your bare hands.”

Kissinger has bitten the dust. The goodest riddance ever!

Thousands could cheer the death of warmonger Génocidaire henry alfred kissinger on 5th Ave and millions and millions around the world would join them. #Palestine #Cambodia #Laos #Vietnam #Chile.

"All the perfumes of Arabia will not" grace the rot Israel breeds." Here's the poem by which I concluded my piece for "Light in Gaza" edited by @JehadAbusalim (plz read his introduction to the book) and published by @haymarketbooks which has made this and many books on Palestine free to download.

Drenched

*On the shores of the Mediterranean,
I saw humanity drenched in salt,
Face down,
Dead,
Eyes gouged,
Hands up to the sky, praying,
Or trembling in fear.
I could not tell.
The sea, harsher than the heart of an Arab, Dances,
Soaked with blood.
Only the pebbles wept.
Only the pebbles.
"All the perfumes of Arabia will not"
grace the rot
Israel breeds.*

The young man, Ihab Tanboura, from the Beit Lahia project in northern Gaza, has a hearing disability, "deaf." He was arrested and tortured by the Zionist occupation, and the soldiers published a video of the moment of torture.. This is "Israel".

November 29

Israel slaughtered 67 Palestinian journalists. But Jake tapper is anti-Palestinian and an asshole.

Here are two creative memes Mohammed Hamo made for the Shakespeare course. Palestinians are all creative and resourceful. Israelis only

master death and destruction. For that, Israel kills Palestinians and destroys their lives. Rest in peace, friend.

[picture of UN Sec Gen António Guterres] Still a Nazi.

No Zionist has a shred of decency or talent other than mastery of bigotry and idiocy. All talentless. But they work as writers, actors, and comedians ONLY because they are Zionists and pro-genocide.

[screenshot of Zionist being awful] Zionists are nice people.

This is the last post Mohammed Hamo made in our Shakespeare course fb group. He loved literature. And of course he loved memes (especially turning me into a meme) and always spoke for his friends (here reminding me of the bonus marks). Rest in peace, Mohammed. Israel killed him in its indiscriminate bombardments hours before the temporary pause.

Shakespeare Boys in Gaza 2023

Mohammed Zaher Hamo. 14 Jun

Peace be upon you. I would like to say thank you for everything, Dr. Rifaat, for all the information and advice during the past year (poetry - Shakespeare). We had a lot of fun studying with you, we benefited a lot from your experiences.

You brought back the passion for literature and developed in us the skills of analysis and discussion. Thank you very much. Doctor, but with your permission, do not forget the topic of the Marks bonus post.

[Over Image of Refaat Alareer]

Shakespeare Be Like:

I am with you and success.

This is the Tal Al-Hawa area where I live. For the first time we made it here as Israeli tanks retreated a little bit. There are over 150 7 to 11 floor buildings in this area most of them were destroyed or substantially

damaged. Tens of thousands will be homeless for years as they lost their homes and businesses and life savings. There was barely any armed resistance in this area and yet it was destroyed like areas with fierce fighting. Israel will destroy and kill Palestinians whether they resist and defend themselves or not.

Horrific! Israel continues to execute Palestinian kids in the West Bank after having, so far, slaughtered about 5 thousand children in Gaza in less than 50 days.

I woke up to my timeline on Twitter filled with Israeli lies and propaganda. What's up with that, @elonmusk?

28 November

Here are the first and last page of my piece for "Light in Gaza" which you now can download for FREE from @haymarketbooks. Please read it and let me know what you think of it.

Gaza Asks: When Shall This Pass?

Refaat Alareer

In 1985, when I was a first grader, I was awakened by a hustle and bustle of noise downstairs. It was pitch-dark. I could hear my mom sobbing. There were women comforting her. I had never heard Mom weep before. It still haunts me to this day.

When I snuck downstairs to see what was going on, I found that my dad's old mahogany Peugeot 404 had its front and rear windshields shattered, the passenger door was wide open, and blood was all over the place. (Does this explain my fear of riding "shotgun" when we drive our car?)

My father had been coming back home that night from work and it was his business partner's turn to drive. As they passed the Nahal Oz military crossing from Israel into the Gaza Strip, out of nowhere, a hail of bullets struck their car. It was in the midst of that chatter that I first

heard the words “the army,” “Israel,” “the Jews,” and “shooting.” I almost never bought a toy gun as a kid.

Did the sleepy soldier’s finger slip and pull the trigger? We did not know. Did he shoot the car for fun? We did not know. There was no investigation. And no one was held accountable.

My father was injured in the attack and had to deal with the shrapnel of the bullet that ricocheted and hit his shoulder. For decades, especially in cold weather, he suffered from some sort of phantom pain. The whole family had to live with the trauma that our father and breadwinner was almost killed in an instant, a trauma in whose shadow we still live. I still go to check on my family members every time I hear bullets outside. Every time I am made to recall those memories, I remember the women’s comforting words in my home: “It shall pass.”

Scorched childhood. Traumatic memories. Pain. Loss. And there is more.

...

At the end of the day, nothing Palestinians or those who support Palestine do will please Israel or the Zionist lobby. And Israeli aggression will continue unabated. BDS. Armed Struggle. Peace talks. Protests. Tweets. Social media. Poetry. All are terror in Israel’s books. Even Archbishop Desmond Tutu, hailed by most people as a champion of justice not only against apartheid South Africa but racial segregation everywhere, especially in Palestine, was slandered as a bigot and an antisemite. Renowned actor Emma Watson was attacked and accused of antisemitism for daring to post in support of Palestine solidarity on Instagram. It is not surprising then that Refaat Alareer or Ali Abunimah or Steven Salaita or Susan Abulhawa or Mohammed or Muna El-Kurd or Remi Kanazi is constantly attacked by Zionist trolls who wrongly use the antisemitism slander against us. No matter how mild the criticism of Israel’s crimes or how slight the support for Palestinian rights, the Zionist lobby will attempt to scorch the earth to prevent that. This is further evidence that Israel is not merely after

Palestinian armed resistance, but it is also after the very existence of Palestinians.

I know that many Palestinians ask if more can be done, if free people can do more to prevent Israel from continuing to commit horrifying crimes against us. Can popular resistance, or armed struggle, or BDS, or pro-Palestine groups like Jewish Voice for Peace, or Black Lives Matter activists or indigenous struggle activists, do more to exert pressure and prevent further Israeli aggressions, to bring those Israeli war criminals to justice and to end their impunity? When will this pass? When will it be enough? How many dead Palestinians are enough? How many massacres are enough?

I recoil in horror and shudder as I write this—I am exposed, naked, and vulnerable. Reliving the horrors Israel brought on us is one thing, but disclosing your life and your most intimate moments of fear and terror, where you spill your heart out, is another. Sometimes late at night when insomnia hits, I wonder if it is all worth it, if anything will ever change.

When I was approached to write for this book, the promise was that it will effect change and that policies, especially in the United States, will be improved. But, honestly, will they? Does a single Palestinian life matter? Does it?

Reader, as you peruse these chapters, what can or will you do, knowing that what you do can save lives and can change the course of history? Reader, will you make this matter?

Gaza is not and should not be a priority only when Israel is shedding Palestinian blood en masse. Gaza, as the epitome of the Palestinian Nakba, is suffocating and being butchered right in front of our eyes and often live on TV or on social media.

It shall pass, I keep hoping. It shall pass, I keep saying. Sometimes I mean it. Sometimes I don't. And as Gaza keeps gasping for life, we struggle for it to pass, we have no choice but to fight back and to tell her stories. For Palestine.

. . .

I AM HEARTBROKEN: I HAVE JUST BEEN INFORMED THAT ANOTHER BRILLIANT student of mine Mohammed Hamo @hamoodzaher10 was murdered by Israel the night before the temporary truce. Mohammed contributed to @intifada and was over the moon his piece was accepted and promised to work on more pieces. He wanted to be a writer and pursue his higher education abroad. Mohammed was active, creative, and supportive, and intelligent. Rest in peace, Mohammed. Your memory won't be forgotten.

This is Mohammed Hamo's @hamoodzaher10 feature for the Electronic @Intifada. Israel killed Mohammed, promising writing and an aspiring journalist and a great meme maker the night of the truce. Gaza photographer captured and tortured by Israel (<https://electronicintifada.net/content/gaza-photographer-captured-and-tortured-israel/38371>)

Devastating Via @MohammedSawwaf: "At midnight on Friday, November 17, the Israeli occupation army annihilated my extended family by bombing the family home. He killed 47 members of my family, including my father, my two brothers and their children, my disabled uncle and his sons, their wives and children, my uncles' wives and their two sons, all of their children, my cousin's children, and my cousin's wife, their two children, and her sister."

This is Zionism's "final solution" to the Palestinian natives.

This was our breakfast (For 6 adults). Note: I only brought my empty belly to this breakfast and I only know one of the 5 guys. But they all swore I must eat with them. [A few pieces of pita bread and hummus, which looked good, but so little].

[Someone saying how Hamas is unpopular and this is all their fault] Translation: The Jews brought the Holocaust on themselves.

We are looking for Life

Run, bitch! Run! [referring to an ambush of IOF by the Resistance].

Whoops! 8 Israeli occupation soldiers were killed by friendly fire during

one week of ground invasion in the Gaza Strip. Dozens were also injured by friendly fire.

Making bread like Grandma Kamla (Perfect) used to.

Israel violates the lull as always. And Alqassam responds. Al-Qassam Brigades: As a result of a clear violation by the Israeli enemy of the truce agreement in the northern Gaza Strip today, field friction occurred and our mujahideen dealt with this violation. We are committed to the truce as long as the enemy has committed to it, and we call on the mediators to pressure the occupation to adhere to all the terms of the truce on the ground and in the air.

The mystery of who does [this] destruction this continues. [video of UNRWA passive voicing destruction].

Please watch this important video by the amazing @propandco. What Israel and the media class in the west do NOT want you to know.

Heartbreaking [grandfather holding his daughter while alive, and while dead]

Gaza: Omar and Osama are under the rubble: "Due to the lack of necessary machinery, hundreds of Gaza's martyrs remain under the rubble of homes destroyed by Israeli airstrikes."

27 November

American shells kills Gaza kids and destroy homes and infrastructure. There are countless American made spent shells in Gaza especially in the UN school Israel made into a military base and a firing position in Gaza city.

Yesterday I went to my son's previous UN school, largely damaged by Israeli tanks. Israeli tanks turned the school into a military base & shot hundreds of American made shells & tens of thousands of bullets at Palestinian homes. Israel held Palestinian civilians hostages there.

American made shells killed Palestinians and destroyed their homes and businesses and livelihoods.

There was a lot of shitty Zionist graffiti from the murderous Israeli invaders who turned the UN school into a military base and shot tens of thousands of shells, some American made, and rounds.

IF YOU LOOK CLOSELY, THESE ARE ISRAELI BULLETS. I found many of them in the UN school Israel turned into a military base.

“Never again is now” is a genocidal call for a Nazi-like holocaust against non-Jews in occupied Palestine. Interestingly, the collaboration between Nazi Germany and the Zionists has not peaked like this since the 30s and 40s. #ZionismisNazism

Israeli tanks deliberately destroyed almost all trees they came near in Gaza. (Wish I had water to give to that dog.).

The Gaza Municipality @munigaza (follow plz) condemns the deliberate destruction by the Israeli occupation of the public library building on Unity Street in the city center, along with the annihilation of historical documents and books across various humanities and natural sciences.

As of last week, more than 30k downloaded this book by @haymarket-books: Please download a free copy of “Light in Gaza” and read (at least) the first chapter Gaza asks: When Shall this pass? It’s one of the most painful things I wrote. Edited by @JehadAbusalim and @JBing215.

It’s the occupation, idiot! [some guy saying he’s pro-Palestinian and anti-Hamas, thus piously cancelling himself out].

Israel has systematically destroyed or damage most of the mosques in Gaza. The tanks were playing games to hit the most buildings. In the quoted tweet, the mosque a 10” metres from where we stay was destroyed was destroyed by 3 F16 missiles, causing massacre destruction and killed 15 people living near the mosque.

Israeli child "burned completely" by Israeli tank fire at Kibbutz Be'eri: Survivor Yasmin Porat provides new details of 7 October bloodbath @intifada

Israel systematically and deliberately murdered its soldiers and settlers

including little ones who were held hostage by Hamas fighters for a prisoner swap.

Hamas did not kill babies.

The rain in Gaza brings more pain.

Rain has been made a horrible experience in Gaza due to Israeli genocide. My brother and his in laws are staying in an empty shop in Rafah where all the rainwater floods the area. Countless homes have been destroyed and damaged. Hundreds of thousands are taking shelters in schools, hospitals and clinics. The clouds prevent the solar panels from giving us much needed electricity.

26 November

I am alive. What's good?!



I'LL STOP COPY PASTING HERE, BUT HERE ARE A FEW OLDER TWEETS I REMEMBER which I think are important.

3 November

These are extremely important points.

1. Don't spend your time in the defense against Zionist propaganda.
2. Don't spend more time condemning anti-semitism. We have blanket rejection of all sorts of racism.
3. Never condemn the Palestinian resistance especially armed struggle.
4. There are no both sides here. The occupier/oppressor can always go to hell.
5. This is about Palestinian lives.

29 October

I was born and lived most of my life in Gaza under Israeli occupation and siege. And this work by Jewish people [protest in New York] is important and matters to us. **I never met a Jew who didn't want to harm, shoot at, beat, or prevent me from traveling until I was 36 years of age.** Israel is not all the Jews. And more and more Jews shoulder responsibility to prevent Israel from abusing Judaism and genociding us in the name of world Jewry, like Muslims and Arabs stood firmly against isis that was abusing Islam and killing people in the name of Islam.

9 October

Mehdi Hasan, for propagating Israeli lies, has Palestinian blood on his hands. He will be complicit in every massacre Israel commits. Israel lies. Israel always lies.

Breaking: Abu Obaida confirms that Alqassam fighters documented cases when Israel killed its own soldiers (along with the freedom fighters). Israel killed its killers using Hannibal Directive.

Decolonisation is not a metaphor.

Mehdi Hasan wants as many Palestinians dead as possible to prove his fake morality. He is as dangerous as Israelis bombing us in Gaza.

8 October

fuck you mehdi hasan and fuck you [your?] morality. I am Palestinian from Gaza and I tell you every time you ride your moral mule to "teach" or "sivilise" us the oppressed, the occupied, yo side with the brutal Israeli occupation and spit on our struggle for money. So fuck off.

If you are following the news closely, Israel killed many of its own soldiers and settlers. Some by mistake and many intentionally. Let's wait and see if this gets leaked in any way any time soon.

[referring to some bullshit handwringing by some bullshit group] You literally confessed to massacring Palestinian civilians, many family members of the freedom fighters. Also this is NOT the current government or Netanyahu. They are mere symptoms. The real disease is Zionism, the existence of Israel as an occupation and an apartheid.

[Ian Bremmer talking about Oct 7 as multiple 9/11s] These tweets mean to justify Israeli genocide/atrocities against Palestinians in Gaza. Israel has killed over 2250 Palestinian children since 2000. That is 2 children slaughtered per week for more than 22 years. Your 911 is every month in occupied Palestine.

Israelis are killing each other en masse.

