

SETTLE YOUR QUARRELS

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Letter from the Editors

"The resistance against the Zionist project may last for a hundred years or more, so those who lack patience should step aside."

—George Habash

Dear Readers,

As we write to you, a ceasefire deal has just been approved. After fifteen months of unhindered genocide, depravity, death, and destruction, the people of Gaza may finally be granted the opportunity to grieve the loss of their loved ones, bury their dead in the earth, celebrate their liberation from fields of canvas flaps and tents, and still their minds in comforting silence without the incessant zananeh of drones. We acknowledge the optimism and celebration that this critical juncture brings, and we pray the relief from this suffering is permanent. We must also tread with caution into this new stage of heightened uncertainty. Despite the immediate end to the genocide and assault on the people of Gaza, our struggle does not end with it.

While the realities on the ground may quickly change, our struggle in the imperial core remains. The structural forces driving US imperialism, funding the Zionist occupation, and perpetuating global systems of oppression endure, as well as our institutions' legitimization and normalization of these forces. The path before us is defined by our responsibility to the Palestinian people and cause, though

the nature of our work and our approach may feel uncertain.

We understand that the unity and clarity derived from the current political moment will not last. As the water muddies and our collective understanding comes into question, our commitment and discipline alone will hold our movement together. It is imperative that we struggle through divisions, contentions, and controversies for the purpose of educating ourselves and our communities, building the consciousness of the masses, and preparing a new generation to pick up the mantle of struggle.

Gaza may soon be liberated from the constant onslaught of bombs and bullets, but Palestine is not yet free, and the US Empire has not yet fallen. Our victory is contingent on our ability to maintain the struggle through lulls and peaks, through ruptures, and through repression; in other words, our struggle is protracted.

Never in history has a student movement led a revolutionary cause to victory alone; this is not our position nor should it be our goal. Just as Kata'ib al-Fida' al-Arabi prepared the ground for the rise of the Arab National Movement, or the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee prepared the ground for the rise of the Black Panther Party, we must sow the seeds for a true anti-imperialist movement to rise up within the core. The Student Movement for Palestinian Liberation is an incubator, a vehicle, not the entity that will inevitably deliver liberation and the dissolution of imperialism and colonial domination.

Acknowledging this role requires us to prepare now to resist the forces that seek to divide us, to navigate the contradictions-internal and external-that threaten our progress, and to settle our quarrels with grace and discipline. Our unity arises from our willingness to struggle, and our resolve sustains itself through our radical belief that a new reality is possible. We will fulfill our duty to the people of Palestine and the people of the world.

Until liberation,

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المقاومة المكتوبة - Editorial Board National Students for Justice in Palestine

A New Year for Reflection: Re-Unifying the Movement for Palestinian Liberation

H.S. - Muslim Student Association

As we step into the new year, over 450 days since the start of the genocide in Gaza, this is a moment to reflect—not just on our progress but on the challenges we must traverse for the movement for Palestinian liberation to reach its full potential. The past sixteen months have been a testament to the power of collective action, with SJPs and student organizers building one of the most impactful student movements in recent history. Hundreds of thousands of voices from diverse backgrounds and identities united under one shared demand: end the genocide and free Palestine.

This movement has undeniably shifted the narrative on campuses and beyond, showcasing the strength of true solidarity in action. But as we celebrate these wins, it's also time to examine the cracks beneath the surface of our movement. A major challenge that continues to cause concern is the noticeable absence of many Muslims in the broader Palestinian solidarity movement. On some campuses, this silence is deafening; on others, it is highly polarizing and inhibits us from achieving and using collective power. To understand this dynamic, we must understand the history of this movement and its shifts over time.

It is critical to acknowledge the lens of the historian providing this holistic context and المقاومة المكتولة

history. I am an ethnically Gazan, faithrooted organizer with a professional career in organizing and mobilizing Muslim college students. I work with an organization that has fostered some of the nation's most politically engaged Muslims, who have sparked struggles as avenues of power for students nationwide. Having worked closely with SJP and Muslim Students Association (MSA) students alike, I have witnessed the student movement's fissures and the justifiable—and sometimes unjustifiable barriers that have hindered the movement's progress and strength. I share this information to acknowledge the vantage point that informs my historical account and recommendations.

Historically, Palestinian advocacy was not a central issue for students; years before the first SJP chapter was established, Muslim Student Associations (MSA) often upheld Palestinian advocacy efforts on campus. This commitment to the Palestinian liberation struggle was so deeply integrated into the function of MSA that it became ingrained in the organization's ethos and a central part of Muslim students' political identity. In those years, through the 1980s and into the early 1990s, Muslim students were the loudest-and sometimes the only-voices calling for the liberation of Palestine until the first SJP chapter was established at the University of California

at Berkeley in 1993. Chapters of MSA and SJP began to work hand-in-hand, organizing high-risk actions and facing real consequences, such as arrest, prosecution, expulsion, and suspension, much like the students leading the movement today.

Over time, the relationship between the two organizations grew apart, mainly due to differences in ideology and their visions of liberation. MSA and SJP began settling into their unique identities, priorities, and roles on campus; many MSA chapters heavily centered Palestinian organizing through an Islamic lens, while many SJP chapters adopted secular organizing frameworks focused on decolonization and an antiimperialist orientation. This difference in strategic vision happened organically and held merit but also created sensitive dynamics around how prevalent Islam should be in Palestinian advocacy efforts when decolonization, anti-imperialism, and ending apartheid were the tangible priorities of the movement. The divergence between the two strongest on-campus Palestinian allies was practical. MSA, being ideologically unaligned with the decentralization of Islam in campus strategies and with sizeable Muslim bases on campus, slowly distanced themselves from on-campus activism. At the same time, SJP continued to develop a secular political framework that reconciled Palestinian

activists' varying ideologies and identities. On many campuses, relations between the two organizations became hostile or wholly severed, eventually morphing into a distant allyship that cyclically re-emerged in the form of coalitions when agitation around the Palestinian cause was needed on campus. This civil, temperate, and transactional allyship manifests in unity when solidarity is direly needed, only to fracture when the political climate becomes calm again.

Understanding the Moral Divide

The occupation of Palestine and the genocide of its people can and should be understood through multiple lenses, each of which requires space and prioritization differently—it is a human issue, a political issue, and an Islamic issue simultaneously. These lenses are not mutually exclusive; they rely on each other to form a broad coalition, clarifying the different ideological bases of the cause. The area of strife, however, is centered on how much weight should be given to the inter-religious and Islamic sides of the issue. Considering the prevalence of Islam in Palestine and the centrality of its tenets in the resistance of many Palestinians—particularly the deeply broadcasted tawakkul (trust in God) of the people of Gaza throughout the genocide, which has stirred the hearts of a once-apathetic international audience-it





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is both strategic and necessary to create space for an Islamic framework within the solidarity movement, just as a secular political framework has strengthened and sustained the cause. Islam has resonated "with those striving for liberation precisely because it doesn't promote surrender to and acceptance of tyranny as virtue. The Palestinian cause is no exception." This resistance against tyranny is a key Islamic value that has similar power to bridge ideologically different groups on faith-based principles.

