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ALTERNATIVE & REVOLUTIONARY
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From Glasgow to Gaza - Yallah Intifada!

“Imperialism has laid its body all over the world, the head in Eastern Asia, the heart in the Middle East, its arteries reaching Africa and Latin America. Wherever you strike it, you damage it, and you serve the world revolution.”

- Ghassan Kanafani

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“Imperialism leaves behind germs of rot which we must clinically detect and remove from our land but from our minds as well.”

- Franz Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth*



“The place of culture in national liberation has always been a contested terrain. This is more so at the time the struggle for liberation is being waged, as the demands of contingency limit the space of debate. While revolutionaries have mobilized culture as a weapon of resistance, they have had to confront colonial powers who also mobilized culture as a weapon of domination. Negotiating the terms of cultural battles then becomes crucial for strategies of liberation.”

- Joseph Massod, ‘The Weapon of Culture: Cinema in the Palestinian Liberation Struggle’

Israel's War Against Palestinian Culture

- Mahmoud Darwish

*The following text, edited by Robert K. Beshara, is a transcript of an interview with Mahmoud Darwish taken from the film *Palestinian Identity* (dir. Kassem Hawal, 1984), which was made in the aftermath of Israel's invasion of Lebanon in 1982. Israel's recent destruction of educational, archival, and cultural institutions in Gaza must be understood within this broader context: as a deliberate and integral component of Zionism's war against the Palestinian people.*

*This text was published in *Ebb Magazine*, Issue 1, January 2024.*

It seems necessary to me to discern that the Israeli project, concerning itself and the Palestinian people, is not based in its consciousness except on negating the elements of Palestinian existence and of the Palestinian character, whether said elements are on the level of the relationship between the human, the land, history, or memory because the Israeli operation on Palestinian land, since the founding of the Zionist project and to this day, particularly on the ideological level as well as on the level of the political process, has provided us and the foreign observer with nothing but this Israeli conception; the time has come for us all to realise this regarding the future of our political efforts.

As such, the aggression against Palestinian culture is a part of the premeditated and conscious Israeli operation to eradicate the Palestinian character. We are all aware that the purported Israeli claims to Palestinian land result from the formulation of a mythological link between the Israeli people and the Palestinian land. This is why, on the one hand, the arena for the conflict is the ground of existence, which led Zionist consciousness to the inevitability of annihilation because the Palestinian character is the historical negation of the Zionist juridical claims to the land of Palestine. On the other hand, the Israeli existence, which expresses itself as a cultural and civilisational extension of the West, needs to prove to itself firstly and to its supporters in the West secondly that this Palestinian land is barren, not only devoid of population but also of the relationship between the human, the land, and history - i.e., devoid of culture.

We know that the development of Palestinian culture in this trilateral relation of land-human-memory has helped the crystallisation of external awareness as to the legitimacy of the Palestinian right in its conflict with the Zionist assault. Therefore, Palestinian cultural expression became, for Israelis, an immediate danger, for it firstly negates the allegations about the destruction of land by a culturally productive people and secondly because such cultural expression provides a very dangerous testimony as to the anti-cultural operation on whose essence the Zionist presence was founded. Thus, as Palestinian culture expressed the relation of the Palestinian people with their land and their history, the conflict became about confirming this relation and nourishing it on the Palestinian land and abroad as well as reviving the Palestinian memory, as to its history, to such an extent that it penetrated international cultural consciousness. This made Israel resort to dealing with the developing Palestinian culture as an immediate danger to its philosophy, ideology, claims, and rights.

We all know that the condition for Israeli existence is the recognition by the external world of its civilisational superiority over land that it claims was without a people. And if this process is based on an assault against culturally unproductive people, then in the Western conception, it is regarded as a civilising mission.

The development of Palestinian cultural activity compelled Israel to eradicate anything that has to do with a past relation, a present relation, or a future testimony. Consequently, I was not surprised by the Israeli destruction of cultural institutions, for it is a part of the Israeli destruction of the Palestinian homeland, the Palestinian society, and the Palestinian testimony before history because he who steals land does not surprise us by stealing a library. He who kills thousands of innocent civilians does not surprise us by killing paintings. And he who destroys a whole homeland does not surprise us when he destroys a wall on which we hung our paintings. The enemy of the Palestinian tree, the enemy of the Palestinian painting, the enemy of the Palestinian poem is, first and foremost, the enemy of the Palestinian homeland and an enemy of culture, for it is he who combats Palestinian culture.