Breaking: The very Israeli snipers that gunned down hundreds of Palestinian marchers in the Great Return March in 2018/19 were neutralised by Palestinian freedom fighters. I'm sure some of them were captured by the guys they maimed.

Never forget: When Israel butchers Palestinians in Gaza, Israelis create makeshift cinemas to watch and cheer as American bombs blow babies, elderly, and women to smithereens. All Israelis serve in the occupation army to kill and destroy Palestinians.

I am sorry. I broke my own rule. More evidence you can never engage with zionazis, whether Jews, Christians, Muslims, or Indians. Deploy #ironthumb

The West pay for these crimes. Many of the murderers were born in the west and come to Palestine to kill the natives.

PART IV

HEZBOLLAH

21.ELEGY FOR SAYYED ABBAS MUSSAWI

1992

This text is from Nicholas Noe's collection of Nasrallah speeches called *Voice Of Hezbollah: The Statements of Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah*. What's remarkable about this collection of speeches (from the 1980s to early 2000s) is how prescient and patient the martyred warrior sage was.



NASRALLAH DELIVERED THIS ELEGY IN THE EASTERN BEKAA VILLAGE OF NABI Sheet, following an Israeli helicopter assault in Jibi Sheet, south Lebanon, which had killed Hezbollah secretary-general Abbas Mussawi, his wife and baby son. Elected only one year before his death, Mussawi was seen as a relatively pragmatic voice in the party, compared to both the former Hezbollah leader Subhi Tufeili and, according to some accounts, Nasrallah himself. Shortly after the assassination, however, Nasrallah assumed the leadership and promptly renewed Mussawi's earlier commitment to participate in Lebanon's upcoming summer parliamentary elections—the first since the beginning of the civil war in 1975. He also continued Hezbollah's strategy of carefully considered operations against Israel and its allies in south Lebanon, demonstrated in his displeasure—made clear in Statement 4—over an apparently uncoordinated Hezbollah rocket attack in the south following Mussawi's death.

Not surprisingly, the elegy itself rings with an uncompromising enmity towards Israel's existence, which would characterize Nasrallah's public rhetoric at least until early 2000, when peace between Syria and Israel [and therefore Lebanon and Israel] seemed almost at hand. Viewing Mussawi's death at the hands of his enemies as a modern-day version of the martyrdom of Ali, the first Shia Imam, Nasrallah says: "You Jews, leave our land, you have no home among us, go back from where you came ... You are leaving and we are staying."

In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate. I had to write this down to be able to summarize the feelings and attitude on the day of your journey to heaven where God Almighty is awaiting, a journey that started as you wished and chose with enthusiasm; a death that epitomized the events at Karbala. You were just like al-Hussein, a body without a head; just like al-Abbas, with your hands severed; and just like the greatest Ali, with your torn flesh. It is as if your infant son Hussein is the suckling child of Karbala, who did not die from a severed vein, but whose body parts mingled with your own. It is as if your spouse and life's companion Um Yasser, as if Zeinab is screaming in revolution not through words or tears, but with her blood that speaks even louder at a time when words have lost their value. As if your bombed and destroyed cortège were Hussein's tents burning in the desert, as if you were that same Hussein, the commander on the battlefield, Hussein the rebel in the face of oppression and despotism, and Hussein who rejected humiliation and shame. Just like the committed and faithful Abbas, loyal to the revolution and to the leader, You, My Master, epitomize all that Karbala represented, from resistance to enthusiasm, to the path, to the tragedy.

You always raised your voice with courage to address the nation about the Israeli enemy, about the great Satan, about cupidity and danger, barbarism and savagery, racism and enmity towards humanity. Today, your voice, your wounds and your blood will ring in our ears and beat in our hearts as witnesses to what you have always told us. We promise to carry your rebellious voice to all the dispossessed people of this world, and to sprinkle your blood in every corner of the earth so that jihad and resistance can germinate and grow.

You looked forward to meeting your God and He looked forward to meeting you, and you speeded your departure and realized your long-time wish; so rejoice at God's side, rejoice in the company of His Messenger [the Prophet Muhammad]. It is as if up in the Kingdom of Heaven everyone is busier than usual, busy welcoming him, while he, Sayyed Abbas, moves from the Messenger's lap to the Messenger's lap once again, and from Ali to his grandmother al-Zahra, then to al-Hassan, al-Hussein, the Imams, al-Khomeini, the martyr al-Sadr, and Sheikh Ragheb (...). As if the entire cortège of the Islamic Resistance and Hezbollah martyrs are standing at attention in readiness to greet the mighty man. Rejoice O Abu Bajji, Rida al-Sha'er, Ahmad Shu'eib, Hajj Jawad, Ahmad Kassir, Asaad Berro, and all you martyrs, and make haste, for the beloved one has arrived, carrying with him messages from all those who love you, those who are still awaiting their turn and have not changed nor will ever change at all.

Dear brothers, this savage crime is another testament to the Israeli enemy's racism and barbarism, which should be added to the series of their ugly attacks on our families, villages, cities, and holy sites. It is another testament to the conspiratorial arrogance of the mighty of this world, and to their responsibility for these crimes. For His Eminence, al-Sayyed, symbolizes all the martyred men, Um Yasser all the martyred women, and little Hussein all the martyred children, and all of them together symbolize every family that suffers from oppression and prejudice in our Islamic world. We blame Israel for this blood-soaked carnage, and blame its protector, the United States of America, which is responsible for all Israel's massacres and all the destruction, murder, and displacement it wreaks. Everybody knows that Israel would not have been able to stand on its own in the region had it not been for Western and American support.

By murdering His Eminence al-Sayyed, our secretary-general, they wanted to kill our spirit of resistance and destroy our will for jihad, but his blood will keep simmering in our veins and will only increase our determination to forge ahead and heighten our enthusiasm to pursue the path. The martyrdom of Hezbollah's secretary-general is proof of the maturity and grandeur attained by Hezbollah in Lebanon; it is also proof of its

loyalty to God's objectives, the extent of harmony between the leadership and the base, of giving without restraint, of its considerable presence in the battle, and of its deep commitment to the entire project and nation. It is also proof of the beginning of a far-reaching spiritual, moral, and jihadist transformation that no one had expected, not even those who murdered him.

As we bid farewell to our great martyr and to his wife and child, we pledge ourselves to his pure soul and to our oppressed people, that we shall continue to walk in his footsteps. We pledge to persevere on the path he had chosen, the path of Khomeini and Khameini, and that we shall remain steadfast to everything we believe in and shall not relinquish any of [our beliefs] even should they cut us to pieces, tear us apart, or commit the worst atrocities against us.

America will remain the nation's chief enemy and the greatest Satan of all. Israel will always be for us a cancerous growth that needs to be eradicated, and an artificial entity that should be removed, even if all the rulers [of the world] recognize it. The Supreme Guide Ayatollah Khameini will remain our leader, imam, master, and inspiration in jihad, patience, and willpower. Islam, the true original religion of Muhammad, will remain our way of thinking, our religion, and the guide in which we take pride, which we pray for, and in whose name we fight. The Islamic Resistance will remain our only option, our constant response, the path that we shall not relinquish, and the battle we will pursue even if the entire world surrenders. Our oppressed people in Lebanon, whom our great martyr loved so dearly, will remain our living conscience and soul, for whose freedom, self-esteem, and dignity we work and sacrifice. We shall also struggle to achieve this people's will, to remove the conditions of oppression, injustice, and deprivation under which they live; and realize the real peace and security they crave. Jerusalem will remain present in our memory as a compelling objective, an ambition without limits, and the source of our burning desire to regain the place where the Prophet ascended to heaven and our First Qibla. Palestine, all of Palestine, will remain part of this nation, and we shall not relinquish a single grain of its sand. The jihadist movement and the resistance—who stretch out their hands to all

Lebanese, Arab, and Islamic forces that are aware of the danger that this enemy poses, and are ready to defend this nation—shall remain steadfast.

Finally, as we stand in front of your torn body and pure soul, we pledge ourselves always to echo your words:

You Jews, leave our land, you have no home among us, go back from where you came, for there will never be peace or reconciliation between us, only war, resistance, and the language of war and bullets. You are leaving and we are staying; dawn is upon us, the sun will shine and the entire nation will rise to greet its God. This era will witness the victory of the dispossessed over the oppressor; it is the era of our beloved Islam and of the Great Khomeini, in spite of the hatred that the Godless and tyrants harbor towards us.

May God's peace be with you.

22.NASRALLAH SPEECH AFTER THE FLOOD

NOVEMBER 3, 2023

Today will honour the memory of the fallen martyrs: the martyrs of the Islamic resistance in Lebanon, Hezbollah; the martyrs of the Lebanese factions fighting and resisting against the Israeli occupation; the fallen martyrs of Al-Qassam in Lebanon; Al-Quds Brigade in Lebanon, together with all the fallen civilian martyrs who were murdered at the hands of Zionists, including journalists.

I start by offering my deepest condolences to the families of the fallen here in Lebanon. We offer our condolences and at the same time congratulate you as your loved ones have won this honour - the honour of martyrdom. Many of you have lost loved ones: a father, a brother or a son. And I pray to God almighty to accept all our good deeds.

We offer condolences and congratulations at the same time, to all the families of the fallen martyrs in the Gaza Strip, West Bank, and on every inch where our brave martyrs have fallen, including those of Al-Aqsa Typhoon or Al-Aqsa Flood, that has extended on a number of fighting fronts.

I will not delve much on this as we will celebrate the Martyrs' Day in a few days time. However, I must reiterate that those fallen martyrs have won, and it is sufficient to go to our holy scripture, the Koran, to read what God almighty said about them. And we are entitled to take pride in them and

we must remain firmly with certainty that they are rewarded with paradise - with all the rewards you never envisaged or heard of. As God said in the holy scripture, those killed in the service of the cause of God will be rewarded with paradise. As is said to all believers: If you support and work for God's cause, you will be rewarded with victory. The same in Alhambra and Surat: do not think those fallen to the service of the cause of God are dead; yet, they are alive, joyful with what they have been rewarded with, without fear or grief, abiding in God's blessings that their good deeds were not wasted.

So our fallen martyrs are not dead. They are alive. Not in the Judgement Day, when all the human beings will be resurrected, no. Those fallen martyrs are now alive in God's paradise. Do not think they are dead. They are alive, only you cannot feel them.

We congratulate all the fallen martyrs, the fighters, the civilians, the aggrieved, women, men, children, old and young. We congratulate them for this massive transition at the presence of God, paradise, where there is no Israeli oppression or American hubris - no killing, no massacres, no pogroms - and from this firm conviction, we congratulate them. And to their families we say, your loved ones have fallen in a battle on the face of the Earth. And if we are to look for a fully legitimate, lawful battle, from the legal, ethical or religious perspectives, we cannot find one but that battle fighting against the Zionist occupiers. This is a seamless battle at the human, ethical, or religious levels. It is the most evident, the most honest and the most noble to the service to the cause of God. This must be established in the first place.

We also say to the relatives of the fallen martyrs: we are proud of you. We take all pride in you. We have heard your statements of acceptance, submission, for the fall of your loved ones. And here lies our true strength before the arms. Our true strength lies in our firm belief, our unshaken conviction, our devotion and commitment to the cause. We are prepared to sacrifice. It is expressed in the voices of the fathers, mothers and children of the fallen martyrs.

Equally, we salute the epic people, unmatched and unrivaled: The people of Palestine; the people of Gaza. We have seen them on T.V. screens, man,

woman, child, baby, crawling from underneath the rubble. Yet, he cries out saying all that is lost is to sacrifice for the sake of our homeland, for the sake of our cause. We cannot put this into words. We cannot express their fortitude, bravery, patience and resolve. The same applies to the residents of West Bank - patience, fortitude and resolve.

Ladies and gentlemen, today I will address you on the main topic in order to understand what happened and to make clear our position and answer and identify the liabilities and taking into consideration the Lebanese affairs which will require further details at a later point in time.

At the beginning, we must also salute all those who took to the streets, in support and in solidarity with the Palestinians, from all over the world: Arab, Muslim and Latin American countries. The people of different nations, specifically the strong and brave Iraqi and Yemeni armies who are now involved in this holy war.

How did we reach this point, and what is the backdrop of what happened on October 7th - Operation Al-Aqsa Typhoon?

I will address bullet points in brief. It must be mentioned in order to build up our stand, that the pain and suffering of the Palestinian people is not a secret to the whole world and there is no point to delve deeply into this. Yet, the recent years were harsh, especially with this radical, stupid and brutal government of Israel.

There are four main headlines on the Palestinian landscape.

The first is the Palestinian detainees: the thousands of Palestinian men and women, and even children, who are held behind Israeli bars, some for years. Many are on the verge of death, and no one is lifting a finger. And this radical government - this stupid minister - made the lives of the detainees and their families even worse.

The second issue is Al-Quds - Al-Aqsa Mosque - and what has been happening in the past weeks, namely, the few days before Al-Aqsa typhoon. These conditions were unprecedented since the occupation of Jerusalem in 1967.

Third, the unjust siege laid to Gaza. For more than 20 years, two million people living in an open concentration camp without any person in the whole world lifting a finger.

The fourth one is the recent perils and risks harbouring on the West Bank through the expansive, illegal Israeli settlement under the auspices of this stupid fool-government in addition to the daily detentions and demolitions of homes.

These are the four headlines that have impacted the Palestinians and the Palestinian resistance and no one in the whole world is lifting a finger. The United Nations Security Council, Organisation of Islamic Co-operation, league of Arab states, the European Union, none of the international blocs or organisations of countries: the Palestinian cause and all that is happening in Palestine were totally forgotten. **The whole world turned a blind eye to them. Totally abandoned and totally forgotten.**

In contrast, the policies of the enemy are more ferocious, oppressive and humiliating. Therefore, there must be a big event to shake this oppressive, occupying, usurping Zionist regime with their backers in Washington and London and to reopen these humanitarian issues before the eyes of the whole world and to resurface the Palestinian cause - the just cause - as the focus of the whole world.

Then came that glorious jihadi operation of October 7th: Al-Aqsa Typhoon. The operation was triggered by the fighters of Izz ad-Din al-Qassam, supported by the fighters of other Palestinian resistance factions in the Gaza Strip. So this is the first point in the backdrop of the event.

This glorious, blessed, large-scale operation was 100% Palestinian in terms of decision and execution - 100%. Even the Palestinians kept it secret from their fellow Palestinian resistance factions in Gaza, let alone other resistance factions across the Axis of Resistance. That element of secrecy was the lynchpin to this emphatic success of the operation. It came as a shocking surprise, unlike what is assumed by many, namely those who would like to drive a wedge among us.

That type of confidentiality and secrecy adopted by Al-Qassam does not anger us here. It was a requirement for the success of the operation, and

this operation has no bearing on any decision or move to be taken by any other faction along the Axis of Resistance. This move, taken by Hamas, has stamped the true identity of the battle and also included all the enemies and hypocrites to raise any false claims, especially when they speak about the relations between the regional resistance factions. At any point in time when there is a battle, they start to speak about the Iranian nuclear program, the US-Iranian negotiations, to serve the agenda in the region. False claims. Yet, Operation Al-Aqsa Typhoon was 100% Palestinian in terms of decision and execution. The secrecy in which the entire operation was shrouded proves that it is a totally Palestinian cause, for the sake of Palestine and the people of Palestine, and it has no relation at all to any international or regional issue.