However, it is equally vital for Muslims, Muslim student organizers, and MSA chapters to recognize that Islam cannot and should not be the sole organizing framework for all Palestinian advocacy. Similarly, we need to acknowledge that other organizers refusing to adopt an Islamic framework does not excuse Muslims from disengaging from Palestinian organizing. This would overlook the fact that genocide, colonization, forced displacement, and Zionist oppression are violations faced by all Palestinians, regardless of their faith or identity; it risks reducing these atrocities to a result of a religious dispute. A successful movement must honor the diversity of Palestinian identities and ensure that our political and ideological frameworks match the collective nature of the fight for liberation. By integrating Islamic perspectives in ways that coexist with other frameworks, the moral, spiritual, and strategic strengths of faith-based advocacy can attract Muslims aligned with the cause and maintain an inclusive and unified front.

The Path Forward: Prioritizing Meaningful Base Building

If the Palestinian solidarity movement is to achieve its ultimate goals-policy change, financial divestment, and an American cultural shift against Zionist oppression and apartheid-it must sustain a unified, racially and faith-diverse coalition that draws on the unique strengths, connections, and influence of each community involved. Currently, this vision remains incomplete. Without a doubt, the Muslim-American community is one of the largest allies of the cause, with the willingness to invest resources, time, and money into the struggle. Yet, despite strong efforts by SJP leadership to engage Muslim students specifically, many Muslim students and organizations remain absent from agitational organizing. Islam is a powerful motivator for many Muslims to commit to the fight for Palestinian liberation and also serves to define their deal-breakers for choosing to engage in specific spaces or actions. For Muslim students to feel confident and invested in this work, it is essential to identify and respect their nonnegotiables for participation. Overlooking this reality risks alienating tens, if not hundreds, of Muslims on a given campus, as Thrift4Gaza, January 10, 2025 - Grace C. Mc Nally I @grmcn

even seemingly minor moral misalignments can deter widespread engagement in Palestinian activism.

Resolving these conflicts calls for transparent dialogue between SJP and MSA chapters, including honest discussions about the Muslim student body's positionality, ideological tenets, and adjustments that can create a more inclusive environment. Without these conversations, opportunities to unify both communities and frameworks, amplifying and solidifying the movement's power, will continue to be missed.

The starting point for this work is base-building. While this is a foundational pillar of effective community organizing, the current relationship between SJP and MSA on many campuses remains superficial and, at times, almost competitive. Most interactions and collaborations are transactional—sharing posts on social media, helping find speakers, or collaborating on occasional events. This approach falls far short of the genuine partnership needed to create a robust coalition. It prevents both entities from using their commonality and sincerity to drive the cause forward despite their differences in ideology and tactics.

SJP chapters must move beyond surface-level collaboration to deeply engage the communities of Muslim students on campus. SJP leadership should identify organizers best suited to facilitate connections and set up conversational sessions that bring together SJP members, Palestinian and Muslim students, and MSA leadership. These conversations should honestly address barriers to collaboration and explore ways to build stronger bonds. To ensure these efforts are meaningful, SJPs must work with MSAs to create a

shared vision to encourage active Muslim participation in SJP chapters' political strategy and campaigns.

At the same time, MSA chapters must not walk away from the efforts SJP chapters have invested in creating alignment. Instead, they must work hard to represent their community's needs, motivate Muslim students to join organizing spaces and invest their time and effort in Palestinian activism. MSA leadership must be ready to lead their community even when community members inevitably disagree. This requires courage from Muslim leaders, too; progress won't be possible if leaders simply choose the path of least resistance to get through their leadership term.

For relations between SJP and MSA to overcome past challenges, both organizations must commit to building trust, clarify shared goals, and be willing to adapt. SJP boards must evaluate how their current approach aligns with Muslim students' values, ensuring their framework can function alongside faith-based engagement. MSA leaders must commit to Palestine organizing as a core organizational priority, clearly communicating the community's boundaries, actively participating in decision-making, and educating their broader membership to foster sustained involvement rather than occasional participation. When both sides dedicate themselves to this work, the result can be transformative. A movement that effectively harnesses the collective strength of its racially and faith-diverse base may achieve the sweeping changes necessary for justice and liberation in Palestine. But that future begins now—with honest conversations, relationship building, and a shared commitment to unity.



Medicine, a Lagging Student Front for Palestine

Khaled Shihabi - University of Oklahoma

The bombing of hospitals in Gaza, deliberately targeted by the occupation's military, is not just collateral damage; it is central to the project of genocide. Hospitals are critical lifelines for besieged people, serving as centers for immediate medical care and powerful symbols of resilience and hope. By extinguishing these hearts and crippling Gaza's healthcare system, the occupation seeks to deepen the human toll of its murderous onslaught and erase the infrastructural capacity necessary for Palestinian survival. As medical students, we are crucial in the struggle for liberation and justice. Our position and knowledge in the healthcare field uniquely situate us as both witnesses to and challengers of this systematic oppression.

We can grasp the health consequences better than anyone else. When we hear reports of patients with peeled-off skin covering their entire body, teenagers with thousand-yard stares and amputated limbs, or physicians singing lullabies to comfort children while suturing shrapnel wounds amid the rubble of what were once their homes, all without any form of pain medication, we understand the degree of suffering and far-reaching repercussions that are likely to follow. Though we may feel devastated behind closed doors, our eyes fixed on videos of these abhorrent crimes in horror, silent mourning achieves nothing unless transformed into fuel for action.

Dr. Hammam Alloh, a Palestinian kidney doctor martyred in November of 2023, provides a profound understanding of the role of healthcare workers in this struggle.

Dr. Alloh teaches that the physician's responsibility transcends the clinical walls, centering not on the healthcare worker but on the patient—their wishes, dignity, and holistic well-being. In his now repeatedly played clip response to those urging him to escape the North of Gaza to purported safety in the South, he remarks, "And if I go, who treats my patients? They are not animals; they have the right to receive proper health care." He continues, "You think I went to medical school for 14 years, so I can only think about my life and not my patients...this is not the reason I became a doctor."

Dr. Alloh rejects the dynamic of a one-sided relationship in healthcare, where the physician dictates the course of action and sidelines the patient's autonomy. A true physician must act as an unwavering advocate for patients, and to do so, they must engage with the social and political forces that shape health outcomes. Even the esteemed Rudolf Virchow, a pioneer in medicine and cellular pathology, aptly stated, "Medicine is a social science, and politics is nothing else but medicine on a larger scale."

This perspective is critical in understanding why healthcare students are integral to the anti-imperialist struggle for Palestinian liberation. Medicine does not exist in a vacuum; health is fundamentally shaped by material conditions. The siege of Gaza, the destruction of its healthcare infrastructure, and the occupation that denies Palestinians fundamental rights are all determinants of health. Neoliberal policies designed to uphold political and economic dominance through regime changes, sanctions, and perpetual wars entrench the region in a regurgitant cycle of violence and suffering. To remain within the confines of the clinic while ignoring these systemic drivers is

to abandon our moral duty as healthcare workers.

