

ABDEL GABBAR ADWAN

Memories of a Good Citizen

**. 'The Nakba. The Naksa. The 'flood and
the massacre**



Abdel Gabbar Adwan

Memoirs Of A Good Citizen

The Nakba, The Naksa, The 'Flood', and The Massacre...

Why Do We Continue to Fail?

Dedication

To the spirits and memories of all the downtrodden, throughout history and to the victims of the Gaza carnage, who have fallen and will fall victim to the visions of religious leaders who are necessarily ignorant... Hopefully, there is a paradise to receive you.

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Beginning and Clarification

It wouldn't occur to one, as a young and physically and intellectually active man, to write memoirs; your life is ahead of you... But when the idea returns, you have already no doubt reached an advanced age, your body has tired, and your mind has begun to wander, and perhaps, or rather surely, you will forget events without realizing that you have forgotten them... And since I have passed the active youth stage, and have observed the experience of friends and acquaintances who are older than me with age and forgetfulness; I have decided, at the beginning of the seventh decade of my life, to dedicate time to writing memories knowing that I have not yet reached the end of writing articles and books, but I have had three books published in one year (2024) and have now decided to dedicate the following time to writing down memories, rather than memoirs, considering the difference between the two... one records events, while memories record and connect events.

I have written more than twenty books and novels, and hundreds of articles in Arab and international newspapers, all of which are available in bookshops, or on the internet, and in national and foreign libraries. No matter how diverse the titles of my works; the content always revolves around questions regarding the reasons for backwardness despite the availability of opportunities to keep pace with the world and achieve almost complete independence, instead, the situation is getting worse despite glittering appearances... Viz the apparent and practiced backwardness by the citizen and the system, supported by religious frameworks and government agencies, and despair in the ability of the system to determine paths and adhere to them.

Since the first building block is a good, active, honest, critical, and effective citizen, I have decided to narrate the memories of this citizen honestly, and present his thoughts clearly and without evasion (almost), and I will sometimes write of him in the third person, to create some distance between me as the author and writer, and him as the subject of his thoughts and actions through his memories.

This beginning and clarification are followed by an intertwined narrative of memories, a conclusion and inevitably, the end.

We are today in the last week of September 2024, and surprises are pouring in on Lebanon, and the response is restricted to repeated threats and warnings, and the breadth of the gap between the world of science and the world of the unseen is clear.

These days remind me of those before and after the 1967 setback, back then we were threatening the enemy by sea, with plundering, and captivity... I was fifteen years old, and I heard relatives and others on the eve of that war threatening the enemy's cities and inhabitants, and this is what the young did, 56 years later, when the opportunity arose for the October 7th operation, when they entered and exited for days, taking women, the elderly, soldiers, and conscripts, along with their puppies, and then, although the targeted were in fact the aggressors, the Israeli entered the Gaza Strip and destroyed it utterly... Back then, in the time of the setback, more than half a century ago, we didn't enter their territory, instead we were surprised to find them in our midst, and they entered as far as the Suez Canal, and took the West Bank and the Golan, and we didn't capture anything from them except catastrophe... or the setback.

Back then, the Arab armies that were declaring and repeating their readiness to attack were surprised by the final destruction of their air force and the bombing of airports, and since that time, we haven't grasped the implications of this aerial superiority or prepared for facing it; Hezbollah, with its good reputation and preparation, doesn't have any effective anti-aircraft defenses, and neither does Syria, nor the rest of the Arab countries concerned, all of them, are failing on this front... But Hezbollah has said repeatedly that planes that attack Lebanon won't find airports to return to, and the party actually has weapons that can destroy airports, and perhaps achieve a surprise strike on the planes while they're on the ground... That hasn't happened, but rather southern Lebanon and the southern suburbs of Beirut are living under the hum of Israeli drones just as the Gaza Strip, poor in resistance, supply, and technology.