Mahmoud Darwish (1941-2008), often referred to as Palestine's national poet, was one of the most prominent and celebrated Palestinian intellectuals, poets, and writers of the 20th century.

Jusqu'à la victoire **- Jean-Luc Godard**

Originally published in 'El Fatah', July 1970, without title. Another translation was published in 'Free Palestine', January 1971. The text was written while Godard and Jean-Pierre Gorin – as the Dziga Vertov Group – were working on a film documenting the Palestinian struggle. The footage was used as the basis for 'Ici et Ailleurs', which was released six years later and served as a critical reflection on some of the ideas evoked in this text.

This version was published on the Diagonal Thoughts website on 28 November 2012.

We found it more appropriate, politically speaking, to come to Palestine, rather than to go elsewhere: Mozambique, Columbia, Bengal. The Middle-East has been directly colonised by the French and English Imperialisms (the Sykes-Picot treaties). We are French militants. It seemed more appropriate to come to Palestine because the situation here is complex and unique. There are many contradictions and the situation is less obvious than in South-East Asia, at least in theory.

Our tasks, as artists who are struggling today through cinema, are still on a theoretical level. To think differently in order to create revolution... that's where we're still at. We are several decades behind Al-'Asifah's first bullet (1).

Mao Zedong says good comrades go where the difficulties are, where the contradictions are at their peak. To make propaganda for the Palestinian cause, yes. With images and sounds. Cinema and television. To make propaganda is to spread problems over a carpet. A film is like a flying carpet that can go anywhere. There is no magic. It's political work. One has to study and search, record this research and this study, and then show the result (the montage) to other fighters. Demonstrate the fedayeen's struggle to their Arab brothers who are being exploited by the bosses in the French factories. Show Fatah's militiawomen to their sisters of the Black Panthers who are being chased by the FBI. Make a film politically. Show it politically. Distribute it politically. It's long and hard. It's solving a concrete problem every day. Finding a fedai, an officer, a militia member, figuring out together how to create images and sounds of their struggle. Telling them: "I will film an image of you shooting Al-'Asifah's first bullet." Knowing which image should come first, and which one should follow, for the whole to have a meaning. A political, revolutionary meaning – that is to say which helps the Palestinian revolution, which helps the global revolution. All of that is long and hard. One has to know what is cinema..., what information for Fatah means, and what the contradictions with the other organizations are. Fatah, for example, fights against American Imperialism. But American imperialism is also the New York Times and CBS. We, we are fighting against CBS. There are a lot of journalists who sincerely consider themselves as leftist, and who are not fighting CBS and the New York Times. They may think they are helping Fatah by publishing an article in the bourgeois press. But they are not fighting. It's Fatah who is fighting and working. It's the fighters of Fatah who are dying. One has to really see that. Literature and art, fighting on two fronts. The political front and the artistic one: this is the present stage, and we have to learn to resolve the contradictions between these two fronts. In the newspaper published by Fatah, we still see too many pictures of leaders and too little of fighters. One has to see where this contradiction is situated, and how to resolve it. It's not an artistical problem of layout. It's a political problem in the ideological domain (the press). We have to learn how to fight the enemy with ideas, not only with guns. It's the Party commanding the gun, and not the other way around (2). And the complexity of the Palestinian struggle is connected to the difficulty of constructing the Party here (like in France). The originality of Fatah, even before the Suez Canal was overtaken, is that it refused to call itself a Party or a Front. It's about saying to a Muslim: "don't abandon your ideas, just leave your organisation, and join our ranks." The Fatah does not need to be Marxist in words, because they are revolutionary in facts. They know that ideas change along the way. That the longer the way to Tel-Aviv, the more the ideas will change, which will finally lead to the destruction of the state of Israel.