Institutions often instruct students that medicine should be apolitical and that 'medical neutrality' is sacrosanct. But what is medical neutrality in the face of genocide? Is it merely treating symptoms? Is it staying silent when a policy decision deprives a population of clean water, electricity, and medicine? Is it withholding criticism of the systems that create the conditions for illness that bring patients to the hospital in the first place? If neutrality means silence, then it is complicity. We understand that the genocide in Gaza is the most significant barrier to health, and any efforts to improve health without addressing the root causes—Zionist siege and occupation—amount to applying a small bandage to a gushing wound. Neutrality in such circumstances becomes a betrayal of our duty to advocate for the health and lives of our patients.

Our medical institutions have largely failed to rise to this moment. The American Medical Association (AMA) exemplifies this failure. In November 2023, the AMA refused even to debate a resolution calling for a ceasefire in Gaza. Later, in June 2024, a resolution initially advocating for a ceasefire was watered down to a vague call for "peace in Palestine and Israel," stripping it of any meaningful action. One delegate defended this inaction by arguing that the AMA lacks the "military expertise" to comment on war conduct and that taking a stance would alienate members and damage the organization's reputation. This cowardice reveals the profoundly political nature of healthcare, whether it's acknowledged or not. The AMA's refusal to confront Zionism, a racist political ideology underpinning the ethnic cleansing and genocide, underscores the urgency for us as healthcare students to act where institutions have failed.

Students must recognize that organizing for Palestinian liberation is as essential as any intervention we might perform in a clinic or operating room. Just as a surgeon removes a malignant tumor or a physician prescribes a life-saving drug regimen, our efforts must target the systemic disease of Zionism and imperialism. Our education does not prevent us from confronting these realities but compels us to do so. We can play a pivotal role in the broader movement by treating organizing as a surgical intervention—precise, necessary, and guided by a diagnosis of the root cause. We must transform our cutthroat, unhealthily competitive culture to one that emphasizes the significance of organizing for liberation, stressing that it can truly mean the difference between life and death. Protests, divestment campaigns, and other forms of collective action are

the plans we implement after thoroughly assessing the crimes we witness.

The struggle for health is inseparable from the struggle for justice. As medical students, our responsibility extends beyond the walls of our institutions. As students of this deeply political discipline, we must advocate for our patients while we also confront the global systems that reproduce their suffering. Only then will we be able to fulfill our proper role as advocates for health and life.

United for Palestine in Indian Territory

Abraar Hassany - University of Oklahoma

Oklahoma is Indian Territory. The word "Oklahoma" has no historical significance to the Wichita or Caddo people who have lived here for millennia. Instead, a Choctaw chief gave the state its name after being forcibly relocated to Indian Territory from Mississippi and Alabama in the 1830s. What we know as Oklahoma is an artificial boundary that was designed to contain and trap dozens of native tribes. Everything about this state, the banks, the oil industry, the universities, the police, and the political institutions, has been shaped by the explicit desire to destroy native peoples and settle on their land. White settlers arriving in the 19th century set about creating a society that would facilitate the privatization of all tribal land and destroy their languages, cultures, and legal sovereignty. Settlercolonial domination is the primary contradiction in Oklahoman society, and Christian Zionism has an ideological stranglehold over its political system.

Since the beginning of the Gaza genocide in October 2023, Oklahomans of all backgrounds have formed a broad front of Arab, Muslim, Indigenous, and progressive working-class people against the alliance of reactionary forces that control the machinery of colonial violence within the state. Oklahoma runs on extractive industries (chiefly petroleum and mineral mining) and the Department of Defense. Companies like Boeing, Raytheon, and Lockheed Martin operate extensively across the state, and US military installations dot the countryside. These industries' ties to colonialism in Palestine are well-known, and their overwhelming strength ensures that all the key sectors of capitalist interest in the state remain firmly committed to Zionism and colonial expansion.

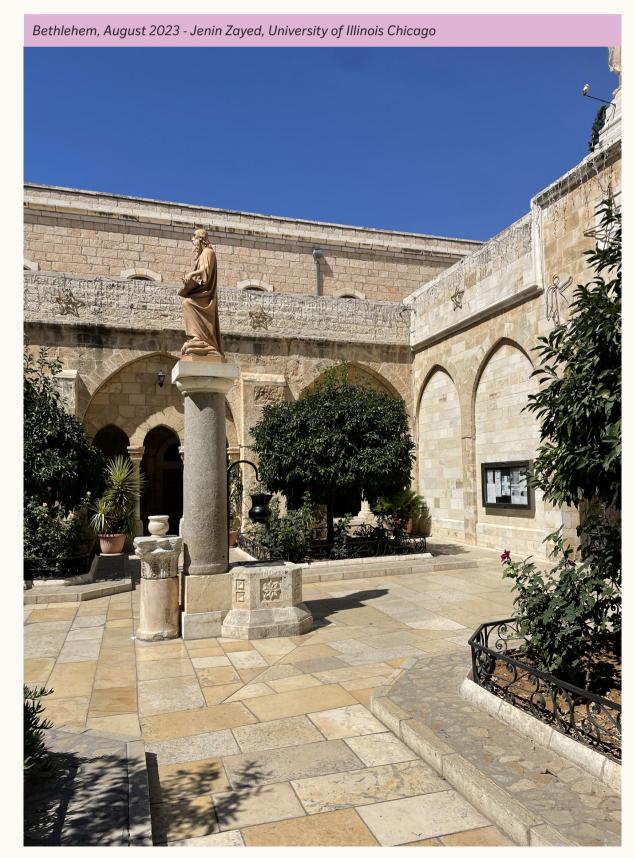
The unity and reactionary character of Oklahoma's ruling class, however, produces a strong solidarity between all anti-fascist forces in the state. Before the current stage of the anti-Zionist struggle, large protests against Israel's invasions of Gaza in 2021 were coordinated by the same people who

were involved in Black Lives Matter actions in 2020 and reproductive rights organizing in 2022 after the repeal of Roe v. Wade. Oklahoma's barbaric abortion laws and the GOP's dangerous propagation of anti-trans and anti-queer hysteria have produced a profound radicalization among young Oklahomans away from liberal politics towards direct action and community organizing. All of these social forces were in place before the break-out of Gaza in 2023; the clarity of Palestine as a colonial occupation maintained by the state of Oklahoma helped to direct relatively isolated movements toward common political goals.

Immediately after October 7, Oklahoma experienced a mass uptick in anti-Zionist action. Largely defunct student groups reorganized themselves and joined a broader network of SJPs, while communities that had little experience with

Palestine activism spontaneously began confronting the state. Students across the state started coordinating their actions and working alongside local community institutions like mosques and cultural associations. The Student Coalition for Palestinian Liberation (now OU SJP) at the University of Oklahoma was caught unaware by the massive display of public support for Palestinian freedom. In the initial days after October 7, we began organizing educational events on Zionism and the Palestinian cause. None of us expected more than 300 people to attend the first teach-in. We then understood that this was a revolutionary moment, even in a highly conservative environment, and that our agitation was not enough.