We read, hear, and see, but we don't learn... Hezbollah knew about the hacking of communication devices, but they were surprised by the pager strike that disabled three thousand of their members with the pressing of a single button, and the next day, hundreds were killed and injured in the explosion of walkie-talkie devices, and the day after that, the leaders of the Radwan force were assassinated in a

meeting in the southern suburbs, the location of which was established by tracking their mobile phones, and the enemy's army had been tracking Hamas and Islamic Jihad members throughout the massacre by locating their phones and bombing them, along with the civilians around them... Hamas knew this and was afraid to announce it so as not to alienate the population from its supporters, members, and affiliates, but Hassan Nasrallah had the courage to record an angry internal address to his party's youth, telling them that they were carrying spies in their hands, and those of their wives, and their children, and he asked them to smash their mobiles or bury them or put them in an iron box... But a fossilized mentality doesn't grasp or believe anything, considers life to be in God's hands, and that nothing will happen to you except what God has written for you.

The metaphysical mentality rarely grasps intellectual change, and adopts technical developments very slowly, but superficially. In the past, when the telegraph was introduced to Saudi Arabia, the sheikhs revolted against King Abdul Aziz, considering it to be the work of the devil... With the passage of decades, we and they have grasped the idea of telephone communication, but the idea is still ingrained in us that the modern phone is for communication, just like the former Abu Qurs and Abu Kabseh, who were being hacked by state devices.

To be brief, I say what is known to the initiated, that the modern mobile phone is tapping you day and night, and guides economic, social, and military forces to what you say, and even what you think! Meaning that it studies your words and patterns of page fluctuations and knows your next step before you take it. You can talk to your family about something while the phone is near you, and later you'll see that it sends you ads in that direction, and non-commercial aspects are transferred to other entities with filtering capabilities.

And the manufacturers are even more informative: There is now a free download program available to everyone, if you put the phone number of a friend or enemy into it, it will guide you moment by moment to the location and movements of that phone... And there is a free download app that shows you any city and location in the world (live), directly through a live broadcast from a satellite! So what must be the capabilities of intelligence and military devices relying on the latest technologies? Do you understand and know your place and position in this world?

After the 1967 setback, the sheikhs began to propagate the saying "It is written, and it will be", meaning that before the year 2000, the resurrection will occur according to the Quranic promise, and the stone will inform on the fearful Jew hiding behind it, and the decades passed, and the catastrophe of October 7th came, and the sheikhs returned to determining the years for the arrival of the Antichrist, preparing for the Day of Judgment, and the explanations and confirmations multiplied... Such phenomena always spread in times of defeat to help swallow the bitter pill and reassure people that God will take care of everything soon.

I remember the sheikhs of Gaza after the setback, opening the Quran at any page and twisting the content to serve their apocalyptic vision, as if what was happening had been predetermined in the Quran. It's clear that I don't like sheikhs in general, although I do like some of them personally, but I have seen them at celebrations and events arguing over pieces of meat scattered on the trays of couscous or rice, and I have even seen some of them turning the platter to put the pieces of meat without bones in front of them, and the sight of their long beards while eating disgusted me, and I heard one of them farting in the mosque; so I decided not to enter any mosque, regardless of the occasion; because faith is a personal matter between the creator and the created, even when praying for a deceased best friend, I stay in the outer courtyard until they finish praying... I can't stand to play the hypocrite to others, and I can't deceive myself by pretending.

Before moving away from the reality of the clash between science and metaphysics, I'll explain the story of "Your Spy in Your Hand". It's known that those who possess the know-how can locate any phone, and the police can track any stolen mobile phone, but the matter is bigger than that... Before the October invasion, major spies were uncovered in Lebanon who sold landline phone information to foreign parties, and about five months after the October invasion, spies were caught working for Israeli intelligence through a fake American telecom company, and the Lebanese military investigations and courts confirmed that they had been roaming Lebanon, Beirut, and the southern suburbs in a car with advanced imaging capabilities, capturing Wi-Fi signals in the street and sending the information directly to the American company, and tracking phones connected to the internet, collecting owners' names, and loading programs to locate these phones on demand... This information was published, and it was known that the car had passed through the street where Saleh al-Aruri was assassinated in the southern

suburbs, and it was known that it had tracked Jamous Street where the Radwan leaders met half a year later they ; they hadn't changed their phones; so the enemy knew the moment and place of the gathering of these phones and their owners and sent three missiles that destroyed the second floor underground where they were meeting, and the same thing happened with other leaders in the party days later, which made Hassan Nasrallah lose his temper and record an internal video message rebuking party members and telling them to bury their mobiles.