Political front and artistic front

We have come here to study: to learn lessons, if possible to record these lessons, to distribute them here, or elsewhere in the world. Almost a year ago, two of us have come to investigate the Democratic Front. Then an

other went to Fatah. We have read the texts and the programs. As French Maoists, we have decided to make the film with Fatah and its title would be *Jusqu'à la Victoire*. We have the Palestinians say the word "revolution" in the film. But the real title of the film is *The methods of thought and action in the Palestinian liberation movement*. With the comrades of the democratic front, we have the same discussions as with militants in Paris. We learn nothing. Not them, nor us. With Fatah, it's different. It is very difficult to talk to a leader about the image that has to be created of the Palestinian revolution, and about the sound that has to accompany (or contradict) this image. But it is exactly this difficulty that is positive. It poses in concrete terms the contradiction between theory and practice: between political front and artistic one.

When we arrived in Amman, we were told "what do you want to see?" We answered "everything!". We have seen the Ashbals, the training of the militia, the bases in the South, the North and the Centre. We have seen the school of martyrs. We have seen the school of officers, the medical centers. Then they told us "what do you want to film now?". We said "we don't know" – "How come you don't know?" – "No, we would like to talk, study a bit with you. You don't have a lot of munition for the Kalachnikovs and RGB's. We don't have many images and sounds. The Imperialists (Hollywood) have ruined or destroyed them. So we can't waste them. They are ideological munition. We have to learn to use them to kill the enemy's ideas. That's why we need to talk with you". – "fine, with who would you like to speak?" We said: "with Abu Hassan (3)". We didn't know who he was, but we had read one of his article in the first issue of *Fedayin*. He talked to us. Politically. For example, he said: "the people's army does not consist of sophisticated radars. They are 10.000 children with binoculars and walkie-talkies." That is a revolutionary image. Straightaway, we see that the Egyptian army is not an army of the people. Instead of 10.000 children, there are 10.000 Soviet instructors.



The bullet close to the ear

Abu Hassan also said: Al-'Asifah 's first bullet has to be fired close to the ears of the farmers, so that they can hear the sound of liberation of the land. That is a revolutionary sound. That is a discussion which allows to establish political relations between an image and a sound, rather than simply making images that are so-called "real" but mean nothing, say nothing because they have nothing to say, nothing that we don't know already. And what use is it to say what we already know? In any case, not for the revolution looking for the new behind the old. That takes time. It's long and

hard. But there is no reason for a film of the Palestinian revolution to not encounter the difficulties of this revolution. Why would this film be shown on American television? Does Fatah control the Yankee tv stations? No, they don't even control the cinemas in Amman. They control Amman. But every night, in the dark cinemas, the imperialist rottenness blinds the masses. Luckily, the morning after the June crisis the unified Commandment was able to reopen their eyes by publishing a newspaper henceforth (4). The problem of revolutionary information is a very important one. We say: "cinema, secondary task of the revolution for us currently in France." But we make this secondary task our primary activity. Let us look, then, at this contradiction between this secondary task and the primary task of the revolution, which is, here, the armed war against Israel. Let us also look at the other contradictions between cinema and the other secondary tasks of the Palestinian revolution. See that at a certain moment, in a given place, the secondary transforms in primary. That is what we call politically posing the fact of making a political film. Not only interviewing Habash or Arafat or Hawatmeh (5). Not only spectacular images of "lion cubs" wading through flames, but relations between images, relations between sounds, between images and sounds that point out the relations, in the Palestinian revolution, between the armed struggle and the political work.

Each image and each sound, each combination of images and sounds are moments of relations between forces, and our task consists of directing these forces against those of the common enemy: imperialism