This operation also proves what we have been reiterating over the past years. Let the foe and friend understand, let it be understood by all enemies and friends, **that the decisions of the resistance factions is in the hands of their own leader.** Since the Iranian revolution, from Khomeini to Khamenei, have always been openly adopting and supporting resistance faction in Lebanon, Palestine and the region. However, they do not exercise any form of authority or mandate on these factions or their command and what happened with Operation Al-Aqsa Typhoon proved this fact. And those who are willing to interpret what is taking place today and what's going to take place in the future, the true decision makers are the leaders of the resistance themselves to the service of their top and true cause.

Ladies and gentlemen, the third issue I would like to speak about is the repercussions of this event. What's been happening on the battle field I believe you are all closely following. No doubt it was a brave, heroic, creative, perfect, massive operation, commended on all fronts and at all levels.

What are the repercussions of this glorious operation?

It caused a seismic shake - an earthquake - in terms of security, military, politics, diplomatic, even psychological. It has very profound strategic existential repercussions that will continue to have a bearing on the presence of this Zionist entity and the future no matter what the enemy's

government has done over the past days, and no matter what they will do over the coming days, it cannot change the impact and repercussions of Al-Aqsa Typhoon, strategically and historically on this Zionist entity and the future of the conflict in this region.

This operation has lifted the lid and uncovered many facts. However, speaking of the glorious repercussions and effects of this glorious operation requires hours, if not days. **What's more important is that it has exposed the frailty, weakness and total fragility of Israel.** More frail than a spider's web. I have read some reports on the Israeli media that the Israelis themselves have come now to believe, more than even myself, the Israelis have come to believe that Israel is more frail than a spider's web. This fact was established and cemented by Operation Al-Aqsa Typhoon.

The United States administration represented by their president, ministers, state secretaries and even top brass, support this shaking entity in order to catch it's breath, get back on it's feet again, and to restore some action and to take the initiative which they had until now - and they had to call out for protection and support. **The swift response by the United States to support and back Israel has proven how Israel is failing.** From the very first days of Operation al-Aqsa Typhoon, against a totally besieged Gaza strip, the Israeli government was in a dire need for the US fleets to navigate to the Mediterranean for military and psychological support. Where is your fleet? Where are your warplanes? Where is the invincible army of Israel, the mightiest in the region? Where is all that?

The United States hurriedly despatched aircraft carriers and other pieces of their naval fleet. The US top brass, generals, military experts went running to the area to open the strategic weapon depots for the Israelis. From the very first days, Israel demanded new weapons, new missiles from the United States. From the first day, Israel demanded ten billion dollars. Is it a strong state, an invincible army, as claimed? A state the requires this amount of US and Western support? Heads of state, heads of government, top brass generals flocking from all over the world to provide moral support. This is what Al-Aqsa Typhoon has caused, this frail entity. These are some of the profound impacts of Operation Al-Aqsa Typhoon. All these must be evaluated and analysed in detail, which we don't have

time to do here. Yet, we must understand that all of the sacrifices in Gaza, the West Bank, and all fronts are really worthy.

All these achievements, outcomes and repercussions deserve all these sacrifices, simply for the reason that they paved the way for a new slate in our conflict with the Israeli enemy. It paved the way for many countries and nations within the region.

There was and there is another option. The other option is silence, waiting for more oppression, more siege, more death, more killing. This was the other option. That's why we can say that the decision was wise, brave, prudent and worthy of all these sacrifices.

The next point. What was the enemy's response to Operation Al-Aqsa typhoon? From the very first hours, it was clear that the enemy was lost, astray. You know, it's a sabbath day and this was perfect timing by the commanders of Al-Qassam. It seemed that they had had a long drunken night, not only in the Gaza envelope but also in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. It took them hours to come out and they came out in an hysterical state, angry, in an insane fashion. That's why when they had to recapture the settlement within the Gaza envelope, **they perpetrated massacres against the Israeli settlements, not Hamas.** Now we start to hear and read reports and investigations providing evidence that it was the Israelis who perpetrated the killing amongst the Israeli settlers and in the recent future, when the dust settles, the whole world will come to know that all those killed within Gaza envelope were killed by the Israeli army itself who were acting insanely.

In the wake of this big, seismic event, it seems that the successive governments of Israel do not learn their lesson. Unlike we always hear about Israel learning it's lessons, they never learn from past lessons or experiences - especially their experiment or experience of wars against resistance factions in Lebanon and Palestine. What is taking place today took place in the past with some differences in July 2006 and the successive wars with Gaza at a different scale and different levels.

Among the gravest mistakes committed by the enemy in past - and it is taking place now - is setting high goals that they cannot achieve, setting

high goals they cannot reach. They set as their top goal the annihilation of the whole of Hamas. Then, speaking of toppling the government of Hamas. Then, eliminating the leaders of Hamas. Then, the military wing of Hamas. Now they are claiming to have as the top goal, to annihilate Hamas. And when they started to wake up, they started to speak of another goal: to bring home the captives.

Those who have had a long experience with different resistance factions in Palestine and Lebanon throughout history, have you seen at any point of time, the Israelis being capable of releasing captives without negotiations?? Never. What happened in Lebanon in 2006? Their declared goal was to wipe out Hezbollah. They were backed by the United States and the whole West, including Arab states. The goal at that time was to wipe out Hezbollah from Lebanon and to bring home the two Israeli captives.

The war extended for 33 days. Neither Hezbollah was wiped out, nor the two captives released without negotiations. The same thing is taking place today in Gaza, yet with a difference, and the difference is the massive pogrom, the massive amount of destruction and killing. In the July war, 1150 houses levelled, thousands of fallen martyrs, yet the resistance fighters on all fronts, backed by the Lebanese people, stood their ground.

The enemy, step by step, gave up on his goals. What is taking place in the Gaza Strip today proves the stupidity and impotency of the Israelis. They are wreaking killing among civilian Palestinians in Gaza. Most of those killed are women and children. The majority of the victims are civilians. Churches, mosques, school buildings, even hospitals are not spared. Everything is legitimised. Entire neighbourhoods are wiped out. School buildings, places of worship, and the whole world is standing by, watching.

Does this require an invincible army? For a whole month, the Israelis have failed to produce a single military achievement and when they started the ground operation, the same scenario of the July war in Lebanon, the random shelling, displacement of citizens, and the killing and the falling of thousands of martyrs could not bring the resistance to their knees. Then at that time, the Israelis started their ground operation and our fighters stood up to them. And the whole battle was followed by the whole world.

The same thing is repeated in Gaza. The Israelis are trying to launch a ground operation in order to sell to the whole world that they are launching a large scale ground operation. Even the limited moves were met by the bravery of the Palestinian resistance. We have all watched this resistance fighter approaching and placing the explosive on the top of the tank. How do you think the Israeli troops will be able to fight among those brave fighters? Nothing but confusion, fear and frailty. What the Israelis are good at over the past 75 years is nothing but perpetrating pogroms, massacres, with the aim of exercising pressure on the leaders of the resistance to wave the white flag and I believe the scenes we have been witnessing every day, every hour, every minute; women, men, children crawling from underneath the rubble, crying out and saying, "We are holding our ground, we are standing tall!" The end of this battle will be nothing but your defeat. By killing innocent civilians you will not achieve anything.

All that is taking place in the Gaza Strip, seen by the whole world, reveals and proves once again the brutal, barbaric nature of the Zionist regime of Israel - the usurping, occupying force that was planted in the region of Palestine on the grounds of the ill-fated Balfour Declaration to feed wars in the region, starting with Palestine and the Palestinian people, followed by the Egyptian, Lebanese and all the peoples of the region. After all these long years, as they tried to convince the whole world that this entity is a state of the rule of law, humanity and democracy, this is all proven false. We have witnessed that the victims, men and women, innocent civilians, the children of Gaza, have unmasked the truth of this barbaric regime backed by the western media whole are trying to convince our people to remain silent or even normalise with the Zionist entity.

This also reveals the direct responsibility and liability of the United States - the US hypocrisy. From day one, Biden claims to have spoken to the Israelis about humanitarian issues, civilians; all false claims. For a month, Gaza and the Gazans have been reeling under the brunt of barbaric, ferocious, brutal, ruthless, merciless aerial bombardment. **They falsely claim that Hamas beheaded babies and they fail to produce a single piece of evidence, yet they remain silent against the images of thousands of babies and children torn apart in Gaza as a result of the**

Israeli missiles. Now all exposed. The whole West claiming and preaching about democracy, humanity, rule of law. It's nothing but hypocrisy. It is a (inaudible) who are living in a jungle.

We all must establish this fact. The United States is totally responsible for the war raging in Gaza against unarmed, defenceless people. It is the United States that vetoes condemnation of Israel in the security council, the United States that stands in the way of a ceasefire in Gaza. It is the United States proving once again as described by Khomeini - it is the greatest Satan, the great devil, from Hiroshima to Vietnam, Iraq, Afghanistan, Palestine. The United States must be held liable and then penalised for all what has been perpetrating against our people and the people of the region. And there comes the decision of the Islamic resistance movement in Iraq to launch offences against American bases in Iraq and Syria considering that the United States is controlling the war in Gaza and it is the United States that must pay the price for the crimes perpetrated by the Israelis in Gaza and the Americans in Iraq and elsewhere. It is a wise decision by the resistance fighters in Iraq - prudent, blessed and wise decision.

Yesterday we also heard about new measures against the occupied Palestinian territories and this will be revealed in the coming days and hours. And here we salute all those noble men, noble fighters who are lending a helping hand to their fellow resistance fighters.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is the duty of every free, noble man in this world to establish and reiterate these facts in the public-opinion-warfare lead by the Western media that is falsifying and misinforming the public. We started to see the public opinion shifting as the whole world witnessed defenceless women and children torn apart. This is the least we can do in this battle of right against falsehood. The battle against ferociousness, brutality and barbarism, represented by the United States and Israel. Supporting Gaza and the Gazans is the very least humane requirement. Those who took to the streets in support, who rallied, those who donate, let alone those who fight, are under the duty towards Gaza and Gazans. Those who remain silent must reconsider their faith if they claim to be religious, and their honour if they claim to be honourable.

Each and every one, all and each, must live up to his own responsibility.

Speaking of which, in 1948, when the whole world abandoned the Palestinian people, this Zionist entity came into existence and pushed and the people of Palestine and the peoples of the region have paid the price for the establishment of this Zionist regime. Not only the Palestinians: the Egyptians, the Syrians, the Jordanians, Lebanese, have also paid a price. Lebanon has taken a bigger toll as a result of the existence of this usurping, occupying, Zionist regime. This is an established fact.

And again, today, what is taking place in Gaza is not a war like the others. It is not a battle like those of the past. It is not an event like those of the past. It is a decisive battle, an historical one. What is after this battle will not be like what was before it. This dictates that each and one shoulders his own responsibility.

Speaking of which, we must set the near-term goals which we should all work to achieve.

The first goal we should work for, day and night, is to end the war on Gaza.

The second one is to enable Gaza, the resistance fighters in Gaza and particularly Hamas, to triumph. These are the two short-term goals.

We should not lose sight of these two goals. The first, to cease the war, cease the aggression on the grounds of humanitarian, ethical, religious grounds, which are unquestionable. The second one is in the interest of everyone. It is in the interests of the Palestinians in the first place, and it is in the interests others also, as some are misinforming the public; some are claiming that if Gaza triumph means that Iran will triumph. If Gaza triumphs, it means the Muslim Brotherhood will triumph; this is false. The victory of Gaza means the victory of the Palestinian people and the victory of the Palestinian detainees. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre as well as Al-Aqsa Mosque. It is a triumph to all the peoples of the region. There is no time to delve into details, yet it is sufficient to indicate that the victory of Gaza is in the interest of Egypt, it is in the interest of Jordan. It is in the interest of Syria. And before all that, it is a national, patriotic interest of Lebanon.

And I believe this has been demonstrated enough over the past days. What if the opposite? What if Israel triumphs? What if resistance is defeated? What are repercussions for the regional states in Palestine and Lebanon in terms of security, politics, grass-roots popular level, and demographic level. Now, Israel is throwing threats at the Lebanese people. They are sinking in Gazan sands, yet, darting threats against Lebanon and the Lebanese. Using what? The blood of Gazan women and children by the destruction of mosques and churches in Gaza.

Speaking of responsibility, **it is the responsibility of every free, noble man in this world, everyone all and each, should shoulder his own. Arab and Muslim states must spare no effort to at least put an end to the war.** If you are prevented from acting, listen to your religion, your conscience, your values. You should all work for the top, prime goal. To end condemnation, statements are not enough. Sever relations, recall ambassadors. We cannot condemn and at the same to provide gas, oil and food supplies to Israel. Regretfully enough, in the past wars, the Arab and Muslim states calling for the cutting off of oil supplies to the United States. Now we are calling on the Arab and Muslim states to cut off oil and gas and food supplies from Israel. Stop your exports to Israel.

I have read some reports coming from Israel satirically saying that 22 Arab and Muslim states cannot deliver a single truck of supplies to Gaza or allow the departure of a single patient. Look how weak and impotent we are. **Gazans are telling the whole Arab and Muslim countries, "We are not asking for your arms, weapons and fighters, but do you not have the least honour or dignity to deliver some aid?" Presidents, scholars, ministers, many high-level and top-notch officials, aren't they capable of going themselves and staging sit-ins on the border of Gaza? They can turn the border into a platform to address the whole world.**

Here I do not wish to label others as traitors or whatever, yet, we should not fall in despair. We should continue to call on our brothers. We should continue to place responsibility on the responsible, hoping at some point in time, the whole of humanity will listen to the sound of reason and their conscience will wake up.

The Islamic resistance in Iraq has started to shoulder its responsibilities towards what's going on. They announced that they are going to engage in new measures. Our honourable brothers in Yemen, Ansar al-Anwar, the Yemeni people, the Yemeni army. The patient and brave Yemeni people against all the threats, Western and American, took a number of initiatives, launched drones and missiles. Even if dropped, at the end of the day, they will reach and they will hit their targets. They will reach El'ad, the south of Palestine, the Israeli army bases to the south of Israel. We salute our fellow resistance fighters.

Yet on our Lebanese front, some claim that we are about to engage in the war. I am telling you we have been engaged in this battle since October 8th. The Islamic resistance in Lebanon started operations the very next day after Al-Aqsa Typhoon. We had no knowledge, honestly speaking, like any other party in the world. We moved in to a second phase the very following day, operations were launched from Shebaa Farms and the other surrounding hills, then extended all across the borderline with occupied Palestine. You have, and are still, monitoring the details of the daily operations.

What has taken place on our front is very important and significant.

Those who claim that Hezbollah should engage swiftly in an all-out war with the enemy may see what's taken place on the border as minimal, but if we look at what's taken place on our border objectively, we will find it sizable. Yet, I assure you, this will not be the end. This will not be sufficient.

What's taken place on our Lebanese front, it is on one hand unprecedented since 1948 - the creation of this Zionist entity and the presence of Israeli posts on our borders - and since the illegal occupation settlements on the north of the occupied Palestine, on the borderline with Lebanon.