Oklahoma has a relatively small Arab population, so it was critical for us to broaden the movement and build a coalition of students united on basic



divestment demands. Oklahoma State University SJP arose from a collaboration between its Student Socialist League and its Muslim Student Association. The protests on OSU's campus became some of the largest in the university's history and garnered harsh administrative pushback. OSU SJP was explicitly targeted by Governor Kevin Stitt and the state GOP, who directed the OSU administration to revoke SJP's protest and demonstration permits. Stitt is known for being one the most anti-Indigenous and reactionary governors in the country, and he is widely disliked by those working in education for his neoliberal, Christian nationalist policy. The governor's repeated attempts to crack down on anti-Zionism on both OU and OSU's campuses have polarized faculty against the state Department of Education. The strong alliance between Zionism and Christian fundamentalism in Oklahoma, to many liberals, clarifies the fascist nature of the Zionist project. The continuous mission for Oklahoman students, however, is to organize ourselves and our allies in faculty against the corporate interests that hold all the meaningful power in the University structure.

Divestment from corporate-colonial institutions is now the rallying call for all revolutionary movements in the State. As the University of Oklahoma is the third largest employer in the state, Indigenous land defense groups now work with SJP and other campus-based groups to uncover and expose the university's financial ties to mining corporations that exploit and pollute tribal lands. Opposition to the Westwin corporation (heavily tied to the militaryindustrial complex) and its planned cobalt refinery is now a strong bridge between the state's Indigenous land protection movement and anti-Zionist activists. Joint campaigns mutually develop the ideological character of both groups and improve their tactical, operational, and strategic capabilities.

Cooperative struggle on Oklahoman campuses brings isolated students together and allows them to articulate more significant critiques against the capitalist system; more than this, a united struggle expands political possibilities by placing larger groups of people in confrontation with the ruling class. The ever-present threat of fascist violence against immigrants, queer people, and tribal nations from the forces of the state government creates the necessity for united action. No good Democrat is coming to save us or you. We must fight for liberation with our friends and neighbors, on and off our campuses. In this way, Oklahoma is not unique at all; it is one of many sites of struggle against fascism across the country and the world. The same possibilities for unity and joint struggle exist in all our communities across Turtle Island.

What is the Nation but a Confounded Embrace?

Kavisha Prajapati - Loyola University Chicago

What is the nation but a confounded embrace? What is the body but the politics of the state?

We seek it to keep us safe, when in reality:

Legislation lacks transparency --

Funded by blood money,

Lobbying is poisoned by greed

And swayed by everything other than the preservation of life.

Accountability hides behind a smoke screen

Because the law is nothing but a formality when

'Criminal' is a label defined by racial politics and

The highest court in the country is infiltrated by r*pists

Who remain blind to crimes of structural violence.

Leaders claim debt and no taxes for social services or universal healthcare

But the rich get away scot-free, and there's always money for the military?

Why send missiles to bomb a land that's not ours?

Every day, lineages are wiped away.

Mothers lose their sons too early to see them become big brothers Grandfathers grieve the love they missed from their daughters.

At the end of the day, it's ego-driven

power-hungry

hate-ridden

murderous intent.

Skip the rest and own up to it with your chest.

Some of us are put into a cycle of scarcity, deprived of basic humanity

Too busy surviving to demand reparations.

Some of us are deluded into complacency,

Too distracted by the latest trends

To recognize when we're being manipulated,

Or stripped of our agency.

It's all by design

When will we realize they are feeding us lies --

They colonize, whispering to us that we are too different to be friends and allies,

Too weak to topple the status quo

Trying to conquer and divide, it's a strategy as old as time.

Skin tones and lifestyles aside, we derive from the same bloodlines.

Who are you to me but family when our struggles are variations of the same violent strategy?

I light a lamp for my sisters and brothers, fallen at the hands of the White Man

Etch their lives into collective memory

Raise their last words to resound beyond space and time

Carry their cause in the crevices of my soul

As theirs transcend to meet the Creator.

The nation may never be more than a confounded embrace, but the body - our bodies, together - maybe they can redefine the politics of the state.

Her Name is Revolution

Anonymous - Hunter College

I met her on the first Monday of June, I felt the sweat drip on my bright red nose, I looked into her eyes,

And I could swear to the very God I call Allah.

Tomorrow existed once more

Her deep brown pupils, wide and dilated Her white sclera, like untouched snow Her long eyelashes, guarding secrets with every blink

I prayed and prayed for one more look, For one more smirk, Oh, just one more chance To feel her rage and taste her blaze.

I met her again when blood filled the air, When the gunshot rang, I knew her finger was on the trigger, With a lighter in the other hand,

And she came closer to whisper in one ear, "Are you ready to see it burn down?"

I watched and stared, Her fire consumed the air around me. Her eyes, raw with rage, Her jet-black hair, wild and untamed,

And when the ashes settled, I saw her smile as the Old

World

Went in

Flames

Her name is Revolution, and I still dream about her today.



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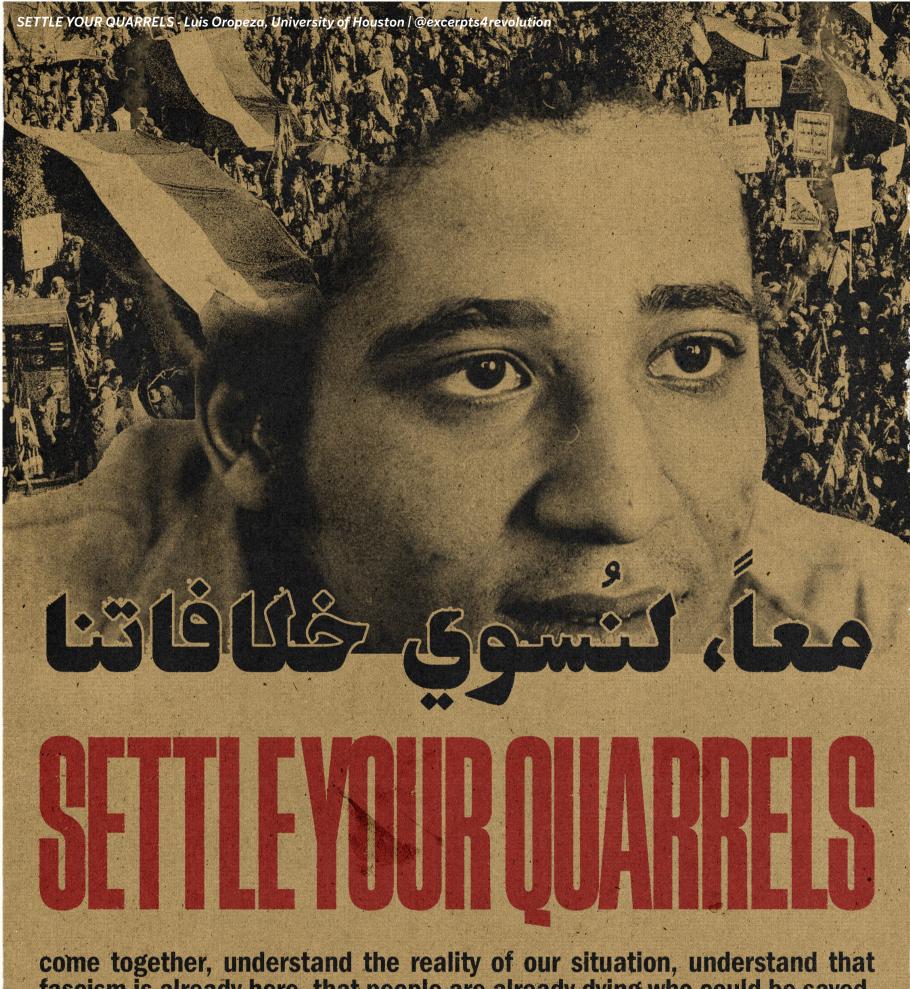
Ghazal to the Middle East