that is: Wall Street, the Pentagon, IBM, United Artists (entertainment from Trans-America Corporation) etc. For example, we think that Fatah, in the course of the crisis of June, was defeated in the domain of information. With regard to the capitalist European countries, of which the Times, Il Messagero, Le Monde and The Figaro have spoken? Of the response that the masses have given to the deadly provocations of the Jordanian reaction? No. Of the role played by Fatah in waging this response politically and military? No. All these papers, as well as the East-European televisions and radios have blown George Habash out of proportion to the detriment of Yasser Arafat (5). Our task as revolutionary militants of information is also to analyze the why and how of such operations. For Imperialism, it was not only necessary to try, once again, to break down the unity of edification of the Palestinian resistance, but also to deter the sense of its liberation fight in the eyes of the English, Italian, French etc. masses and in doing so hit a one more blow to the revolutionary elements of these masses, for whom the Palestinian revolution, just like the Vietnamese, is a precious ferment. Today, it's terrible that a text like the one written by Abou Lyad in dialogue with Fatah is not translated in French (6). These are perhaps minor defeats, but still one has to have the revolutionary honesty to analyze them as being defeats: struggle, failure, new struggle, new failure, new struggle until victory, such is the logic of the people, according to the Chinese comrades. Such is also the logic of the Palestinian people in its movement of national liberation under the direction of Fatah. That is what we are trying to show in our film, in your film. Where will the film be shown? This will depend on the actual state of the struggles. It can be shown on a road in a village in South-Lebanon. We put up a sheet between two windows, and we project. In front of the students at Berkeley. Amongst workers at strike in Cordoba or Lyon. In a school of Amílcar Cabral (7). That is, in general, it will be projected in front of the advanced elements of masses. Why? Because it represents forces in struggle.



The relations between images

It should be possible to use it, on short or long term, by other elements of these forces on the moment of their struggle. That is to say at the moment when it will be useful for their struggle. An example: we show an image of a fedai crossing the river, followed by an image of a Fatah militia woman who teaches refugees in a camp to read, followed by an image of a "lion cup" in training. These three images, what are they? They are a whole. None of them has value on their own. Perhaps a sentimental, emotive or photographic value. But not a political value. In order to have a political value, any of these three images has to be connected to the two others. At that moment, what becomes important is the order in which they will be shown. Because they are parts of an overall politics; and the order in which we arrange them represents the political line. We are on the line of Fatah. So we arrange the images in the following order: 1° Fedayeen in operation; 2° Militia woman working in a school; 3° children training. Which means: 1° armed struggle; 2° political work; 3° prolonged popular

war. In the end, the third image is the result of the two others. It comes down to: armed struggle + political work = prolonged popular war against Israël. It also comes down to: man (triggering the fight) + woman (being transformed while creating her own revolution) who give birth to the child who liberates Palestine: the generation of victory. It's not enough to show a "lion cub" or a "flower" and say "it's the generation of victory". One has to show why and how. An Israeli child can't be shown in the same way. The images which produce the image of a Zionist child are not the same of those of a Palestinian child. Moreover one shouldn't talk of images; one has to talk about the relations between images.