What has taken place since October 8th is unprecedented, that all the Israeli positions from the sea to the heights of Shebaa Farms and (inaudible) to reel under daily intensified offensive operations, targeting these posts and what's in between: tanks, armoured vehicles, drones, clusters of

personnel, and above all, technical installations which are the eyes and ears of Israel.

Since October 8th, the resistance in Lebanon is engaged in a true, genuine battle that can only be felt by those on the southern border. It is a true battle, different from all those in the past, separate from all those engaged by Lebanon, be it 2002 or 2006. It is a totally distinct and different battle in terms of tools, tactics, strategies, weapons, and even targets. A living proof to this fact is the number of our fallen martyrs who opted to remain on the forward fronts.

On Saturday 7th, immediately after Operation Al-Asqa Typhoon, the Israeli army started to pull back or retreat regular personnel from the border line. Let me explain what are the achievements. When we speak about fallen martyrs on the Lebanese front - almost 57 fallen martyrs - including those of the Lebanese brigades together with the Al-Qassam and Al-Quds brigades in Lebanon, let alone the civilians, that number and that blood, we should know what has been achieved in order to know how to move forward.

On the border on October 7th, the Israeli enemy started to pull out personnel from the border line with Lebanon - total moral collapse. For Gaza and the Gaza Strip that has been besieged for almost twenty years with very limited space, the Israeli army pulled out army personnel from West Bank - North Occupied Palestine - and called them towards the Gaza front. At the same time, they recalled or called up reservists. **The operation that started to escalate up to that of yesterday, all these operations force the Israeli enemy to maintain their personnel on the border with Lebanon, if not deploy further reinforcement. Adding to that, the elite task force that was supposed to head towards the Gaza front are now employed on the Lebanese border. This means our operations on the border force the Israeli enemy to concentrate their personnel and forces and equipment on our borders which was suppose to deploy to Gaza.**

Some might claim that we are taking a risk or gambling, yet it is worth it. Please just imagine if we restrict our action to rhetoric, statements of condemnation; then the Israeli enemy will deploy all of its forces to Gaza.

Now I have very exact figures of the total number of Israeli personnel, units, machinery, equipment, weapons, yet I requested for a brief, easy-to-understand- pieces of information.

The Lebanese front is now forcing the Israelis to amass one third of their entire army on our border. This is number one. The majority of these forces are the elite task force and regular personnel.

Second, half of the Israeli naval capabilities are now in Al-Quds opposite Haifa. Now, one quarter of the air force is dedicated to Lebanon. Half of their air defences - the Iron Dome, etc., - almost half of it is deployed around Lebanon. One third of all of their logistics were deployed to Lebanon. These are valid, accurate, exact numbers. I'm giving you easy-to-understand figures.

Secondly, the displacement of tens-of-thousands of illegal settlers and the evacuation of tens-of-thousands of others. 43 Illegal settlements were evacuated, and what is left now? Nothing but army personnel - no more civilians.

In the south, opposite Gaza, 58 illegal settlements were evacuated. All those evacuated from the south and north represent massive pressures - economically, psychologically and socially - and this will be a pressuring factor.

A third issue which is of no less importance: that the operations on the Lebanese border and Shebaa Farms have given rise to a state of fear and panic among the Israeli leadership - political and military - similar to the Americans, which we will talk about later.

This concern or fear that further escalation or an all-out war will exacerbate on this front, or they fear that the northern occupied Palestine front, the Israeli army will fall into an all-out war. This is a very likely possibility. The Israelis are taking this into consideration and it is part of their calculations and this is reflected in all the rhetoric and statements made by the American, European and even some Arab heads of state.

That state of uncertainty, fear and panic among the leaders of the enemy serves two purposes.

One: It causes our enemy to calculate their moves towards Lebanon. And here we speak about deterrents - we speak about genuine fear on the part of Israel. If only one single operation against an Israeli post or an Israeli tank or a cluster of personnel on the border, they wouldn't have taken the (inaudible). Yet the Israelis are taking all these blows, adjusting and calculating their moves very meticulously, simply for fear of the future. So I reiterate, our presence on the front, our operations and readiness - our daily operations on the front - cause our enemy to remain fearful, hesitant and in panic. We have heard many statements from their ministers, speaking about and banking on the entire support of the US on which to wage a war on Lebanon. I assure you, to the enemy we say, if you think to assault Lebanon or take a preemptive strike against Lebanon, it will be the biggest act of foolishness in the history of your existence.

They think the Lebanese would fear what they are witnessing taking place in Gaza. We have seen this since 1948 to (inaudible) on the contrary, the scenes we see in Gaza will make us more resolved, more faithful, to remain steadfast, defiant in resistance and not to beg or fall to our knees, no matter what the price is.

A second, most important issue, through this state of panic and uncertainty, the enemy must calculate their moves while acting in Gaza, and they are. These are some of the results of our operations in the south of Lebanon. Let alone, the amount of material and human losses suffered by the enemy over the past weeks, these operations in the south, the blood of our fallen martyrs and the sacrifices by the fellow fighters and our honest, noble men who remain in the south or those who are temporarily displaced, they are all sacrificing to this battle, which is worthy of each sacrifice. It is an expression of our solidarity and support to Gaza and the Gazans. By the noble blood of the fallen martyrs, by standing steadfast, we are doing what we can to alleviate and lessen the pressure on them as the enemy is acting insanely - militarily and politically.

Here we come to the most important point.

Let the world know, for weeks, communication, pressures, from day one, that if we start any operation and if we open a front in the south, all these American fleets have come for us; we will be shelled by the US war planes.

This was told to us on October 8th, and in some detail, when some Palestinian resistance fighters infiltrated from Lebanon following the first operation by them - we received a threat that the US war planes will bombard Lebanon. I assure you, many resistance fighters have infiltrated and many will continue to infiltrate. **The threats we receive will not change our position.**

Therefore, we started our operation on that front and the future of this front. **Any escalation and any development of whatever nature hinges on two things, nothing more: the development of events in Gaza,** it is the first factor, the development of events in Gaza. That's why this front will evolve according to the nature of developments in Gaza and what is required.

The second factor that is in play is the conduct and the demeanour of the Zionist enemy towards Lebanon. And here, once again, I warn you not to go further as many civilians have fallen as martyrs. **And this will bring us to the same equation: a civilian for a civilian.**

Again, the demeanour of the enemy against Lebanon will be a factor in play. I am speaking openly, candidly and at the same time, with constructive ambiguity: All scenarios are open! All scenarios are open on our Lebanese southern front!

I reiterate: All scenarios are open! All options are laid out and we can adopt any at any point in time!

We, all together, must be prepared, ready and available to all these scenarios and options to come!

To the Americans, the United States administration, I say, darting your threats at Lebanon and other resistance in the region is pointless. Not the resistance movement or the resistance countries. It has reached a point that the message comes that if we continue to launch operations in the south, they will not only bombard Lebanon, but also bombard Iran. Can you imagine? To the Americans, I say, darting your threats on us in Lebanon will be pointless. Your naval fleets in the Mediterranean cannot and will not cause us to fear.

To you, I openly and candidly say that your fleets which you are using as a threat, we have already prepared what is necessary for them. You, the Americans, remember your defeats in Lebanon, Iraq, Afghanistan and your humiliating withdrawal from Afghanistan. Those who defeated you in Lebanon in the early '80s are still alive, backed and supported by their children and grandchildren.

If the US and Western politicians are calling for steering away from escalation, this cannot be achieved by threats against honest, noble resistance fighters defending the defenceless. The only cause is to end the war on Gaza. **Here it is. Israel, your servant. You, the Americans, are capable of ending the aggression on Gaza because it is you who started it.** If you wish to steer away from a regional war, you must act to end the aggression on Gaza. You, the Americans, are fully aware that if an all-out war breaks out, your fleet will be no good, your aerial war planes will be pointless, you will pay a heavy price with your interests, your fleet and your personnel.

Now, today, the whole world, in the name of the blood spilled, in the name of the defenceless civilians, in the name of churches, mosques and hospitals, in the name of humanity, in the name of human values, virtues, the whole world is required to act, genuinely and swiftly, to end the Israeli aggression on Gaza.

As the horizon is looming to our fellow Palestinian people and resistance fighters, I say, since the creation of the resistance fighter following the creation of the Israeli Zionist regime, we have been fighting a war of fortitude. We haven't reached a knock-out victory. We still need time to be more realistic. We are winning victory by points, not a knock-out victory. This is what happened in 2002 and 2006 in Lebanon, and this is what happened with the Gazans, and similarly resistance fighters in the West Bank, Iraq and Afghanistan. Fortitude; patience; bravery; this is what we have and this is our strength. This is what the enemy lacks. This is what the enemy wants.

Victims crawl from underneath the rubble and say, "We all sacrifice to the service of the cause." **Do you believe that these Israeli people who were collected from the corners of the world diaspora, have you ever heard**

any of them saying that "My blood, my beloved ones and my home can be sacrificed for Israel!"? None.

We should remain steadfast in resolve and fortitude to prevent the enemy from achieving its targets. We should all now work together to end the war and aggression in Gaza. Then we will act for the resistance in Gaza to prevail.

First of all, based on our firm conviction of the divine promise given to us by the almighty, omnipotent Allah, that we will win victory. This is a promise, a divine promise, given by almighty Allah, the omnipotent. No matter what the sacrifice is, yet, we should be deservedly worthy of that. And this is proven by our sacrifices and our blood. And personally speaking and based on my personal experience with his Khamenei who repeated on more than one occasion that we all firmly believe in this divine promise, Gaza will triumph, Palestine will triumph, Palestine will prevail. He himself repeated the same words to us in the July war, when there was no victory looming on the horizon, and to our fellow brothers in Gaza. Despite all the sacrifice to all the Palestinian people, all the resistance peoples of the region, all those whose hearts are shaken by the blood of the children of Gaza, our unity, patience, fortitude and sacrifice we offer in blood to the service of the cause of God will be rewarded by nothing but emphatic victory.

Today as we honour and celebrate the memory of the fallen martyrs, we will meet soon to celebrate the victory of Gaza and the Gazans and the resistance fighters in Gaza.

And may God's peace and blessings be upon you all.

<https://www.sott.net/article/485683-Hezbollah-Secretary-General-Hassan-Nasrallahs-Speech-on-War-in-Palestine-Full-Transcript>

23.NASRALLAH ON 'ISRAEL'

APRIL 2024

This is just a short quote from Nasrallah, but I quote it a lot so thought I'd include it here. This is from an April 8, 2024 speech that was aired on Spot Shot Online (Lebanon).



THE RECENT CALL FROM BIDEN [TO NETANYAHU] PROVES EVERYTHING I SAID before. If the Americans want to stop something, they can make it stop. The claim that the Americans cannot force Israel to do something is nonsense.

According to some theories, Israel controls America. No sir. It is America that controls Israel. The story about the Jewish and Zionist lobby is – forgive me for saying this – a joke invented by the Arabs so that they do not have to fight Israel. They do this so that they can go to America, deposit their money there, and establish relations with America, under the pretext that they are establishing an Arab lobby. After 75 years, we can see what came out of the Arab lobby. The Arab money is piling up in the American coffers, but that's it.

PART V

YEMEN

Ansarallah is not the Houthis, they are led by Sayyed Al-Houthi, but they call themselves Ansarallah. America likes to make fun of names like a schoolyard bully but this isn't high school.

Ansarallah has defeated the US Fleet in the Red Sea. It's a historic defeat, marking the end of the US as a Naval Empire.

Ansarallah is led by Sayyed Abdulmalik Badr El-Din Al-Houthi, who we'll hear from here.

Ansarallah govern the free part of Yemen and are a naval superpower without a Navy. They defeated the US fleet in the Red Sea, which marks the end of America as a Naval Empire.

24.AL-HOUTH

SAYYED ABDULMALIK BADR EL-DIN
AL-HOUTH

21 December 2023

For 75 years, the zionist Jewish "Israeli" enemy has continued its aggression against the Palestinian people in the Gaza Strip, committing the most heinous crimes.

The enemy army has made Gaza's hospitals primary targets, openly announcing ground operations against Al-Shifa Hospital and others in an unprecedented behavior. Countries at war usually declare strategic and military bases as their targets, but the "Israeli" enemy shamelessly declares hospitals as its targets.

The zionist enemy targets the Palestinian people with all means of extermination, including killing by all brutal methods, starvation, siege, and denying food and medicine.

The "Israeli" enemy targeted everyone in Gaza's hospitals, including patients, wounded, and medical staff, presenting this as a military achievement to boast about. The "Israeli" enemy continues its brutality, and when it fails in a ground battle, it resorts to random bombing of civilians in the Gaza Strip.

The Jewish zionists are a mass of intense hatred, hostility, and criminality, completely devoid of any human feeling and all human emotions. The

Americans are partners with the zionists in all their crimes from the very beginning, having sent their military experts for management and planning and supplied them with thousands of destructive bombs.

The Americans provided the zionists with internationally banned weapons, provided them with material support to finance military operations, and sent surveillance planes to contribute information.

Along with all forms of military and financial support, the Americans have provided political support to the enemy entity and protection in the regional surroundings of Palestine, and have threatened all countries in the region against any cooperation with the Palestinian people, intending to ensure the zionists have sufficient conditions to commit massacres in Gaza without any objections.

When we see the tragic scenes of thousands of children and women killed by American bombs and the severe hunger, we must remember the American contribution to all of this. America is another arm of global Jewish zionism, which the American president has boasted about and declared his affiliation, and he acts from that standpoint.

The American has transformed its bases in the region to support the zionist enemy, and all its weapon stores, even those in Arab countries, are used to support the "Israeli".

Every resolution under the guise of a ceasefire at the United Nations is opposed by the American, who insists on continuing the killing and crimes in Gaza yet presents himself as the peacemaker in the Middle East.

The British movement, which took the lead in establishing the zionist entity from the beginning, continues today to support the zionist enemy.

We also see in the support of the zionists the involvement of some European countries, including France, Italy, and Germany, each with a dark history and a horrendous criminal record. These are countries known for their moral bankruptcy, having erased ethics and values from their political dictionary.

When the zionist lobby moves Western regimes, it makes them even

renounce liberal values, so they act as if they are insane, devoid of any human values, as a product of jungle policies.

The responsibility is great in the Islamic world, and the responsibility is on all Muslims today, considering Palestine as a part of them, both geographically and in terms of people.

Sometimes in Arab countries, ugly voices emerge to blame the Palestinian people and their fighters, and speak ill of any position that supports them. The Arab countries did not only shirk the responsibility to support the Palestinian people, but they also gloat over their misfortune and their fighters, insult them, and distort any support for them.

We do not expect America and European countries to play any positive role for the benefit of the Palestinian people, as they are always in a position of injustice, tyranny, arrogance, and looting of peoples.

25.SHIP SHIP

MUSTAFA AL-MUMARI

This was the song of the summer in 2023, YouTuber Mustafa Al-Mumari singing about Yemen's victory in the Red Sea. He also seems to have been arrested by Ansarallah earlier that year, but I guess he was released, no idea what's going on there.

This is best watched as intended, as a video, but here's the text.

Our ship has been bombarded!