Salma Amrou - The College of William & Mary

This body confined long enough becomes a border, all craning neck beneath the chopping block, Sykes and Picot traced the outline of your neck wrapped in a kuffiyeh, the tip of Mount Sinai dips from your shoulder blooming in a tender bruise, the color of conquest spreads down your neck from Cairo to Damascus, Layla's henna-stained palms are red with blood, tying the knot of a contract and the noose around your neck and Jerusalem, jugular vein, knows intimately life and death and the lust of foreign men. Find God closer than even the vein in your neck, gushing with the life they seize but cannot claim for themselves. In Gaza, a child and another child and another child's heads are blown off their necks as their murderers wrap a tie around theirs every morning, bombs dropping with the fury of a thousand setting suns, sinking into the neck of a thousand upon thousands of rising sons cradled from womb to tomb beneath your skin, teeth etched into headstones, bending neck in prayer, words swallowed and buried in your throat. Your limbs

revolt against themselves, children with phantom arms and legs and a neck that carries a phantom head. Name a revolution that did not become a neck, vulnerable and vital. Across borders, they kiss and hold the same knife to our necks.





come together, understand the reality of our situation, understand that fascism is already here, that people are already dying who could be saved, that generations more will live poor butchered half-lives if you fail to act. Do what must be done, discover your humanity and your love in revolution.



GEORGE JACKSON

★ SEP 23, 1941 - AUG 21, 1971



The Call for a People's Arms Embargo: Mask Off Maersk

Obi Dennar - PYM Houston

During the last day of the People's Conference, a convening of Palestine organizations and community members in May 2024 in Detroit, the Palestinian Youth Movement (PYM) launched its "Mask Off Maersk" campaign. The introduction of this campaign marked a watershed moment not only for the PYM but also for the Palestine movement in the United States and the West. With the American-engineered genocide of Palestinians in Gaza reaching its seventh month during the conference, the unwavering desire of our so-called elected representatives to encourage the atrocities explicitly in word and action was felt by the masses who had been mobilizing for Palestine since the start of the genocide. This sentiment was accented by the inaction of the Biden administration after the invasion of Rafah, despite him claiming Rafah was his red line. This moment coincided with the movement for Palestine pivoting from focusing on mobilizations to a higher level of organizing by pulling our collective strength and resources together and conducting campaigns. The rationale for the campaign's launch is by targeting Maersk, we can target an essential part of the global arms trade, given that Maersk not only shipped 90% of the weapons that the US used in Iraq and Afghanistan but is also responsible for thousands of shipments containing military cargo that used to massacre our people in Gaza.1

The targeting of Maersk signifies an understanding that the unprecedented scale of mass murder we are witnessing today would not be possible without the corporations that not only facilitate its perpetuation but also derive profit from it. Logistics companies like Maersk are essential parts of the weapons industry supply chain as they are the internal nodes that engineer military cargo transportation worldwide for assembly and delivery. Without Maersk, weapons manufacturers like General Dynamics and Lockheed Martin would not only be unable to receive the parts needed to create weapons, but they also wouldn't be able to deliver them to the Zionist entity. By targeting Maersk, the Mask off Maersk campaign also targets the underbelly of the global arms trade.

The two central demands of the Mask Off Maersk campaign are as precise as they are definitive of the vision it seeks to bring about through its success: 1) Stop transporting military cargo complicit in the genocide of the Palestinian people and 2) Terminate all contracts that support war

and genocide, including Maersk's contracts with the US Department of Defense and the Israeli Ministry of Defense. The campaign's stated goal of imposing a people's arms embargo emanates from an understanding that real and meaningful political change only occurs when the masses get organized and demonstrate their collective strength to their governments. We do not have time to wait until our corrupt politicians continue to ignore us after a year of genocide - we must enforce an arms embargo ourselves.

The last two months of 2024 have seen significant achievements for the campaign, exemplifying both the potential and potency of targeting Maersk's involvement in this global genocidal network. At the beginning of November, the Intercept released an article outlining the role Maersk plays in facilitating the manufacture and delivery of military cargo used in the Zionist entity's genocide against Palestinians in Gaza. It examines the parts of the imperialist global system and the roles they play in the genocide, highlighting that "every chain of complicity that sustains the Israeli project of mass death depends on logistics companies like Maersk."2 For example, the 155mm artillery shells the IOF have used to fire internationally banned white phosphorus in Gaza and throughout Lebanon are assembled at General Dynamics facilities, like the one that just opened in Mesquite, Texas, in the Dallas-Fort Worth metroplex. These facilities receive the heavy machinery to produce these 155mm shells via Maersk, and the finished products are delivered to the Zionist entity by similar logistics companies.3

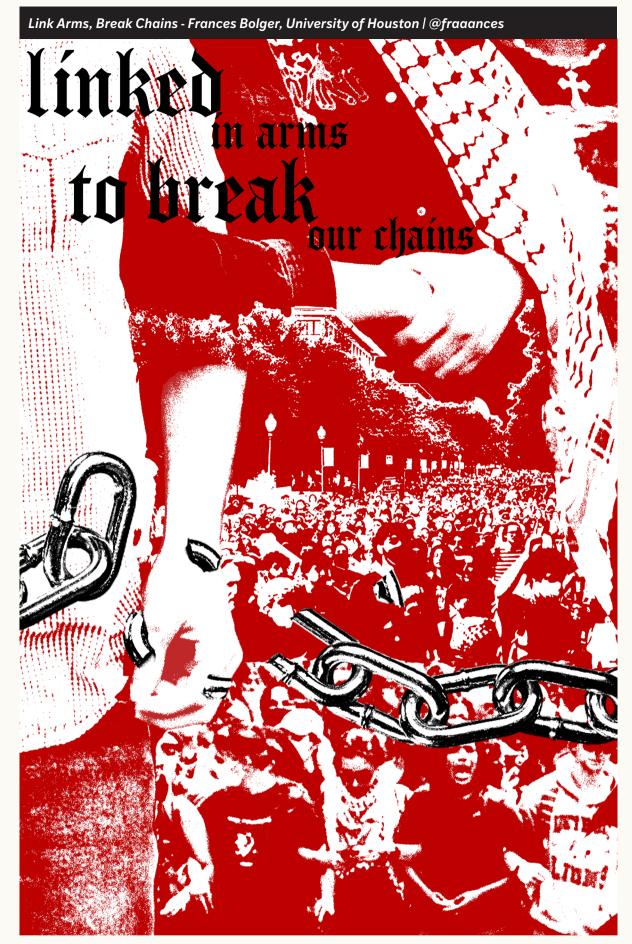
This November article also revealed that Maersk's role in the genocide violated Spain's embargo policy. Spanish law "bars cargo ships carrying weapons that could be used for war crimes from making calls in Spanish ports," with the foreign ministry explicitly stating in May of 2024 that "the rule would apply to military goods bound for Israel."4 Since then, Maersk has been routinely violating this law. Between September 2023 and September 2024, research shows that Maersk made 2,110 shipments containing military cargo from the United States to the Israeli military that had transited through the Spanish port of Algeciras. Of these 2,110 shipments, 944 occurred after the Spanish government announced its arms embargo.5