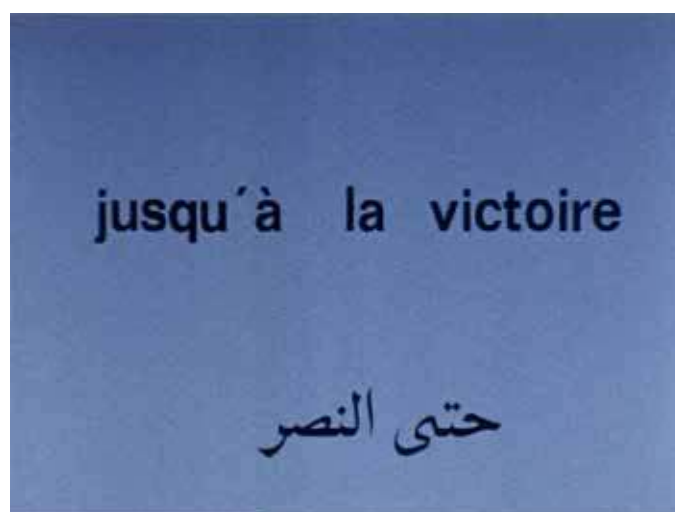
The Lebanese lackeys of Hollywood

It's imperialism that taught us to consider images in themselves, making us believe that an image is real. While common sense shows us that an image can't be anything but imaginary, precisely because it is an image. A reflection. Like your reflection in the mirror. What is real, is first of all you, and then the relation between you and this imaginary reflection (8). What is real then is the relation you establish between these different reflections of yourself, or these different pictures of you. For example, you say to yourself: "I am beautiful" or "I look tired". But in saying that, what are you doing? You are doing nothing but establishing a simple relation between several reflections. One in which you seem in good shape, another in which you look less so. You compare, meaning you establish a relation, and then you can conclude: "I look tired." To make a film politically means establishing this kind of relations politically, in order to resolve a problem politically. Which means in terms of work and battle. And precisely imperialism, in wanting to make us believe that the images of the world are real (while they are imaginary) aims to prevent us from doing what we have to do: establish real (political) relations between these images; establish a real (political) relation between an image of Ashbal training and an image of Fedayeen crossing the river. The only revolutionary reality is that (political) reality of that relation. Political, because it poses the question of power; and a chain of images such as the one we just described declares that power is at the end of a gun. Imperialism would like us to be content with showing a Fedai crossing a river, or a farmer learning to read, or Ashbals training. Imperialism has nothing against that. It produces images like that every day (or their slaves do it at it's service). Every day it distributes them on BBC, in Life, Il Espresso, Der Spiegel. On one hand there is UNRWA (9) (for the stomach), on the other Hollywood and its Lebanese and Egyptian lackeys of cinema (for the ideas and images that provoke ideas). Imperialism has taught us not to set up a relation between the three images we just mentioned, or perhaps to set it up, but then in a certain order, so their plans wouldn't be disrupted.

The ideas and the contradictions

And our own task, as militants currently active in the domain of anti-imperialist information, is to fight fiercely in this domain. To liberate us from the chains of images imposed by imperialist ideology, through all their devices: press, radio, cinema, records, books. It's a secondary task which we have make our principal one, trying to resolve the contradictions this entails. For example, in fighting on the secondary front, we often collide with other comrades. These comrades, here in Fatah for example, have advanced and right-ful ideas on the principal front of the armed struggle, and ideas that are often less on the secondary front of

information. For us all, it's about learning how to resolve this contradiction as part of the contradictions within the people. Not contradictions between the enemy and us. To create contradictory images means to make progress on the road of the resolution of these contradictions. And here, after having posed the problem of the production of this series of three images (to take the same example), you can now pose the problem of distribution in a more rightful, more political way. And it's because these (imaginary) images have a real (contradictory) relation between them, it's because of this real relation that those who watch and listen to these images will also have a real relation with them. Viewing the film will be a moment of their real



existence, of their reality. Political reality, this time. For an oppressed farmers, a striking worker, a revolting student, a fadai carrying a Kalashnikov... this is what we would like to say by saying “down with the spectacle, long live the political relation.”

The teeth and the lips

That is how literature and art can become, as Lenin wanted, a small living screw in the mechanism of revolution. Thus, to sum up, not by showing a wounded fedai, but showing how this wound will help the poor farmer. And to arrive at this is long and hard, because, since the invention of photography, imperialism has been making films to prevent those it oppresses to make them themselves. It has made images to conceal the reality from the masses it oppresses. Our task is to destroy these images and learn how to create other ones, more simple, to serve the people, so the people can use of them in their turn. Saying “it’s long and hard” is saying that the (ideological) fight here is part of the prolonged war against Israel conducted by the Palestinian people. It’s saying that elsewhere this fight is connected with all the people’s wars against imperialism and its allies. Connected like the teeth and the lips (10). Like mother and child. Like the land of Palestine and the Fedayeen.

Translated by Stoffel Debuysere in the context of the research project “Figures of Dissent (Cinema of Politics, Politics of Cinema)”