[Sea Mujahideen]

Ship, ship,

By God, no ship shall sail,

Your camouflage is revealed,

Either submit and be stopped,

Or we'll destroy the damn engine.

And we will besiege

the sons of the cursed ones,

Biden and Benjamin,

They will taste bitterness

[Zionist Choir]

Ship, ship,

*Yemenis have bombarded the ship,
Cape of Good Hope is within his reach,
They have besieged the Indian Ocean,
And the Red Sea?
Ambushed
And the Mediterranean?
Is in their hands
And the Black Sea?
They are coming for it tomorrow
Where do we cross from? Where?
From where, oh Benjamin
Where do we cross from, where?
We are in trouble, besieged...
Nowhere to cross*

[Benjamin]

*Oh Biden, hello
Bring two fleets
Where the hell is the West?*

[Zionist Choir]

*Where is America, Britain,
Denmark, France, Germany,
I'm busy geocoding and can't stop for a second,*

[Benjamin]

*Bring the Western NATO,
Stand by my side, side by side,
Overwhelmed already,
I can't afford dealing with Yemenis
And Gazans are giving us heart attacks...
[has heart attack]
My heart,
My heart, my heart, my heart,
My heart,
My heart, my heart, my heart,*

[Biden]
Don't lie, you hypocrite,
Your Mossad is exposed in its foolishness,

[Rishi]
We brought a frigate for your sake,
And the Yemeni forces hit their target,

[Biden]
They shelled it,
They bombarded it,

[Zionist Chorus]
They hit it,
They hit damn well

[Rishi]
Where do we flee to?
We tried right, we tried left,
and they still managed to hit us,

[Biden]
Tr-tr-tr-trillions (we spend a trillion dollars)
To stop a missile only worth two thousand dollars
Oh what a waste, every strike

[Rishi]
And our economy's started to collapse

[Chorus]
I and you...
Are you awake?
Or have you gone mad?
I and you were together... war criminals.
And so we are still war criminals,
And so we are still war criminals.

[Western Chorus]

*We used to be intoxicated by your wine,
So your army is our army, ours is yours,
And whoever causes us suffering at sea,
In Gaza they will do you the same*

[Benjamin]

*Where's the failing alliance,
Where's the war fleet?
Where are the rulers of the dance floor?
No no no, my heart, oh my heart
My heart,
My heart, my heart, my heart*

[Sea Mujahideen]

***Ship, ship,
No ship shall pass.
We will ruin everything for you,
We are defeating your alliance,
No dog may stand high
And if you insist, you shall be broken
With those who assist them
We shall eradicate them.***

[Benjamin]

*Ship, ship,
The Yemeni has not spared a ship,
Those who try to slip away,
Will have no escape.
And take hostage those who come close,
They will strike our fleets,
They even impose their siege on us,
Where to go? Where to run?
Where to? Where to?
*[Explodes]**

PART VI

THE AYATOLLAH ALI
KHAMENEI

This section includes two speeches from the Ayatollah Ali Khamenei. The first is from a series of a sermon he gave in 1974—before the Islamic Revolution—and the second is from a speech he gave eulogizing Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah.

The book of sermons *Islamic Belief: Reclaiming The Narrative* was hard to find and I could only find it in print. I have OCR'd the text so please forgive any typos, which are mine. The other speech is from his website, english.khamenei.ir, if you ever want to read from the scary Iranians yourself.

26.FAITH AND SELECTIVE DUTY

MONDAY 6TH RAMADAN 1394 23RD
SEPTEMBER 1974

All the response of the faithful, when they are summoned to God and His Apostle that He may judge between them, is to say, "We hear and obey." It is they who are the felicitous. Whoever obeys God and His Apostle, and fears God and is wary of Him it is they who will be the triumphant.

— SURAT AL-NUR (24):51-52

This is another very important issue in the discussion of faith. Namely, the moral duties of the believer do not only apply sometimes or whenever he feels like it. It is not the case that if someone calls himself a believer, even though he violates his moral code whenever it is convenient or beneficial for him, then he is a believer. Just because someone calls themselves a believer and makes a show of piety that he is such. That he has combined faith and action as he claims. It is only when faith and piety are of more benefit to him than transgression and sin that he returns to the names of Islam, faith, and morality. Here, we are going to discuss this quality that the Qur'an discusses in various contexts and which we ascribe to people who are self-serving. We said that self-serving people are like this. But all people in this world are self-serving-after all,

who goes out in search of loss? When we call someone self-serving, however, what we mean are those who are ready to sacrifice worldly benefits for their own personal interest; they transgress in serving themselves.

Their behaviour is like this: They believe and act piously to the extent that they desire and to the extent that is beneficial to them. They call themselves believers and make a show of morality and piety in the pursuit of personal benefit. From the point of view of Islam, these kinds of individuals are not believers. The Qur'an explicitly states that these people have no faith. Therefore, when we are discussing faith, which is one of the most fundamental topics in understanding Islamic thought, we draw the conclusion that if faith is not accompanied by a sense of duty and moral responsibility, if someone who claims to be a believer does not follow through by fulfilling these moral duties—or 'doing righteous deeds'—in the Qur'anic parlance, this is not genuine faith and such hollow and empty faith will have no effect. In addition to this, we must also see that the kind of moral duty we are discussing is permanent and unceasing.

Someone who is a believer and wishes to remain so in order to enjoy the fruits of his faith, must bear a sense of duty towards all of God's laws and must feel morally responsible at all times and places. Someone who believes that believing in God and believing in the Prophet give rise to moral duties will see that these moral duties are permanent and unceasing. One must always strive to be a servant of God. Each of us must do his utmost to serve God. Believing in the Prophet and announcing that you affirm him as God's messenger means that you now have a duty to follow the Prophet and adopt his path. If I affirm his prophethood like this and accept this moral duty, it means nothing if when something small happens and there is an opportunity to go against the way of the Prophet, I grit my teeth and clench my fists and stay strong, and make a show of being a good Muslim, but as soon as something serious happens, something more painful, I turn around and forget my moral conviction—as the Arabic proverb reads: '**A lion amongst friends and an ostrich amongst enemies**'. So, on little issues, you are a lion but when it comes to serious ones, you are an ostrich. All your courage is gone! This proverb means that when it comes to your own, you are a lion, but when you are facing enemies with

swords, you become an ostrich. How does an ostrich fight? Does it have claws and teeth?

Moral duties are not just for religious seasons. They are not for sometimes. They do not apply one day but not another. They do not apply to one person but not another. Duties are perpetual, universal and eternal. The Qur'an rebukes the Israelites for saying on one occasion 'our brethren must be protected' but on another, when it suited their personal interests, making war on these same brothers, killing them, taking them prisoner, enslaving them, selling them and looting their property, The Qur'an says: 'What! Do you believe in part of the Book and defy another part?' Do you believe in part of the religion? Are you faithful and moral when it is easy and convenient, and then at other times you are faithless? Is this even possible? Can you really separate one command from another and one duty from another, even when these are both from the same source and the same Lord?

There is a well-known tradition from Imam al-Baqir (a) which appears at the beginning of the chapter on 'Enjoining the Good and Forbidding the Evil' in *al-Kafi*, one of our most important works of *hadith*. There is also *al-Wafi* by Fayd Kashani, which combines traditions from our major collections of *hadith* and I believe the aforementioned tradition also appears at the beginning of its chapter on this topic. This tradition says that, as we have mentioned, there are people who pray and fast so long as it's easy and doesn't cost them anything, but who avoid the duty of enjoining good and forbidding evil because it is difficult and liable to cause them hardship or bring them harm. The Imam does not say these people are not believers or that they do not have faith. He does not say they are sinners or hypocrites. However, the Qur'an is clear about this: Those who are after their own interests do not really want the religion in its totality. They are not believers.

These are the people who, when they are in the right on an issue, go to the Prophet to seek his judgement, but when they are in the wrong and they know that the Prophet will rule against them in his judgement, they do not go to him. The Qur'an asks: Are they afraid? Are they in doubt? Have they some misgivings about the truth of this religion? 'Or do they have doubts

or fear that God and His Apostle will be unjust to them?’ This is close to disbelief. Do they fear that God and His Messenger would mistreat them? In all issues, in all disputes, in all the ups and downs of daily life, a believing person is moral. They are not only moral when it suits them to be.

As everyone knows, when Mu’awiyah ibn Abu Sufyan needed to, he brought pages of the Qur’an and had them raised on spears. When it suited him, he would talk about the Qur’an, prayer and the religion. When he wanted to win over someone who was on Ali’s side, he would even mention the virtues of the Commander of the Faithful. He would even shed crocodile tears as he recited these. You have heard this story countless times: Mu’awiyah was sitting. Abd Allah ibn Abbas was sitting. Others were sitting also. He asks someone: ‘O so-and-so, what do you know of Ali’s merits?’ They would ask: ‘Do you promise me safety?’ He says: ‘Yes, you are safe.’ Then he began to praise Ali and, as he did, Mu’awiyah would begin to shed tears. When he needed to, he would speak of his love for Ali. When he needed to, he would portray himself as a devoted servant of God. When he was forced to in order to govern the masses of Muslims, he would respect their feelings, he would not want to offend their sentiments. He would speak of things that people cherish, i.e. the Qur’an and Islam.

These are all in circumstances when the religion was of benefit to him, when he could use it for personal gain and ambition. But **when it was not profitable for him to observe the teachings of the religion, it was as though he had never heard of it!** When we speak of justice, of observing fairness in society, of protecting the oppressed and dispossessed, of treating both friends and strangers equally—these are all religious teachings, these are all teachings of Islam—of raising the level of people’s thinking, which was the goal of divine prophethood... when religion meant observing these things, Mu’awiyah didn’t know anything about the religion. He felt no sense of duty towards the moral content of the faith. I’m using Mu’awiyah here as an example so that you and I can look at ourselves in this regard. So we can use him as a benchmark. Let us take someone as an example who everyone agrees was wicked.

What I want to say is that if we accept to follow one part of the religion while refusing to follow another but all the while still call ourselves believers... if this is how we see things... then we should recognise Mu'awiyah as the foremost of the believers, because this is exactly how Mu'awiyah was. He made a big show of piety when it came to one part of the religion. I have said, time and again, that Mu'awiyah not only prayed, but he prayed in congregation, at the beginning of the time, that he led the congregations. The merit of the leader of a congregational prayer is higher than that of those who follow him. The reward God keeps in store for the one who leads the prayers is greater than the reward He keeps in store for those who follow in the congregation, according to the traditions we have. And Mu'awiyah would lead prayers!

So, this is a very pleasant sort of religion. It is enjoyable. It is good. It is harmless. It wins people's sympathy. It wins their affection. It gets their attention. This is all very good. But what about the religion that says its Prophet was sent to educate and raise up mankind? 'God certainly favoured the faithful when He raised up among them an apostle from among themselves to recite to them His signs and to purify them, and to teach them the Book and wisdom.' The Prophet was sent to mankind to teach them, to raise them up, to increase their insight and wisdom. **Whatever opposes the human intellect, religion opposes it.** Whatever stands against people's vision, thinking and comprehension, religion stands against it. Anything which, in any way, shape or form, impairs the human ability to comprehend, to see, to think... religion will not leave it standing.

This is the true religion. The religion which they call 'the opiate of the masses' is something else entirely. We find no trace of that religion in the Qur'an. We find no trace of that religion in the practice of our Prophet or of our Imams. Islam fights against ignorance. Islam fights against that kind of religion. **The Commander of the Faithful, our Imam, says that God sent the prophets to unearth the buried treasures of the human intellects.** So whatever buries the wisdom latent in each human being, whatever tries to extinguish the light of thought in the human mind, whatever tries to smother these in prejudice and falsehood, or anything else that tries to keep them hidden... anything which does this is the polar opposite

of the *raison d'être* of prophethood. It does not matter what it is or at what time it is.

Prophethood works with human thought and intelligence. The more refined this intelligence, the more receptive it is to prophethood. Prophethood strives to raise the level of people's thinking. Anyone, anything, any force, any cause, whether within the human being himself or beyond the human being, which tries to hold the human intellect back from growth and development, that tries to prevent it from reaching its potential, that tries to restrain people from understanding things through the light of their own thought and insight, to prevent them from finding the right path, anything that obstructs them in this way, that opposes the intellect in this way, is utterly opposed to the religion of Islam as well. This is how Mu'awiyah was. He wanted to stifle people's ability to think. Mu'awiyah fundamentally did not understand what Islam was. **When Islam told him to make sure no one was hungry, to break down class divisions within society, to do away with discrimination, to not appoint heartless tyrants to rule over people, not to select the most criminal of people to be your advisors and friends, not to drive people towards Hell and towards divine punishment...when religion told him not to oppress people, to let them think for themselves, Mu'awiyah was far from this religion.**

Mu'awiyah told ibn Abbas. 'ibn Abbas, do not recite the Qur'an!' He replied: 'How can I not recite the Qur'an?' Mu'awiyah said: 'OK. Recite it. But do not explain it!' He exclaimed: 'How can I recite it without explaining it, Mu'awiyah? What are you talking about?' Mu'awiyah saw that this wouldn't work, so he tried again: 'Ok, explain it. But the explanation you have from your own family, the explanation you have received from Ali, don't tell that to people.' He didn't want people to understand the Qur'an. He didn't want people to understand anything whatsoever. The less people knew, the better it was for Mu'awiyah!

Therefore, when we assess Mu'awiyah's actions, more than the wrongdoing, more than the killing, look closer! More than burying people alive, more than imprisoning people, more than executing the likes of Hujr ibn Adi and Rushayd al-Hajari, more than his brutal treatment of likes of

Maytham al-Tammar, which everyone knows about, which anyone can see... look closer! There is a crime that Mu'awiyah committed that only someone with insight will understand. Mu'awiyah's crime is towards this new religion, this Islamic society that was only some twenty years old, this trust that had fallen into his hands, not more than twenty years old... he set it back two hundred years. In what way did he set it back? Did he make them poor? No. If only his crime was making them poor! Did he lose their territories? No. Did he divide up their lands? No. Did some of them die pointlessly? If only! No, the way in which he set them back was in their thinking. In their morals. This is a crime for which he can never be forgiven. This is a sin whose consequences could not be fixed even with two decades of good governance. Some two to three decades after Mu'awiyah's reign there came Umar ibn Abd al-Aziz, who is known as the one just ruler of the Umayyad clan. But he couldn't do anything. He could not make up for Mu'awiyah's crimes. He could not set right Mu'awiyah's wrongs. He barely lasted two years in government before they poisoned him and killed him. Mu'awiyah made it so that there was only corruption and nothing else would be accepted.