The publicization of these research findings had immediate material implications. The article's call for Spanish authorities to enforce their ban led to the Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs responding the day following its publication, proclaiming that "if the information is confirmed [regarding Maersk violating the arms embargo], all necessary measures will be

taken."6 Spain acted upon this statement two days later when Spain denied two Maersk shipments, Maersk Seletar and Maersk Denver, from docking in Algeciras due to the research conducted by Progressive International and the PYM demonstrating the high probability of these shipments carrying military cargo to be used by the Zionist entity in the genocide of Palestinians in Gaza. Spain's denial forced these two shipments to reroute to the Tanger Med port on the 8th of November, where not only popular protests numbering in the hundreds met the Maersk ships, but also "port workers who refused to handle the shipments and faced 'abuses from MAERSK and Tangier Port management."7 After the Intercept article and PYM research report went live, the quick succession of actions with international implications demonstrated the potential coordinated campaigns have in affecting change from a grassroots level.

This major exposé of Maersk's involvement in the genocide, accented by the PYM's International Days of Action targeting Maersk's complicity in late October and mid-December, exemplifies the power a people's arms embargo can have in terms of effecting material change. The maneuvering of those orchestrating this genocide in response to the campaign's recent gains is an exemplar of the campaign's potential. In the Intercept's second article on the campaign, they showcase that Spain's decision not to allow the docking of two Maersk ships carrying military cargo destined for the Zionist entity caused the American Federal Maritime Commission to launch a politically charged investigation against Spain. The author continues, stating that the investigation seeks to punish Spain by fining them for each military cargo-laden shipment they deny, noting that Spain's decision is legal under its own law and international humanitarian law.8 Recently, there has been a contingent of Congress representatives who have publicly voiced their opposition to this threat to Spanish sovereignty, highlighting that the investigation's stated purpose of seeing if Spain's actions "will create conditions unfavorable to shipping in the foreign trade" is a smokescreen to not only punish Spain for disrupting the American-centered genocidal network but also send a broader message to its allies of the potential consequences of them acting in the name of justice.9

The Mask Off Maersk campaign serves as a blueprint of what current and future generations of organizers living in the diaspora can embark on to play an effective role in the defeat of Zionist settler colonialism and the complete liberation of Palestine from the river to the sea. By prioritizing coordinated campaigns that target companies and entities complicit in



these imperialist crimes, our efforts are well-spent and have the potential to make real and permanent material changes. As seen in Spain, the early victories of the Mask Off Maersk campaign serve as an example of what is possible from genuine grassroots transnational organizing.

For more resources and information on the campaign, or to learn how to join our efforts, follow the Mask Off Maersk campaign on instagram @maskoff_maersk, and check out the campaign's official website at maskoffmaersk.com. A more in-depth overview of the transnational campaign can be found in a recent news segment from the Electronic Intifada, published on YouTube.

- ¹ "Closing Statement," at the People's Conference for Palestine. Michigan, May 26, 2024.
- ² Natasha Lennard, "Shipping Giant Maersk Violated Spanish Embargo on Sending Military Goods to Israel, Researchers Say." The Intercept, November 4, 2024.
- 3 PYM Dallas. "MAERSK DELIVERS DEATH." Instagram (@ PYMDallas), December 20, 2024.
- ⁴ Lennard, 2024.
- ⁵ Palestinian Youth Movement, "Evidence of Maersk Shipments to Israeli Military." November 4, 2024.
- ⁶ Lennard, 2024.
- $^{7}\,$ Adil Faouzi, "BDS Morocco Condemns Continued Use of Tangier Med for Arms Shipments to Israel." Morocco World News, December 5, 2024.
- ⁸ Lennard, 2024.
- $^{9}\,$ Alex Miller, "'Squad' Wants U.S. to Butt out of Spain's Embargo of Weapons Bound for Israel." The Washington Times,

Unite Against the Capitalist World-System

Jorge Rocha - DSA International Committee

The United States of America is undoubtedly the most powerful empire in human history. This power has grown and been sustained by a global policy of dedeveloping nations through the exploitative circuitry of the capitalist-imperialist worldsystem since 1898. The world-systems theory¹ offers an analytical framework to understand global development and history, and explain why unequal development exists in the world, an alternative to the "modernization" perspective of social progress. By understanding the global capitalist economy, financial and banking infrastructure, political and diplomatic apparatuses, and cultural and religious institutions as part of one complex system, the ways the logic of capitalism has been extended on a world scale become clearer.

Just as there are exploited, working classes within the boundaries of a particular nation—an objective condition, part of the material and social realities of a society under the capitalist mode of production there is an exploited oppressed majority on a world scale,² an objective condition of the world under the extractive machinery of hegemonic imperialism. Additionally, just as urban centers serve as "core" regions and the rural countryside serve as "peripheral" regions in a nation, there are core nations and peripheral nations in the world-system.

The core can be considered a bloc comprised of the former European colonial empires, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, and France,³ their settlerstate progeny like Australia and Israel, and historic trader nations like Switzerland and Singapore. Japan, the most recent imperial and colonial force in East Asia, is also part of this grouping. However, the United States emerged from the destruction of World War Il as the leader of them all, dominating the post-war era militarily, and, after the fall of the U.S.S.R, economically and politically. Countries such as Sudan, Haiti, and Yemen, as well as Nicaragua, the DPRK, and Burkina Faso, should be considered periphery nations; the most exploited through material extraction, military occupation or intervention, or manufactured economic dependency on the core nations.

However, important contradictions and conditions arise in the gray areas. There are always semi-peripheral regions in a nation that function as an intermediary, with a more substantial concentration of capital, infrastructure, and industry when compared to the periphery, but who are undeniably less developed than the core urban areas. Such is the same on the world





scale. The semi-periphery functions as a crucial intermediate segment in the worldsystem, involved in the exploitation of periphery nations but still subordinate to the core. Countries such as Mexico, Brazil, and South Africa, as well as Russia, China,4 and Iran, serve as semi-periphery nations in the world-system.

Nations in the semi-periphery and periphery at times come into direct conflict with the core. When nations' labor pools, capital stocks, and industries resist integration into the empire's circuitry—or "delink" from the hegemonic global economy—core exploiter nations cannot extract surplus value from them. These nations, entire civilizations with dynamic political and cultural histories that have fundamentally shaped their societal relations, are often demonized as embodiments of evil by the United States government. These are the nations that dare to refuse entry into a world-system benefitting a few, the Global North, at the expense of the many, the nations and peoples of the Global South.

To understand our conditions and progress forward, we must always acknowledge our position as imperial subjects in this worldsystem. The material basis of our society in the United States is the exploitation of a majority of the rest of the world, not only to enrich our ruling class, but to preserve favorable enough living conditions for the

lower classes to soften class struggle. The greatest thinker of our time, Ali Kadri, put it best in his book Arab Development Denied: "The question is often put in an apologetic way, as in: why should Western powers spend so much on war in countries whose income and resources will not offset war's costs? [...] It is not the money derived from the colony proper that explains colonial undertakings; it is the sum total of the monies earned from the status of empire."⁵ As food and resource sovereignty, climate change, and economic dependency become central issues to the survival of peripheral states, countless forces share an urgent struggle against the capitalist world-system: national liberation struggles, revolutionary and sovereigntist movements, labor and tenant unions, and social-democratic, socialist, and communist parties.