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translator’s notes

- 1) Al-`Asifah was the “mainstream” armed wing of the Fatah.
- 2) Godard also used Mao’s formula “the Party commands the gun” in ‘La Chinoise’.
- 3) Abu Hassan was the code name of Ali Hassan Salameh, who later became known as the chief of operation for the Black September organization.
- 4) In June 1970, Palestinian guerrilla groups and the Jordanian army clashed in Amman, but fighting ceased after an agreement was struck allowing Palestinian fighters to continue their presence (until Black September).
- 5) George Habash was the founder of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), which defined itself as a Marxist-Leninist movement in 1969. In the same year an ultra-leftist faction under Nayef Hawatmeh split off as the Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PDFLP), later to become the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP).
- 6) Abou Lyad or Salah Mesbah Khalaf was deputy chief and head of intelligence for the Palestine Liberation Organization, and the second most senior official of Fatah after Yasser Arafat.
- 7) Amílcar Cabral was a Guinea-Bissauan and Cape Verdean agricultural engineer, writer, and a nationalist thinker and politician. Also known by his nom de guerre Abel Djassi, Cabral led the nationalist movement of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde Islands and the ensuing war of independence in Guinea-Bissau.
- 8) This questioning of the “reflection” owes a lot to certain texts by Alain Badiou – notably “The Autonomy of the Aesthetic Process’ (1966 – written in ’65), which is also quoted in ‘La Chinoise’ and Louis Althusser – notably ‘Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses’ (1970), which was adapted by Godard and Gorin as ‘Lotte in Italia’ (1969).
- 9) Created in December 1949, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) is a relief and human development agency, originally intended to provide jobs on public works projects and direct relief for 652,000 Arabs who fled or were expelled from Israel during the fighting that followed the end of the British mandate over Palestine.
- 10) Here Godard paraphrases Louis Althusser: “class struggle and Marxist-Leninist philosophy are connected like teeth and lips.”

Against defeatism – For Palestine

- Sadiq

The Palestinian resistance has shaken the world on the October 7th. Their ingenious resistance has smashed the international (so-called) prestige of the Zionist entity. With no air force and no navy, they had managed to attack through the skies and seas! The resistance fills our hearts with hope, their resilience is awe-inspiring. Yet, there is a trend among some progressives to be defeatists towards the resistance. The occupation's ruthless genocidal war on the nation of Palestine has hampered the spirits of many. In order for us to combat this defeatism, we need to understand the root of this attitude so we can pull it out of us!

Defeatism has two main aspects: Firstly, the technological superiority of the Zionist occupation. This high destructive capacity has brought the most shocking war crimes to fold in the modern era and has naturally demoralised people. Secondly, the long length of the Palestinian revolution. Some people believe that liberation would have arrived earlier as this struggle as been going on for 76 years now. A study of past and present revolutionary history shows us that a long struggle is the way to liberation. I'll be talking about these two aspects and how they contribute to defeatism, let us begin with what I believe to be the main factor, Zionist technological superiority.

1) Technological superiority:

The "Israeli" Occupation Forces do outgun the Palestinians. The technological superiority of the imperialist powers is an undisputable fact. The rabid imperialists use their technology to cause mass death, with their main genocidal tool of airstrikes. They have drones, tanks and planes. Yes, it's important to keep in mind the strengths of the enemy, the PFLP outlines this in their "Strategy for the Liberation of Palestine". We must not underestimate them.

But we cannot underestimate the resistance either. We cannot judge the resistance by imperialist strategy. Just as the imperialists have their method of war, so do oppressed nations and peoples. The method of peoples war and resistance have been developed throughout the modern era. Let us focus our lens on South-West Asia only. The brutal 2003 invasion of Iraq showed the utter failure of oppressed nations in fighting against the imperialists on the same terrain. The Iraqi army was not able to withstand the US for many reasons, among them the reactionary character of the Saddam government. However, the mass popular resistance was far more successful due to its nature as a peoples resistance. It's reliance on the broad masses of Iraqis is evident in one particular example I'd like to talk about before we move on. On the 23rd of March 2023, Iraqis had managed to damage 29 and down 1 Apache attack helicopter with simple rifles and machine guns. How? Through fighting our own way! Essentially, it was known by this point that the Americans send their planes, then helicopters to clear out an area before sending out their ground troops. A usual cowardly imperialist tactic. The Iraqis then, to quote from the now-defunct "World to Win" journal "Rather than using radar [they] appear to have relied on ground observers who reported on cellular phones and low power radios." Once the helicopters were spotted, the lights in the city were flickered to signal to the soldiers and the people to fire in this one broad direction! This was done by a disorganised Iraqi resistance with no breathing room! Does this not show the power of a unified people fighting imperialism with their own strategy? Ultimately, we in Iraq still have to expel the imperialist forces, and we will soon enough. But let us move to Lebanon and Hezbollah quickly. Let's not forget that they kicked out the so-called invincible "Israeli" army in 2006! Many resistance groups were involved in the struggle against the imperialist-backed Daesh too. All these years of cumulative experience against enemies that are either imperialist powers or are backed by imperialist powers have made the resistance a force to be reckoned with.