People who are ignorant and uninformed, who do not pay close attention or ponder on issues, listened to what Mu'awiyah's propagandists were saying and they believed them. There are so many accounts of the ignorance of the people of Syria under the rule of the Umayyad clan. Some of these can be quite amusing and I've mentioned them on numerous occasions in discussions, lectures and lessons on tafsir. It seems fitting to mention one here for a touch of humour:

Look what can happen to a community. During the time of the Umayyad caliph, Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan, Makkah was recaptured by the ruthless and powerful Umayyad general, Hajjaj ibn Yusuf. He was someone strongly opposed to anything remotely Shi'a. However, in those days, Makkah had not been in the hands of Shi'a. It had been under the rule of Abd Allah ibn al-Zubayr. Now Ibn al-Zubayr was a little better than Hajjaj in his conduct and he did not last long. Hajjaj put an end to him, taking back control of Makkah for the Umayyad clan. He also took control of Mount Abu Qubays. Mount Abu Qubays, of course, is one of the mountains that surround Makkah and is just on the city's outskirts. He sent a

letter to Damascus, to the Caliph, Abd al-Malik, which said: 'Praise God, we have conquered Abu Qubays'—meaning Mount Abu Qubays. The Caliph gave the order that this letter should be proclaimed from the pulpits of Damascus. So, everyone gathered in the mosque on a Friday. The preacher took the letter and said: 'Praise God, the Caliph's general, Hajjaj, has conquered Abu Qubays.' All of a sudden, everyone was clamouring loudly. They said: 'No, we don't accept this. We don't believe you. He must send this heretic called Abu Qubays in chains to Damascus. Then we'll believe you!' They thought Abu Qubays was the name of a Shi'a leader in Makkah—they didn't realise it was the name of the mountain! This shows you how uninformed these people were. And there are many other stories like this.

Who did this? Who is responsible for keeping the people ignorant? Perhaps we should blame the judge, Shurayh ibn al-Harith? Perhaps it is the fault of Muhammad ibn Shihab al-Zuhri? Or maybe responsibility lies with Qadi Abu Yusuf? So, which is it? Is it Shurayh's fault? Al-Zuhri's? Abu Yusuf's? Or is someone else to blame? Yes, what they did was wrong, as we can see from Imam Zayn al-Abidin's letter to al-Zuhri, but who made these people? Who paid for them? The axis around which gathered the scholars who went against the religion and against the Qur'an—who was that? Was it anyone other than Mu'awiyah? Therefore, the ultimate responsibility for these crimes must rest with Mu'awiyah, with Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan, with all the tyrants of the Umayyad and Abbasid clans and others. And these tyrants would speak of the Qur'an and the religion even while they were carrying out these crimes!

What is our responsibility here? Have you thought about that? When we are faced with someone like Mu'awiyah, someone like Shurayh, someone like Mughirah, someone like Zayd ibn Amr? It doesn't matter on which level you are. When it comes to a person such as this, how should we judge them? In some places they accept religion, faith, and morality, while at others there is no trace of any religion, faith or morality in their lives! What should we say of such a person? Do we consider them a believer? The Qur'an clearly says that such a person is not a believer. Therefore, the kind of faith that is recognised in the framework of Islamic thought cannot be the faith of these kind of people—of which there are many like

them in today's world! On the contrary, the kind of faith that Islam values is the faith that is preserved in every place, with every person, at every time, in every way, through a sense of moral duty and through doing what is right—*'Surely those who believe and do righteous deeds.'*

Therefore, the kinds of promises given for faith and given to the faithful are referring to this kind of faith—the kind that is backed up by right action. If we are told the believers will be victorious, it means those kinds of believers will be surely victorious! If we are told that the hand of God is with the believers, it means it is with those believers. If we are told that nature itself will help the faithful, it is those kinds of believers, not 'believers' like me and you! Therefore, the least we can take away from this discussion is that if we think we have faith, but our faith does not have the effects or the consequences faith is supposed to have, the promises that God makes to the faithful in the Qur'an, we should not be surprised, because now we know that the kind of faith to which these promises are given is not the faith we have.

Now, let us look at the following verses: 'Certainly We have sent down manifest signs.' These verses of the Qur'an are clear. Those people who do not allow themselves to understand the Qur'an this deny themselves this clarity—'and God guides whomever He wishes to a straight path.'

What does it mean to say God 'wishes' here? Does it mean he wishes for this person to be guided, but does not wish for that person to be guided? He singles some people out and decides that these will be guided and ignores some others? This is not the case! When we speak about God willing something (*iradah*) or wishing something (*mashiyyah*), in normal circumstances this takes the form of the system of cause and effect that governs the cosmos. If you chose this; if you listened to guidance were guided, then this means God wanted to guide you. Equally, if you are lazy, if you can't be bothered, if you close the way to yourself, God willed for you not to understand. When we say God willed something or did not will something, we only mean that the causes necessary for a thing to transpire were either present or they were not. If the causes and means were there for you to do something you wanted to do, then God wanted you to do it, if you did not want to do it, then clearly God didn't want it. This does not

mean that God didn't will it and His not willing it caused you not to will it, no. You are free to choose. When God doesn't will something, it simply means that the necessary cause for it isn't there.

Now, why don't we just say, 'the necessary cause was lacking' instead of 'God did not will it'? Because God is the cause behind all causes and the one who makes them causes. If I put my hand into a fire and my hand gets burnt, God willed that my hand be burnt. If I don't put my hand into a fire, God willed that it not be burnt! What does it mean when I say, 'God willed that my hand be burnt'? It means that the natural causes for my hand to be burnt were fulfilled. What are these? There is a fire. There is no barrier. I made a decision. I put my hand into the flame. And when we say, 'God willed that my hand not be burnt', this means the natural causes for my hand to be burnt were not fulfilled. Either my hand didn't go near the fire, or there was some barrier preventing it from being burnt, or maybe the fire wasn't very hot, and so on. Now, Why do we attribute to God that which depends upon a cause to transpire? Because God is the creator of the causes! Therefore, when the Qur'an says 'whomever He wishes', it is in this sense. We have discussed this more fully elsewhere, so I will content myself with this brief explanation here.

"They say, "we have faith in God and His Apostle, and we obey." This is what they claim. It is easy to make this claim! But 'after that a part of them them refuse to comply'—after making this claim, a group of them turn back. This is not talking about the disbelievers. This is not talking about the apostates, who leave the bounds of Islam altogether. No, this is talking about the so-called believers in Muslim society. What does the Qur'an say about them? 'And they are not believers.' The issue becomes even clearer when the Qur'an says: 'When they are summoned to God and His Apostle that He may judge between them, behold, a part of them turn aside.' They are not ready to go and hear the judgement of God's Messenger. The apparent meaning of the verse is about judgement or arbitration. When we see the verb *hukumah* used in the Qur'an, it is usually—though not always—about judgement. However, while the immediate context of the verse concerns judgement, its meaning is broader than this. This is not just about those who turn away from the Prophet's judgement, it also includes those who do not obey the Prophet's commands in situations other than

judgement. 'When they are summoned to God and His Apostle that He may judge between them, behold, a part of them turn aside. *But if justice be on their side, they come compliantly to him.*' If they are in the right, they come to the Prophet and obey him. Whenever it benefits them to hear his judgement, they submit to the religion. However, when it seems like his judgement will go against them, they don't accept it.

Now the Qur'an asks them: Why is it that when religion doesn't benefit you, you reject it? There are three possibilities: 'Is there a sickness in hearts?' Do they suffer from the sickness of hypocrisy? Of avarice and greed? Of ignorance and delusion? Is this why they won't accept the judgement of the Messenger? Or is it something worse? 'Or do they have doubts...?' Do they fundamentally doubt the religion? If you don't doubt the religion, if you don't have any misgivings about the religion, if you aren't hesitant about the religion, why is it that when it doesn't benefit you, or if it causes you some difficulty, you reject it by rejecting the judgement of God's Messenger? Or is it something more severe still—'or fear that God and His Apostle will be unjust to them?' This is worse than doubt, because it is utter disbelief. Could a person be so ignorant and ill-informed that they think it possible that God and His Messenger might oppress people? Someone who has this fear thinks that God or the Prophet might wrong him! Clearly such a person has no clue about God or His Messenger! 'Rather it is they who are the wrongdoers', God does not wrong anyone. In truth, it is they who wrong themselves and wrong others. If there is a degree worse than this, they wrong themselves, the truth, and other people. If there is still a further degree worse than this, they wrong humanity as a whole. These are the real wrongdoers!

'All the response of faithful'. What about the believers? How do they respond? The believers are not like those mentioned above. Look at how the Qur'an speaks. The Qur'an has a special language, a special style of dialogue. According to the terminology of the Qur'an, the believer is someone who behaves like this: 'All the response of the faithful, when they are summoned to God and His Apostle that He may judge between them, is to say, "We hear and obey."' As I've mentioned already, the phrase 'to hear' means 'to understand'; not merely to receive something with the ear, but to have grasped. The term 'hearing' (*sam*)—as in, 'or gives ear, being

attentive’—appears frequently in the Qur'an in the sense of ‘understanding’ rather than passively listening with one's ears. So the faithful say: ‘We understand.’ In other words, they consciously and knowingly become believers. As we have said in a previous lecture, faith must be founded on the basis of understanding!

‘We hear and obey’—so as well as consciously believing, we also willingly obey. ‘It is they who are the successful ones (*muflihun*).’ It is they who will reach their destination. *Falah* means success, victory and reaching one's goal or destination. Some lexicons also give it the meaning of felicity or salvation. However, when the word *falah* is used for the faithful, it is in its usual linguistic sense of ‘success.’ ‘It is they who are the successful ones.’ They will reach their goal. And ‘Whoever obeys God and His Apostle, and fears God and is wary of Him—it is they who will be the triumphant ones (*fa'izun*).’ Triumph (*fawz*) is similar in meaning to success (*falah*).

The next two verses of *Surat al-Nur* are not directly related to our discussion, so I would like to move onto the following verse: ‘God has promised those of you who have faith’. This is God's promise for the faithful and those who fulfil their moral duties. Pay close attention. God makes his promise clear in this verse: We have promised the faithful that they shall have dominion over the earth—your ideas, beliefs and thought will cover the world—and the fear and anxiety you feel in your hearts will be replaced by security and peace. If you have been persecuted and oppressed throughout history and then you attain a state of safety, respite and security, you will want to worship God and put aside any partners to God. This is God's promise in this verse. Although God gave this promise to the Muslims, it is specifically addressed to the believers who fulfil their moral duties.

Some become very doubtful, their vision becomes very narrow, they say that this is only for the time of the Mandi (aj). I don't doubt that this verse will be fully realised at the time of Twelfth Imam—there is no doubt about this! However, where is it written that this verse only applies to that time? Tell me, where? Which narration says that this verse is only about that time? Why do we limit this verse? Did God not fulfil this promise to the faithful at the very advent of Islam? It was this very verse that God

fulfilled! They came to Madinah and formed a government. Whereas before they dare not openly say “here is no god but God’ out of fear of the Quraysh, now Bilal went up and loudly recited the call to prayer. Those, who before had been forced to worship three hundred idols, to worship people, to worship their own selves and desires, night and day without respite... these were all set up as rivals to God. They came to a land where they found safety and security, in which they could create an Islamic society without fear of persecution. In which there were no rivals to God, whether great or small, living or dead, from themselves or from others. So this verse was already fulfilled in Madinah and it can be fulfilled a thousand times more! What is the condition for this? It's condition is that the first sentences of the verse must be fulfilled in order that God's promise be fulfilled: **‘God has promised those of you who have faith and do righteous deeds’—in other words, those who act upon the moral duties that emanate from their faith.** God has promised these ‘that He will surely make them successors in the earth.’

Some translators of Qur'an erroneously render ‘in the earth’ (*fi al-ard*) as ‘in this land.’ This is not correct. ‘This land’ would mean the Arabian Peninsula—was it so unlikely that they would gain dominance over Arabia? They conquered an area forty or fifty times the size of Arabia! ‘In the earth’ means all of the earth. This is not to say that the translator had any ill intention in translating it this way, but it makes a big difference to the meaning! If we say it means ‘this land’ then the promise God is giving to the faithful who do righteous deeds is that they only conquer Hejaz and the Arabian Peninsula, not Rome, not Persia, and not Spain!

In any case ‘He will surely make them successors in the earth, just as He made those who were before them successors.’ **Sometimes we imagine that, from the beginning of the time and wherever they were, the faithful were always Oppressed. This is how many Muslims see the world today: They think having faith means to take a beating! To be a Muslim, to be a believer, to be striving in the way of God, means suffering, means persecution, means oppression.** The Qur'an wants to say the opposite is true—that from the moment religion came into being it was always moving forwards, it was always advancing, it was never going backwards. According to our beliefs, religion has never taken a single step

backwards. Even the things that some people think are signs of 'backwardness' are actually steps towards progress. In any case, the earth is yours to govern just as it was that of those before you—the faithful of previous generations. 'And He will surely establish for them their religion which He has approved for them'—the religion which is right for them and which He has made for them, meaning the religion of Islam which encompasses both this world and the Hereafter, the present and the future, the body and the soul and, in short, all aspects of human existence—it meets all human needs. 'And that He will surely change their state to security after their fear'—to what end? What are they supposed to do under the auspices of this security? Are they supposed to sit in its shade and sip their afternoon tea in the garden? Is this what security is for? So they can live carefree lives of ease and indolence? No. This security is there so that they can journey towards the human being's ultimate abode, towards perfection. So that they can serve God, obey Him, submit themselves to Him and, in doing so, grow and develop as human beings. We could have a discussion about the meaning of each and every word of these verses.. 'while they worship me, not ascribing any partners to Me.' However, at the end of this verse, God reminds them that if, after they have believed, they associate partners with God, they are sinful (*fasiq*). A sinner is someone who goes out of the religion.

Our Lord! Make our hearts sincere in all we say and do and let us do it purely for your sake!

Our Lord! By Muhammad and the Family of Muhammad, grant us the sustenance of a monotheistic life!

Our Lord! By Muhammad and the Family of Muhammad, cleanse our hearts of associating partners with you!

Our Lord! By Muhammad and the Family of Muhammad, do not withhold your grace from us. Free the Muslims from delusion, illness, ill-fortune and disorder.

And the enemies of the Muslims—our Lord!—make them busy with themselves.

27.ZIONIST REGIME SET BACK 70 YEARS

Imam Khamenei, the Leader of the Islamic Revolution, led the Friday Prayer on Oct. 4, 2024, in the Imam Khomeini (ra) Musalla, following the martyrdom of the Mujahid on the path of God, Martyr Sayyid Hassan Nasrallah, and on the eve of the first anniversary of the epic Operation Al-Aqsa Flood. The following is the full text of Imam Khamenei's sermons in Tehran's Friday Prayer.

The first sermon

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

All praise is due to God, Lord of the Worlds; and may peace and greetings be upon our Master and our Prophet, Abul-Qasim al-Mustafa Muhammad; and upon his untainted, pure, chosen Progeny, particularly the Remnant of God on earth. O God, verily I praise You, seek Your help, ask for Your forgiveness, and put my trust in You. And may peace be upon the Imams of the Muslims, the protectors of the oppressed, and the guides of the believers. God, the Exalted, has stated, "But the faithful, men and women, are comrades of one another. They bid what is right and forbid what is wrong, maintain the prayer, give zakat, and obey Allah and His Messenger. It is they to whom Allah will soon grant His mercy. Indeed, Allah is Almighty, All-Wise" (Quran 9:71).

I invite and encourage all my dear brothers and sisters, including myself, to observe piety with respect to God. Let us be cautious in our words and actions, making sure we don't overstep the boundaries set by God. This is the meaning of piety.