The task ahead of us may seem insurmountable. With over 125 years of cold and hot wars against all of humanity,6 victory against the empire may appear impossible. What is to be done? If Lenin is correct that imperialist war is the eve of socialist revolution, then permanent war should be the eve of global revolution. 7 Yet, peripheral nations and semi-peripheral nations with an anti-hegemonic position are bound everywhere by the chains of the global economy, the strength of US-

NATO military forces, the last vestiges of international law, and their own internal contradictions and conditions. A united front in all forms—against imperialism, against Nazism, against Zionism, and especially against Americanism—is required on a global scale to overcome these barriers. This is no small task. The path to triumph against the forces preserving the ruling order is to consolidate all progressive and national liberatory forces within the United States, this plantation of captive nations, and align ourselves with the interests of the rest of humanity for our singular purpose: defeat the empire. Our lives are not our own; we are all threads within the tapestry of history.

We must build a true mass movement capable of transforming our society entirely, and able to acknowledge and navigate the principal contradiction on a global scale the imperialist core's exploitation of the world's oppressed majority. Capitalism cannot be unseated as the world's dominant mode of production without victory in this struggle. This requires us to resolve the internal contradictions⁸ that plague our movements and overcome the hegemony of ruling class ideology amongst the masses, all while maintaining a careful defensive posture towards the dangers we face, including state repression and cooptation. We must also strive to be more

organized than our adversaries, as the most organized class is the class that rules.

No society or struggle is perfect, and no support should ever be entirely uncritical, but the progressive path is clear: the total dissolution of the US empire and a just transition for humanity. Any obstacle or barrier to this objective is reactionary in the ever-increasing urgency of this political moment, while any cause strong enough to move the masses towards action is pivotal to realizing this future. The fight for the complete liberation of Palestine is therefore the most urgent struggle in service of creating a new world. We should know a new world is possible; the capitalist world we live in was built brick-by-brick to replace feudalism, undermined and destroyed by expansion and greed under settler-colonialism. To quote the martyr Che Guevara: "Be realistic, demand the impossible!"

Turkish Sub-Imperialism and the Arab World

Sean Eren - Columbia University

Just two months ago, a coalition of organizations, armed factions, and external parties began a joint offensive against the severely weakened Syrian Arab Army, intending to topple Bashar al-Assad's Arab Socialist Ba'ath Party and install a new provisional government in its place. Led militarily by Hay'at Tahrir al-Sham (HTS) and the Syrian National Army—a front for the Turkish Armed Forces nominally controlled by the Syrian Interim Government—this coalition seized control of a majority of the nation within a month. The sudden establishment of this alliance, as well as its rapid advance and total victory, shocked both the Arab world and the movement for Palestinian liberation in North America...but maybe it shouldn't have.

The developments in this nearly 14year dirty war¹ undoubtedly represent a significant change in the material conditions of the Syrian people and the political calculus of the region. Many analysts have focused on the impacts of the HTS victory on the Axis of Resistance, the transportation of equipment and weaponry amongst the various anti-imperialist forces in the region, or the ability of the Lebanese front to sustain itself in future conflicts. Other analysts have focused on the domestic politics of Syria, advocating for the potential of the interim government, examining newly warm relations between previously antagonistic political and social

forces, and identifying the undeniably urgent need for infrastructural repair and economic development to support the Syrian people and returning refugees. However, the nature of Turkey's involvement in the HTS offensive, as well as the Syrian transitional government's relationship with figures like the current Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs—and former director of the National Intelligence Organization—Hakan Fidan, undermine notions of a sovereign Syria and pose more significant threats to anti-imperialist movements in the region than simply the removal of an allied state.

The Republic of Turkey, self-styled as "Türkiye" by the ruling nationalist coalition, has been a long-ignored force in the Arab world since its integration into the US imperial bloc, formalized through the nation's participation in founding the United Nations at the 1945 San Francisco Conference² and later accession to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1952. Applying Lenin's analysis of capitalism in its monopoly stage, overproduction and a surplus of capital necessitated American expansion into new territories for markets, resources, and investment opportunities.3 In addition, the United States sought strategic control over the Soviet Union's access to critical trade routes as part of the Euro-American strategy of containment, including the key Bosporus and Dardanelles straits linking the Black Sea to the Mediterranean. Three nations were vital to this expansion and strategic maneuver: Italy, Greece, and Turkey. Although US intervention in Italy and Greece was made easy due to the nations' destruction during World War II, Turkey held higher strategic value as one of three potential trade gateways—alongside Egypt and Iran—between mainland Europe and the oil-rich territories of the Arabian Peninsula and Gulf.

Turkey's integration into the imperial bloc was *not* a result of total economic dependency on the United States in the case of Italy and Greece, colonization in the case of the Zionist entity and Liberia. or invasion in the case of South Korea and Iraq. Instead, Turkey's involvement in US imperial ventures must be understood on two levels: First, a strategic alliance exists between the finance capitalist class of the United States and the Turkish nationalist movement against communist and socialist elements within the nation. This has manifested in direct military collaboration against these elements through Operation Gladio and in covert political intervention in domestic Turkish politics in favor of ultra-nationalist and neoliberal parties and political movements. Second, a practical economic arrangement between the United States government and the Turkish industrial bourgeoisie has worked to assist Turkey in establishing monopoly control

LOVE & PALESTINE IN THE ERA OF REVOLUTION

Anonymous - George Mason University

And when the end of everything beckoned, I hollered:

'Tell me, what is revolution, if not a declaration of devotion to your fellow man?'

Heed me and come together. Palestinian liberation is the foundation of an ever-growing mass frustration that writhes in the minds of this generation's

world-builders,

freedom fighters,

organizers.

Can you hear it calling? The song of love will not shake you! Every brick, every martyr, every rallying cry cracking through our megaphones,

is for love, from love;

So settle your quarrels and pick up your hearts by the teeth; seal them in a little envelope and scrawl in the top-right corner:

"For Palestine—from the people."

¹ Climate Vanguard. Defining Imperialism, Colonialism, and Neo-Colonialism. Climate Vanguard: London. 2024.

 $^{^{\}rm 2}$ Hickel, Jason, Morena Hanbury Lemos, and Felix Barbour. "Unequal Exchange of Labour in the World Economy." Nature News, July 29, 2024.

 $^{^{3}}$ Césaire, Aimé. $\it Discourse$ on $\it Colonialism$. New York: Monthly Review Press, 2001.

 $^{^{\}rm 4}$ Li, Minqi. "China: Imperialism or Semi-Periphery?" Monthly Review, July 1, 2021.

⁵ Kadri, Ali. "Arab Development Denied." AnthemPress, March 2015.

 $^{^{\}rm 6}\,$ Amin, Samir. "The Liberal Virus: Permanent War and the Americanization of the World." Monthly Review, September 9,

 $^{^{7}}$ Lenin, V.I. "Preface," in "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism: a Popular Outline." Petrograd, April 26, 1917.