Now, let us look at the Palestinian resistance dealing with the technological superiority of the Zionists. The resistance has completely neutralised the Zionist Merkava tank with their Al-Yassin 105 RPGS. In fact, by the 100th day of Al-Aqsa Flood Battle on January 14th, the resistance reported over 1000 Zionist vehicles out of service! They have given us sufficient proof of this with the videos they publish online. On top of this, the tactic of cheap rockets with high volumes has rendered the Iron Dome more and more useless! No tactic or weapon is invincible, and through creativity and bravery, anything can be surmounted.

Simply put: The imperialists will always have more arms and a higher level of technological superiority to us. We acknowledge this. But this does not mean that we cannot resist and win in our own ways! Within

every war, each side has its own advantages and disadvantages, let us not let the imperialists scare us with their tech. In appearance they are terrifying, in reality, they are politically weak because of their disconnect with the people of the world.

2) **The Protracted Palestinian Struggle:**

The long road of liberation is filled with victories and defeats, advances, and retreats. History has shown this time and time again. A shining example is Vietnam, they fought against the French, the Japanese and the Americans throughout a long struggle and came out of it victorious! Three different powerful imperialist powers could not defeat the masses of Vietnam. In their long national liberation war, they continuously improved their tactics in their wider strategy of peoples war until ultimate victory.

We here in the imperial core have been utterly put in disarray from the revolutionary tradition through covert measures and repression. The wave of reaction in the 80s and 90s destroyed the continuity of revolutionary organising. The defeat of the miners' strike in Britain, COINTELPRO in the US, operation Gladio in the Mediterranean area and on and on. It is important to keep in mind that internal factors are the final determinant over external factors, so, while these repressive acts were horrible and powerful, parties and organisations that adhere to a correct and advanced political line are able to survive them, as we see with the revolutionaries in India surviving and growing after multiple repression campaigns, such as Operation Green Hunt. We must keep our political analysis grounded concretely and not fall to revisionism.

For a long time, the left has been in a state of reorganising and rebuilding and only recently have we seen the fruits of that effort. This has been the case worldwide, even within Palestine with the great setbacks of the Oslo Accords. But! They have a continuity with their past leading organisations! Their new resistance groups are working hand in hand with their older organisations. We see this with the leading factions of Hamas, the PFLP, PIJ and the DFLP. In fact, the PFLP is one of the oldest ongoing revolutionary parties in the world, and studying them, you can see that even now, the current resistance has implemented the lessons and analysis from them! This unity is reaching higher and higher levels at all times, in 2018, the four leading factions, alongside 6 others formed the "Joint Operations Room." Let me quote the resistance directly on their Joint Operations Room:

"Of course, the Resistance is advancing year after year and developing its work mechanisms and benefiting from its experiences, whether in the aspect of promoting achievements or correcting and addressing mistakes. Therefore, the Resistance today has reached a stage where war and confrontation can only be undertaken by a unified, collective and thoughtful decision."

To wrap up on the unity of the resistance. The PFLP, Hamas, DFLP, PIJ, and PFLP-GC have released a statement in which they state: "Rejecting all solutions and scenarios for the so-called "Future of the Gaza Strip," and presenting a national Palestinian solution based on forming a national unity government that emerges from comprehensive national consensus including all parties, responsible for unifying national institutions in the occupied lands in the West Bank and the Strip" Their tactical unity is something we must learn from. Some people have the audacity to claim that the Zionists let Hamas begin the Al-Aqsa Flood battle. Now, I'll comment on this lightly, as Max Ajl fantastic article "Misreading Palestine" deals with this frankly racist and patronising opinion. This bizarre perspective seems to hold the Palestinian resistance at the mercy of the Occupation. As if they cannot plan and succeed by themselves! This chauvinistic view sees the resistance as foolish and acting out spontaneously. This view posits that Arabs are not rational actors and that we only act out of emotion! If that was the case, you would see no patience and no negotiation at all from the resistance towards the Zionists. Progressives must discard this viewpoint immediately. Of course, the resistance were prepared for such a brutal response from the enemy! They have taken it to their advantage, destroying hundreds of tanks and straight up expelling the Zionist forces from many regions in Gaza! The Al-Aqsa Flood Battle has reinvigorated the resistance in the West Bank, with a significant uptick in actions as we can see with the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade!