In the verse that I recited, the important issue of the unity of the believers is raised. In Quranic terminology, this unity and solidarity is referred to as "Wilayah" [Guardianship], the Wilayah between believers. This concept is mentioned in several verses of the Quran. This specific verse describes God's mercy as the result of this Wilayah and solidarity, "It is they to whom Allah will soon grant His mercy." This means that if you Muslims maintain your bonds, relations, cooperation, and empathy with one another, God's mercy will be bestowed upon you.

The Quran then states, "Indeed, Allah is Almighty, All-Wise." The noble verse ends by referring to God's might and wisdom. Perhaps the reason for this is that God's mercy in this context is consistent with His greatness and wisdom. This is because God's mercy includes all kinds of virtues that He imparts to His servants. All the blessings, favors, and everything that takes place in life is a manifestation of God's mercy. But in this noble verse, this mercy is in accordance with His "might" and "wisdom."

Divine might means the Lord's power prevails over all of existence. Divine wisdom refers to the consistency and stability of all the laws of creation. Perhaps this verse is trying to draw attention to the fact that if Muslims unite and stand together, they will have the support of God's might and wisdom. They will be able to benefit from the Lord's infinite power and make use of God's traditions and divine laws.

So, what is Wilayah? It is the unity and solidarity between Muslims. This is the policy introduced by the Quran for Muslims. The Quran's policy for Muslims is that Muslim nations and groups should stand in solidarity with each other. It essentially promises that if you, Muslim nations, maintain this solidarity among yourselves, God's might will support you. In other words, you will overcome all obstacles and triumph over all enemies. You will be supported by divine wisdom. All the laws of creation will work in your favor for your advancement. This is the logic and policy seen in the Quran.

The opposite of this policy is the policy of Islam's enemies – the world's aggressors and Arrogant Powers. Their policy is to divide and rule. What they do is based on creating division. They have implemented this policy of creating division in Islamic countries using various tricks. And they haven't stopped doing this until today. They cause the hearts of Islamic nations to become bitter toward one another. However, nations are awake today. I say that today is the day when the Islamic Ummah is capable of overcoming the tricks of the enemies of Islam and Muslims.

The enemy of the Iranian nation is that same enemy of the Palestinian nation. It is the same enemy of the Lebanese nation. That same government is the enemy of the Iraqi nation. It is the enemy of the Egyptian nation. It is the enemy of the Syrian nation. It is the enemy of the Yemeni nation. The enemy is one and the same. The enemy's methods vary in different countries. They use psychological warfare in some places and economic pressure in others. In some places, they use two-ton bombs and weapons. But in other places, our enemies pursue their policies with smiles. Nonetheless, the command center is one place. They receive orders from one place. They receive the order to attack Muslim communities and nations. If this policy succeeds in one country, meaning if they manage to dominate one country, they proceed to target the next nation once they are assured of their control over the previous country. Nations mustn't allow this to happen.

If a nation wants to avoid a crippling siege by the enemy, it must open its eyes from the very outset and be vigilant. When it sees the enemy going toward another nation, it should consider itself to be an ally of that innocent nation that is being oppressed. It should help them and cooperate with them so that the enemy doesn't succeed there. If the enemy succeeds in that place, it will move on to the next target. We Muslims have been negligent with regard to this reality for many years and have witnessed the repercussions resulting from this. Today, we must no longer be negligent. We need to remain vigilant. We must fortify our defenses and firmly protect our independence and dignity – from Afghanistan to Yemen, from Iran to Gaza and Lebanon, in all Islamic countries and nations. This is the first topic I wanted to discuss today.

Today, I will be mostly addressing our Lebanese and Palestinian brothers who are faced with problems. I will address these issues in the next sermon. The second point I wanted to share now with you is that the Islamic rulings on defense have made our duty clear. Both Islam's laws on defense, our own constitution, and international laws – laws that we didn't help to draft. But even those laws affirm this undeniable fact that every nation has the right to defend its land, home, country, and interests against aggressors. What this means is that the Palestinian people have the right to stand against an enemy that has seized their land, occupied their homes, destroyed their farms, and ruined their lives. The Palestinian nation has this right [to defend itself]. This is a strong logic that international laws affirm today too.

Who does Palestine belong to? Who are the Palestinian people? Where did these occupiers come from?! The Palestinian nation has the right to stand against them. No court, no institution, and no international organization has the right to object to the Palestinian nation standing firmly against the usurping Zionist regime! They have no right to object! Those who support the Palestinian people are fulfilling their duty. No one based on any international law has the right to object to the people of Lebanon and Hezbollah supporting Gaza and the uprising of the Palestinians. It is their duty, and they should have done this. This is both an Islamic ruling, a rational law, and based on internationally accepted reasoning. The Palestinians are defending their own land. Their defense is legitimate and supporting them is also legitimate. So all these attacks, including Operation Al-Aqsa Flood which took place around this time last year, were internationally legal, logical correct moves. And the Palestinians had this right.

The Lebanese people's vigorous defense of the Palestinian people falls under this same ruling. It is legal, reasonable, logical, and legitimate. No one has the right to criticize them for helping this defense. The brilliant work of our armed forces a few nights ago was also completely legal and legitimate. What our armed forces did was to inflict the minimum punishment on that usurping Zionist regime in response to its appalling crimes. It's a bloodthirsty regime, a wolf-like regime, and the US's rabid dog in the

region. The Islamic Republic will carry out any duty it has in this regard with power, firmness, and decisiveness.

In fulfilling this duty, we will neither hesitate nor act hastily. We won't hesitate, neglect our duty, or act hastily. What is logical, reasonable, and correct according to military and political decision-makers will be carried out at the appropriate time, just as this has been done in the past. And if necessary, this will be done again in the future.

In the second sermon, I will speak about the issue of Lebanon. The audience of that sermon will be our Arab brothers in the region. Therefore, I will deliver that sermon in Arabic.

“In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. I swear by Time! Man is indeed in loss, except those who have faith and do righteous deeds, and enjoin one another to [follow] the truth, and enjoin one another to patience” (Quran 103:1-3).

May God's greetings, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

The second sermon

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

All praise is due to God, the Lord of the Worlds. I praise Him, turn to Him for help, plead Him for forgiveness, and put my trust in Him. And I ask Him to send blessings and greetings upon His beloved, the Great Messenger, our Master and Prophet, Muhammad al-Mustafa; upon his immaculate Household, especially the Commander of the Faithful; upon his beloved Zahra al-Marziah; upon Hassan and Hussain, the Masters of the Youth of Paradise; upon Ali ibn al-Hussain Zayn al-Abidin; upon Muhammad ibn Ali al-Baqir; upon Ja'far ibn Muhammad al-Sadiq; upon Musa ibn Ja'far al-Kadhim; upon Ali ibn Musa al-Reza; upon Muhammad ibn Ali al-Jawad; upon Ali ibn Muhammad al-Hadi; upon Hassan ibn Ali al-Zakki al-Askari; and upon Hujjat al-Qaem al-Mahdi. Greetings and peace be upon them all. And I send greetings and peace upon their chosen companions, upon those who follow them in virtue until the Day of Judge-

ment, upon the supporters of those who are suppressed, and upon the guardians of the believers.

I believe it is necessary to honor my brother, my dear one, who was a source of pride for me, an admired personage in the Islamic world and the articulate voice of the nations in the region, the shining jewel of Lebanon, Sayyid Hassan Nasrallah (may God be pleased with him), during this Friday Prayer in Tehran. I would also like to share a few words with everyone.

The audience I'm addressing in this Friday Prayer sermon is the entire Islamic world, in particular the dear nations of Lebanon and Palestine. We are all grieving and mourning the martyrdom of our dear Sayyid. This is a significant loss and it has truly caused us to mourn. Of course, our mourning does not mean being depressed, distressed, or losing hope. It is of the same nature as mourning for the Master of the Martyrs, Hussain ibn Ali (pbuh). It is reviving, edifying, inspiring, and brings hope.

Sayyid Hassan Nasrallah is no longer among us physically, but his true self, his spirit, his path, and his resonant voice are and will continue to be with us.

He was the highly raised flag of the Resistance in the face of the tyrannical, plundering devils. He was the articulate voice and brave supporter of the oppressed. He brought assurance and courage to the fighters and seekers of truth. The scope of his popularity and influence extended beyond Lebanon, Iran, and Arab countries, and now his martyrdom will increase his influence even more.

His most important message in words and action during his lifetime to you, the devoted people of Lebanon, was to not despair or become distraught over the loss of prominent figures such as Imam Musa Sadr, Sayyid Abbas Mousavi, and others; to not doubt about your struggle; to increase your efforts and your capabilities; to double your solidarity; to stand up to the aggressive, intrusive enemy; and to defeat them by strengthening your faith and putting your trust in God.

My dear people! The devoted Lebanese nation! The exuberant youth of Hezbollah and Amal! My children! This is what our martyred Sayyid

wants today from his people, the Resistance Front, and the entire Islamic Ummah.

Since the evil, abject enemy is unable to inflict serious harm on the solid Hezbollah organization, Hamas, Islamic Jihad, and other organizations that fight on the path of God, it considers terrorism, destruction, bombardment, the killing of civilians, and bringing grief to unarmed people to be a sign of its victory.

What is the consequence of this? The consequence of this behavior is an increase in the anger and motivation of the people. It fosters the emergence of more fighters, commanders, leaders, and an increase in the number of those who are willing to sacrifice their lives. It tightens the noose around the neck of the bloodthirsty wolf and will ultimately lead to the elimination of its disgraceful existence from the scene.

My dear ones! Grieving hearts find solace in the remembrance of God and in seeking His help. The destruction will be repaired, and your patience and steadfastness will bring you honor and dignity.

For some 30 years, our dear Sayyid was at the forefront of a difficult battle. He developed Hezbollah step by step, "Like a seed that sends forth its shoot, then it grows and becomes stout standing firmly on its stem, impressing the sowers, so that He may enrage the faithless by them. Allah has promised those of them who have faith and do righteous deeds forgiveness and a great reward" (Quran 48:29).

With Sayyid's [Nasrallah's] planning, Hezbollah grew step by step, patiently, logically, and naturally. It showed the effect of its existence to its enemies in different stages by pushing back the Zionist regime, "It gives its fruit every season by the leave of its Lord" (Quran 14:25).

Hezbollah is truly a "Shajarah Tayyibah" [Blessed Tree]. Hezbollah and its heroic, martyred leader are the essence of Lebanon's historic virtues and identity.

We Iranians have long been familiar with Lebanon and its merits. Figures such as al-Shahid Muhammad ibn Makki al-Amili, Ali ibn Abd al-Aali al-Karaki, al-Shahid Zayn al-Din al-Amili, Hussain ibn Abd al-Samad al-

Amili and his son Muhammad Baha al-Din who was known as Sheikh Baha'i, along with many other religious and scholarly figures, have enriched Iran with the blessing of their extensive knowledge in the periods of the Sarbadars and Safavid governments in the 8th, 10th, and 11th centuries of the Hijri calendar.

It is our duty and the responsibility of all Muslims to repay our debt to the wounded, bloodied Lebanon. Hezbollah and the martyred Sayyid have taken steps in defense of Gaza and jihad for Al-Aqsa Mosque, delivering a blow to the usurping, cruel regime. They have provided a vital service to the entire region and the entire Muslim world. **The insistence of the US and its allies on ensuring the safety of the usurping regime serves as a cover for their lethal policy of changing the [Zionist] regime into a tool for seizing all the resources of this region and using it [that regime] in major global conflicts.**

Their policy is to turn the [Zionist] regime into a gateway for exporting energy from the region to the Western world while facilitating the import of goods and technology from the West to the region. This [approach] ensures the survival of the usurping regime and increases the entire region's dependency on it. The [Zionist] regime's brutal, reckless behavior toward the [Resistance] fighters stems from its self-serving desire for such a situation.

This reality helps us to realize that every blow to the Zionist regime by any individual or group is not only a service to the entire region but to all of humanity.

Surely, this Zionist and American dream is a vain, unattainable delusion. The [Zionist] regime is like "an evil tree, uprooted from the ground," which according to God's true words, "lacks any stability" (Quran 14:26).

This malicious regime is rootless, fallacious, and unstable, and it has only managed to stand on its feet with difficulty with US support. And God willing, this too will not last for long. The clear reason for this statement is that for a year now, despite spending several billion dollars in Gaza and Lebanon, and despite the comprehensive support given by the United States and several other Western governments, the enemy has failed in its

confrontation with several thousand fighters and mujahid on the path of God, who are besieged and blocked from receiving any assistance from the outside. The only thing it [the Zionist regime] has been able to do is to bomb homes, schools, hospitals, and centers with a dense unarmed population.

Today, even the Zionist criminal gang has gradually come to the conclusion that they will never triumph over Hamas and Hezbollah.

You, the resilient people of Lebanon and Palestine, who are courageous fighters and patient, appreciative people, know that these martyrdoms and spilled blood will not weaken your movement. [On the contrary], they will strengthen it. In Islamic Iran, during roughly three months of one summer (in the year 60 AHS), tens of our prominent, distinguished figures were assassinated, including a prominent figure like Sayyid Mohammad Beheshti, a president like Mohammad Ali Rajaei, and a prime minister like Mohammad-Javad Bahonar. Scholars such as Ayatollah Madani, Qodduzi, Hashemi Nejad, and others like them were also assassinated. Each of these individuals were considered to be a pillar of the Revolution at either a national or local level, and losing them was not easy. But the Revolution didn't stop, it didn't retreat, and instead it sped up. Today too, the Resistance in the region will not retreat as a result of these martyrdoms. The Resistance will be victorious.

The Resistance in Gaza has captured the world's attention and brought honor to Islam. In Gaza, Islam has stood firm against all that is evil and foul. There is no noble human being who doesn't applaud this steadfastness and curse the ruthless, bloodthirsty enemy.

Al-Aqsa Flood and the year-long Resistance of Gaza and Lebanon have brought the usurping regime to a point where its main concern is to protect its existence, which is the same concern that the Zionist regime had in the early years of its cursed creation. This means that the struggles of the fighters of Palestine and Lebanon have been able to push back the Zionist regime to the position it was in 70 years ago.

The primary cause of war, insecurity, and backwardness in this region is the existence of the Zionist regime and the presence of governments that

claim to seek peace and calm in the region. The main problem facing the region is foreign interference. The governments of the region are capable of establishing peace and security. Achieving this great, liberating goal requires the efforts and struggles of nations and governments.

God is with those who tread this path. "And Allah is indeed able to help them" (Quran 22:39).

May God's greetings and peace be upon the martyred leader, [Sayyid Hassan] Nasrallah; the martyred hero, [Ismail] Haniyeh; and the honorable commander, Lieutenant General Qasem Soleimani.

"In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

When Allah's help comes with victory, and you see the people entering Allah's religion in throngs, celebrate the praise of your Lord, and plead to Him for forgiveness. Indeed, He is all-clement" (Quran 110:3).

PART VII

**APPENDIX (UN
RESOLUTIONS)**

We stress that resisting the occupation with all means including the armed resistance is a legitimized right by all norms, divine religions, the international laws including the Geneva Conventions and its first additional protocol and the related UN resolutions e.g. The UN General Assembly Resolution 3236, adopted by the 29th session of the General Assembly on Nov. 22, 1974 which affirmed the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people in Palestine, including the right to self-determination and the right to return to “their homes and property from where they were expelled, displaced and uprooted.”