⁸ Tse-tung, Mao. "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People." People's Daily, June 19, 1957.

over the *Means of Transport*,⁵ allowing the Turkish bourgeoisie to accumulate capital from the movement of key commodities through the region without fully industrializing the nation. This arrangement is mutually beneficial; the Turkish economy maintains a dependence on the US and Europe for imported manufactured goods, while the Turkish state increases its regional influence and plays an immediate role in exploiting the natural resources of the peripheral Gulf and Levantine nations.⁶ Both results serve Euro-American strategic interests regarding the global economy and the balance of political power in the region.

Turkey's role internationally follows from this two-pronged alliance: an alliance between the US political class and military and the Turkish national bourgeoisie on the one hand, and an alliance between the US big bourgeoisie and the Turkish political class and military on the other. After the US-led invasion of Libya and the murder of Muammar Gaddafi, Turkish capital was exported to Libya in the form of infrastructural and energy-sector investments and the purchase of land and exploration rights. Turkish weaponry, industrial goods, and machinery have been exported to the Government of National Accord to such an extent that the UN-recognized Libyan government is commonly called a Turkish front. Similarly, Turkish capital was exported to the Kurdistan region of Iraq throughout the US invasion, along with critical weaponry and intelligence support that resulted in the installation of a Kurdish comprador government under Masoud Barzani.⁷ This is a repeated pattern; the export of Turkish capital, the growth of Turkish political influence and diplomatic power, and the development of Turkey's industrial sector immediately follow and depend on US intervention across the globe.

The gradual fusion of banking and industrial capital and the export of Turkish capital across the region over the past several decades, combined with the rise of neo-Ottomanism and irredentist Turkish nationalism as the dominant political ideology within both the ruling and working classes, undeniably indicate imperialist ambitions.⁸ Syria is the latest nation enveloped in this project, with both the joint military and current political leadership of the Syrian interim government materially and economically supported by, politically indebted to, and militarily dependent on the Turkish state, as is the case for the Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI) and the Libyan GNA. To ignore this reality is to abandon Syrian sovereignty and accept the continued domination of the Syrian people under a different master.

However, referring to this regional dynamic as "Turkish imperialism" does Graduates for Palestine - Luis Oropeza, University of Houston | @excerpts4revolution



not lead to an accurate analysis of the situation on the ground and flattens the power dynamics and methods of control between hegemonic US imperialism and the Turkish neo-Ottoman project. We must understand that the temporary disagreements or misalignment between the tactics and alliances of the US Empire and the Turkish state do not amount to an inter-imperialist conflict. The contradiction between US government support for the Autonomous Administration of North-East Syria and the Turkish rejection of the Kurdish question, for example, does not indicate a fundamental break with the US empire. The Turkish state and emerging finance capitalist class are economically, politically, and militarily subordinate to the United States and the US big bourgeoisie. Therefore, all of Turkey's expansionist projects should be considered a manifestation of Turkish sub-imperialism, opportunist ventures contingent on the destruction and desolation US imperial

intervention leaves behind and enabled by the diplomatic and military power of the Euro-American bloc.

What should cause concern, however, is the rapid accumulation of Turkish capital, unprecedented Turkish control over key markets and areas of development across the Arab world, and the increasing use of Turkish Contras and Salafi sectarian shock troops to destabilize sovereign nations. It is not the US currently invading Syria, but the Turkish Armed Forces. It is not Chevron or ExxonMobile proposing new trans-regional pipelines to strip Syria and Iraq of their natural resources, but the Turkish Minister of Energy.⁹ On a global scale, we must not muddy the waters or distract from the principle contradiction of US imperialism. On a regional scale, however, Turkey's nominal Islamist orientation and anti-Zionist posturing have garnered significant support from the Arab masses. This poses a significant issue, as the two entities

are entirely interconnected. If popular acceptance of Turkish expansionism continues, Turkey may act across the region as the leading edge of the sword of US imperialism rather than its clean-up crew. Although dependent on and subordinate to US imperialism, Turkish sub-imperialism is a rapidly advancing counterrevolutionary force in the region that should not be underestimated.

11/21/24

Anonymous - CUNY School of Law

Today, the clouds grieve And tears fall from the sky.

Thousands upon thousands Have fallen.

For children

Who will never be able to anguish At the sight of their mother's greying hair.

For parents

Who will never be able to dote On their child as they grow out of childhood.

For people

Who will never be able to live A life free from terror and tyranny.

Instead, these hearts Are torn apart by bullets And buried under rubble.

Cry out against this injustice! Fight against this brutality! Stand up against this fascism!

Be it pouring rain or scorching heat, Howling wind or freezing snow.

When love is being lost, Gather yours.

Liberation is Our Destination

Yasmine Abdelkarim - Gallaudet University

How dare you condemn a prisoners bullets

or the revolutionary missiles handmade with love and fire

and dedication and resolve.

I wonder what gives an unoccupied being the right to criticize indigenous resistance.

They must be the same ones who built plantations on top of native american graveyards.

Some people say our rebellion is because all our people know is

occupation and siege

and bombing and death.

But I would argue that all our people know is

love and life and lack there of,

so they devote every moment to reclaiming a time when we once could do so freely on our land.

I find it funny that somehow the colonizer always goes down in the books as a

hero and savior

and peacekeeper and president.

In our books, they go down as the destroyers of all things beautiful,

and the heroes are the

journalists and fighters

and mothers and fathers.

In our books, our children are not perfect victims, they are lion cubs.

In our books, our resistance fighters aren't bloodthirsty men, but guardians of the olive trees and

everything sacred.

Freedom is sacred.

Hope is sacred.

Peace is sacred.

But before peace there is

revolution and storm

and liberation and quiet.

You cannot call for peace without acknowledging how it materializes.

For peace to exist, we must exist.

For us to exist, Zionism must not.

So don't claim you adored Malcom X,

someone who in this moment would be plastering the walls with

"BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY."

Don't celebrate MLK day and forget that he dreamt of Palestine too.

Like them we are

targeted and assassinated

like them we pass on the rifle

and like them we live on within those who comes after us.

Engraved in our compasses that point us towards liberation, we write:

"You don't attempt to endure the plantation, you burn it."

"You don't politely ask the guard of the concentration camp to remove your chains. you shatter

them."

We write:

"You don't ask the colonizer for land back. you take it."

Gaza is our compass.

Intifada is our solution.

Liberation is our destination.

 $^{^{1}\,\}mathrm{A}$ "dirty war" often includes state-sanctioned extrajudicial killings, torture, disappearances, and other brutal tactics.

² Yould. "The San Francisco Conference, 25 April - 26 June 1945: Turkey Signs the United Nations Charter." United Nations, June 26, 1945.

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⁴ Haywood, Harry. "China and its Supporters Were Wrong About USSR." The Guardian, April 11, 1984.

⁵ Marx, Karl. "Medium of Exchange," in A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy. Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1859.

 $^{^{\}rm 6}\,$ Kaypakkaya, Ibrahim. Selected Works: Ibrahim Kaypakkaya. Nisan Publishing, July, 2014. 78.

⁷ Saya, Bapak. "KCK's Cemil Bayık: Turkey's Crisis and Kurdish Question Can Be Solved Together." Medya News, November 9,

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