Let us expand from the front in Palestine and look to the wider region. Palestine is not alone. The resistance organisations in Yemen, Lebanon and Iraq are suffocating the occupation! Look at the Yemenis and their blockade of Israel with the Red Sea, or the Lebanese, with their constant targeting and harassment of Occupation forces in the north, or of the Iraqi resistance targeting US bases throughout Iraq and Syria. These resistance groups understand that this is a fundamentally protracted struggle. Israel and its imperialist

overlord, the US, want this to be a quick war. Historically, they have always defeated us in quick, conventional wars. Look at Al-Naksah, also known as the 1967 war. The resistance has learnt from history. Furthermore, we are seeing the resistance organisations increase their actions over time, they have so much more in store to fight the enemy! They know what they're doing and to claim otherwise is absurd.

This is a genocidal war towards the Palestinian Nation. It is brutal and ruthless; it has exposed the world imperialist powers ferocious and bloodthirsty nature. Imperialism is a savage beast that cannot be reasoned with. The past and present has shown that it is in its nature to always attack the oppressed peoples of the world, as it has shown with its attacks on Yemen recently. But if that is the nature of imperialism, what is the nature of the oppressed nations? It is to fight and struggle, even when defeated, they will return to fighting and struggling, until ultimate victory. Have the Palestinians not constantly shown us this? Even when faced with seemingly insurmountable odds, they continue to fight and resist. And they will win, our only role in the imperial core is to support the front line and the Palestinian masses. As the Resistance News Network says: Arm yourself by knowing the line! Arm yourself with knowledge and amplify the front line of Palestine!

To end this, let me quote, the revolutionary martyr Ghassan Kanafani "Imperialism has laid its body all over the world, the head in Eastern Asia, the heart in the Middle East, its arteries reaching Africa and Latin America. Wherever you strike it, you damage it, and you serve the world revolution." So, for us living in the belly of the beast, let us strike it from the inside and serve the peoples of the world!

Footnotes

- 1) "The Masses vs. High-Tech Weapons: The Defeat of the 11th Attack Helicopter Regiment," *A World to Win*, 2005, https://bannedthought.net/International/RIM/AWTW/2005-31/iraq_high_tech.htm
- 2) Martyr Izz El-Din Al-Qassam Brigades military spokesperson, Abu Obeida's speech on the 100th day of Al-Aqsa Flood, January 14th, 2024
- 3) "Joint Room and 'Unity of the Squares': What Will the Next Israeli War on Gaza Look Like," *Palestine Chronicle*, June 12, 2023, <https://www.palestinechronicle.com/joint-room-and-unity-of-the-squares-what-will-the-next-israeli-war-on-gaza-look-like/>
- 4) Resistance News Network
- 5) Max Ajl, "Misreading Palestine," *Ebb Magazine*, 2023.

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**"When we revolt it's not
for a particular culture.
We revolt simply because,
for many reasons, we can
no longer breathe"**

Franz Fanon

11 de mayo Día de Solidaridad Mundial con la Lucha del Pueblo de Palestina / May 11 Day of World Solidarity with the Struggle of the People of Palestine / le 11 mai Journée de Solidarité Mondiale avec la Lutte du Peuple de Palestine

يوم التضامن العالمي مع النضال الفلسطيني - 11 أيار



Fri 8 March - Feminists for a Free Palestine
1pm Demo in George Square
6pm Discussion in The Voice
Room Level 1 Strathclyde SU

Sat 9 March - 12pm Demo @ George Sq

Tues 19 March - Palestine Movement Assembly
@ Govanhill Neighbourhood
Centre, 6-8.30pm

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