— HAMAS

The @un and @unicef are complicit in the Gaza genocide.

— REFAAT ALAREER

28. THE QUESTION OF PALESTINE

3236 (XXIX), 1974

The General Assembly,

Having considered the question of Palestine,

Having heard the statement of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the representative of the Palestinian people,^(*)

Having also heard other statements made during the debate,

Deeply concerned that no just solution to the problem of Palestine has yet been achieved and recognizing that the problem of Palestine continues to endanger international peace and security,

Recognizing that the Palestinian people is entitled to self-determination in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations,

Expressing its grave concern that the Palestinian people has been prevented from enjoying its inalienable rights, in particular its right to self-determination,

Guided by the purposes and principles of the Charter,

Recalling its relevant resolutions which affirm the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination,

1. *Reaffirms* the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people in Palestine, including:
 1. (a) The right to self-determination without external interference;
 2. (b) The right to national independence and sovereignty;
2. *Reaffirms* also the inalienable right of the Palestinians to return to their homes and property from which they have been displaced and uprooted, and calls for their return;
3. *Emphasizes* that full respect for and the realization of these inalienable rights of the Palestinian people are indispensable for the solution of the question of Palestine;
4. *Recognizes* that the Palestinian people is a principal party in the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East;
5. *Further recognizes* the right of the Palestinian people to regain its rights by all means in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations;
6. *Appeals* to all States and international organizations to extend their support to the Palestinian people in its struggle to restore its rights, in accordance with the Charter;
7. *Requests* the Secretary-General to establish contacts with the Palestine Liberation Organization on all matters concerning the question of Palestine;
8. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly at its thirtieth session on the implementation of the present resolution;
9. *Decides* to include the item entitled "Question of Palestine" in the provisional agenda of its thirtieth session.

Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-ninth Session, Plenary Meetings, 2282nd meeting, para. 3-83.

29. DEFINITION OF AGGRESSION

UN RESOLUTION 3314 (XXIX)—1974

The General Assembly,

Having considered the report of the Special Committee on the Question of Defining Aggression, established pursuant to its resolution 2330 (XXII) of 18 December 1967, covering the work of its seventh session held from 11 March to 12 April 1974, including the draft Definition of Aggression adopted by the Special Committee by consensus and recommended for adoption by the General Assembly,

Deeply convinced that the adoption of the Definition of Aggression would contribute to the strengthening of international peace and security,

1. Approves the Definition of Aggression, the text of which is annexed to the present resolution;
2. *Expresses its appreciation* to the Special Committee on the Question of Defining Aggression for its work which resulted in the elaboration of the Definition of Aggression;
3. *Calls upon* all States to refrain from all acts of aggression and other uses of force contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations;

4. *Calls the attention* of the Security Council to the Definition of Aggression, as set out below, and recommends that it should, as appropriate, take account of that Definition as guidance in determining, in accordance with the Charter, the existence of an act of aggression.

2319th plenary meeting
14 December 1974

Annex: Definition of Aggression

The General Assembly,

Basing itself on the fact that one of the fundamental purposes of the United Nations is to maintain international peace and security and to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace,

Recalling that the Security Council, in accordance with Article 39 of the Charter of the United Nations, shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression and shall make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42, to maintain or restore international peace and security,

Recalling also the duty of States under the Charter to settle their international disputes by peaceful means in order not to endanger international peace, security and justice,

Bearing in mind that nothing in this Definition shall be interpreted as in any way affecting the scope of the provisions of the Charter with respect to the functions and powers of the organs of the United Nations,

Considering also that, since aggression is the most serious and dangerous form of the illegal use of force, being fraught, in the conditions created by the existence of all types of weapons of mass destruction, with the possible

threat of a world conflict and all its catastrophic consequences, aggression should be defined at the present stage,

Reaffirming the duty of States not to use armed force to deprive peoples of their right to self-determination, freedom and independence, or to disrupt territorial integrity,

Reaffirming also that the territory of a State shall not be violated by being the object, even temporarily, of military occupation or of other measures of force taken by another State in contravention of the Charter, and that it shall not be the object of acquisition by another State resulting from such measures or the threat thereof,

Reaffirming also the provisions of the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations,

Convinced that the adoption of a definition of aggression ought to have the effect of deterring a potential aggressor, would simplify the determination of acts of aggression and the implementation of measures to suppress them and would also facilitate the protection of the rights and lawful interests of, and the rendering of assistance to, the victim,

Believing that, although the question whether an act of aggression has been committed must be considered in the light of all the circumstances of each particular case, it is nevertheless desirable to formulate basic principles as guidance for such determination,

Adopts the following Definition of Aggression:

Article 1

Aggression is the use of armed force **by a State** against the sovereignty, territorial integrity or political independence of another State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Charter of the United Nations, as set out in this Definition.

Explanatory note: In this Definition the term "State":

- a. Is used without prejudice to questions of recognition or to whether a State is a member of the United Nations;
- b. Includes the concept of a “group of States” where appropriate.

Article 2

The first use of armed force by a State in contravention of the Charter shall constitute *prima facie* evidence of an act of aggression although the Security Council may, in conformity with the Charter, conclude that a determination that an act of aggression has been committed would not be justified in the light of other relevant circumstances, including the fact that the acts concerned or their consequences are not of sufficient gravity.

Article 3

Any of the following acts, regardless of a declaration of war, shall, subject to and in accordance with the provisions of article 2, qualify as an act of aggression:

- a. The invasion or attack by the armed forces of a State of the territory of another State, or any military occupation, however temporary, resulting from such invasion or attack, or any annexation by the use of force of the territory of another State or part thereof;
- b. Bombardment by the armed forces of a State against the territory of another State or the use of any weapons by a State against the territory of another State;
- c. The blockade of the ports or coasts of a State by the armed forces of another State;
- d. An attack by the armed forces of a State on the land, sea or air forces, or marine and air fleets of another State;
- e. The use of armed forces of one State which are within the territory of another State with the agreement of the receiving State, in contravention of the conditions provided for in the agreement or any extension of their presence in such territory beyond the termination of the agreement;

- f. The action of a State in allowing its territory, which it has placed at the disposal of another State, to be used by that other State for perpetrating an act of aggression against a third State;
- g. The sending by or on behalf of a State of armed bands, groups, irregulars or mercenaries, which carry out acts of armed force against another State of such gravity as to amount to the acts listed above, or its substantial involvement therein.

Article 4

The acts enumerated above are not exhaustive and the Security Council may determine that other acts constitute aggression under the provisions of the Charter.

Article 5

- 1. No consideration of whatever nature, whether political, economic, military or otherwise, may serve as a justification for aggression.
- 2. A war of aggression is a crime against international peace. Aggression gives rise to international responsibility.
- 3. No territorial acquisition or special advantage resulting from aggression is or shall be recognized as lawful.

Article 6

Nothing in this Definition shall be construed as in any way enlarging or diminishing the scope of the Charter, including its provisions concerning cases in which the use of force is lawful.

Article 7

Nothing in this Definition, and in particular article 3, could in any way prejudice the right to self-determination, freedom and independence, as derived from the Charter, of peoples forcibly deprived of that right and referred to in the Declaration on Principles of International Law

concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, particularly peoples under colonial and racist régimes or other forms of alien domination; nor the right of these peoples to struggle to that end and to seek and receive support, in accordance with the principles of the Charter and in conformity with the above-mentioned Declaration.

Article 8

In their interpretation and application the above provisions are interrelated and each provision should be construed in the context of the other provisions.

30.37/43 - RIGHT OF PEOPLES TO SELF-DETERMINATION

1982

37/43. Importance of the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination and of the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples for the effective guarantee and observance of human rights.

The General Assembly

Recalling [a bunch of older resolutions]

Deeply concerned at the continued terrorist acts of aggression committed by the Pretoria régime against independent African States, in particular Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Seychelles and Zambia,

Deeply angered by the occupation of part of the territory of Angola by the troops of the racist regime of South Africa, Recalling the Political Declaration adopted by the First Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity and the League of Arab States, held at Cairo from 7 to 9 March 1977,

Considering that the denial of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, sovereignty, independence and return to Palestine and the repeated acts of aggression by Israel against the peoples of the region constitute a serious threat to international peace and security,

Deeply shocked and alarmed at the deplorable consequences of the Israeli invasion of Beirut on 3 August 1982, and recalling all the resolutions of the Security Council, in particular resolutions 520 (1982) of 17 September 1982 and 521 (1982) of 19 September 1982,

Reaffirming its faith in the importance of the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960,

Reaffirming the importance of the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination, national sovereignty and territorial integrity and of the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples as imperatives for the full enjoyment of all human rights,

Reaffirming that "bantustanization" is incompatible with genuine independence, national unity and sovereignty and has the effect of perpetuating the power of the white minority and the racist system of apartheid in South Africa,

Reaffirming the obligation of all Member States to comply with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the resolutions of the United Nations regarding the exercise of the right to self-determination by peoples under colonial and foreign domination, Reaffirming also that the system of apartheid imposed on the South African people constitutes an inadmissible violation of the rights of that people and a constant threat to international security,

Reaffirming the national unity and territorial integrity of the Comoros,

Gravely concerned at the continuation of the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa and the continued violations of the human rights of the peoples still under colonial and foreign domination and alien subjugation,

1. Calls upon all States to implement fully and faithfully the resolutions of the United Nations regarding the exercise of the right to self-determination and independence by peoples under colonial and foreign domination;

2. Reaffirms the legitimacy of the struggle of peoples for independence, territorial integrity, national unity and liberation from colonial and foreign domination and foreign occupation by all available means, including armed struggle;
3. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the Namibian people, the Palestinian people and all peoples under foreign and colonial domination to self-determination, national independence, territorial integrity, national unity and sovereignty without outside interference;
4. Notes again with satisfaction resolution AHG/Res.103 (XVIII) adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its eighteenth ordinary session, held at Nairobi from 24 to 27 June 1981,¹⁷ and the decisions of its Implementation Committee to organize and conduct a general, free and regular referendum on self-determination in Western Sahara, and welcomes the willingness of the United Nations to collaborate in the implementation of the process envisaged by the Organization of African Unity;
5. Takes note of the contacts between the Government of the Comoros and the Government of France in the search for a just solution to the integration of the Comorian island of Mayotte into the Comoros in accordance with the resolutions of the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations on this question;
6. Condemns the policy of "bantustanization" and reiterates its support for the oppressed people of South Africa in their just and legitimate struggle against the racist minority regime of Pretoria;
7. Further condemns South Africa for its increased oppression of the Namibian people, for the massive militarization of Namibia and for its armed attacks on the frontline States with the aim of destabilizing their Governments;
8. Strongly condemns the establishment and use of armed terrorist groups by South Africa with a view to pitting them against the national liberation movements and destabilizing the legitimate Governments of southern Africa, thus impeding effective implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV);

9. *Strongly reaffirms* its solidarity with the independent African countries and liberation movements that are victims of the murderous acts of aggression of the Pretoria regime and of its attempts at destabilization;
10. *Strongly condemns once again* the invasion and occupation of part of the territory of Angola by troops of the racist Pretoria regime and demands the immediate withdrawal of those troops from Angolan territory;
11. *Reaffirms* that the practice of using mercenaries against sovereign States and national liberation movements constitutes a criminal act and that the mercenaries themselves are criminals, and calls upon the Governments of all countries to enact legislation declaring the recruitment, financing and training of mercenaries in their territories and the transit of mercenaries through their territories to be punishable offences, and prohibiting their nationals from serving as mercenaries, and to report on such legislation to the Secretary-General;
12. *Strongly condemns* the continued violations of the human rights of the peoples still under colonial and foreign domination and alien subjugation, the continuation of the illegal occupation of Namibia, and South Africa's attempts to dismember its Territory, the perpetuation of the racist minority regime in southern Africa and the denial to the Palestinian people of their inalienable national rights;
13. *Also strongly condemns* the policies of those Western and other countries whose political, economic, military, nuclear, strategic, cultural and sports relations with the racist minority regime in South Africa encourage that regime to persist in its suppression of the aspirations of peoples to self-determination and independence;
14. *Again demands* the immediate application of the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa, imposed under Security Council resolution 418 (1977), by all countries, particularly by those countries that maintain military and nuclear co-operation with the racist Pretoria regime and continue to supply it with related materiel;

15. *Takes note again with satisfaction* of the Paris Declaration on Sanctions against South Africa, the Special Declaration on Namibia and the reports of the technical and political commissions adopted by the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, held in Paris from 20 to 27 May] 98], convened jointly by the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity;
16. *Demands* the immediate implementation of General Assembly resolution ES-8/2 on Namibia;
17. *Calls* for a substantial increase in all forms of assistance given by all States, United Nations organs, specialized agencies and non-governmental organizations to the victims of racism, racial discrimination and *apartheid* through their national liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity;
18. *Strongly condemns* those Governments that do not recognize the right to self-determination and independence of all peoples still under colonial and foreign domination and alien subjugation, notably the peoples of Africa and the Palestinian people;
19. *Strongly condemns* the increasingly widespread massacres of innocent and defenceless people, including women and children, by the racist minority Pretoria regime in its desperate attempt to thwart the legitimate demands of the people;
20. *Strongly condemns* the massacre of Palestinians and other civilians at Beirut on 17 September 1982;
21. *Strongly condemns* the expansionist activities of Israel in the Middle East and the continual bombing of Palestinian civilians, which constitute a serious obstacle to the realization of the self-determination and independence of the Palestinian people;
22. *Strongly condemns* the Israeli aggression against Lebanon in June 1982, which endangers stability, peace and security in the region, and reiterates its support for the efforts undertaken to implement the resolutions of the Security Council, in particular those demanding the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanese territory to internationally recognized boundaries and respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon;

23. *Urges* all States, competent organizations of the United Nations system, specialized agencies and other international organizations to extend their support to the Palestinian people through its sole and legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization, in its struggle to regain its right to self-determination and independence in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations;
24. *Demands* the immediate and unconditional release of all persons detained or imprisoned as a result of their struggle for self-determination and independence, full respect for their fundamental individual rights and the observance of article 5 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, under which no one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment;
25. *Recommends* that the Security Council should make urgent appeals for clemency to the South African authorities in order that the lives of the three African National Congress freedom fighters sentenced to death on 6 August 1982 may be saved in accordance with General Assembly resolution 37/1 of 1 October 1982;
26. *Demands* the immediate release of children detained in Namibian and South African prisons;
27. *Reiterates its appreciation* for the material and other forms of assistance that peoples under colonial rule continue to receive from Governments, United Nations agencies and intergovernmental organizations, and calls for a substantial increase in this assistance;
28. *Urges* all States, specialized agencies and competent organizations of the United Nations system to do their utmost to ensure the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and to intensify their efforts to support peoples under colonial, foreign and racist domination in their just struggle for self-determination and independence;
29. *Requests* the Secretary-General to give maximum publicity to the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and to give the widest possible publicity to

- the struggle being waged by oppressed peoples for the realization of their self-determination and national independence;
30. *Decides* to consider this item again at its thirty- eighth session on the basis of the reports that Governments, United Nations agencies and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations have been requested to submit concerning the strengthening of assistance to colonial territories and peoples.

*90th plenary meeting
3 December 1982*