In the Gaza Strip, the situation was easier for the enemy and more devastating for civilians... It is known that the funds for resistance movements came from Qatar through and with the approval of Israel, and entered the banks of the sector, which paid salaries to resistance members and all employees affiliated with Hamas... It is necessary to clarify the reason behind Israel's transfer of Qatari funds to Hamas; after the coup, the Israeli opposition criticized Netanyahu for delivering funds to Hamas, but he stated that his goal was to encourage and finance the split between the West Bank and Gaza and to prevent the establishment of a Palestinian state by encouraging Hamas to take control of the Gaza Strip!

Let's return to the story of phones; all Palestinian phone numbers and communication movements are officially linked to Israeli communications... This is how they were able to send warnings and personal messages to any phone owner in the sector. When the 'flood' occurred, they started targeting resistance members according to importance, then the targeting expanded to anyone with any connection to the resistance, and when they tracked them through their phones, they hit them and those around them, no matter who they were, and thus massacres multiplied, and people learned through experience that in every disaster, there is a Hamas member involved, but the issue was not addressed clearly, especially since the frequent displacement and changing of neighbors prevented people from knowing each other, and Hamas didn't have the courage to ask its supporters to bury their mobiles; so the tragedy continued, affecting both the innocent and the guilty... And this is another reason for my dislike of the sheikhs, as they are ultimately cowards and justify everything as being God's will, to be left to the Merciful.

There may be many reasons for hating the religious, and in my case, perhaps the coincidence of birth and neighborhood played a role in developing negativity

towards them... I was born in the year of the Egyptian Free Officers' Revolution, in the Palestinian city of Rafah, adjacent to Egyptian Rafah, and both, along with the rest of the Gaza Strip, were under the rule of the Nasserite Egyptian administration, which treated the sector as a free trade zone; so goods came from abroad and were resold to Egyptian visitors and locals... Everything new started in Gaza, modern cars, nylon shirts for men and women, nuts, cigarettes, and electronics, and anything you can think of... The Egyptian president also decided to employ the sons of people living in the sector; so anyone who passed the secondary school exam could complete their university education for free in Egypt, or work, teaching students in the Egyptian countryside with a monthly salary of 12 pounds, when life was sweet and cheap... Thus, higher education and money were provided to Palestinians, and the Egyptian countryside was taught by Gaza graduates.

We loved Nasser, Egypt, Egyptians, Umm Kulthum, Abdel Halim, Farid al-Atrash, Al-Ahly, Zamalek, Farid Shouqi, Mahmoud al-Meligi, Suad Hosni, and other artisans, and the sheikhs considered their work and the resulting earnings haram... All of these people and others like them were hated by the sheikhs, and foremost among them was the leader Gamal Abdel Nasser, and the sheikhs, then and now, wished for the return of the monarchy and colonialism to rid them of Nasser, and it is now documented that the Muslim Brotherhood allied with reactionary regimes against Nasser, and these regimes asked Washington to encourage Israel to attack Egypt; thus, the 1967 setback occurred, and whoever doesn't believe this should review the documents, or read books that expose the cooperation between Washington, London, and the Islamists against the nationalists, such as "The Devil's Game in Forming Islamic Movements", or read the memoirs of Western leaders who have publicly stated and clarified the relationships: The Islamists' primary and ultimate goal is to take power, even if it means cooperating with the blue devils... Just as they have cooperated with Israel after their coup against the government in Gaza since 2007, aiming to split Palestinian unity and weaken the authority, leading to what happened and continues to happen since October 2023.

Many won't believe this accusation against the Islamists, i.e., political Islam, so I'll clarify the matter from my experience and perspective, in addition to what has been established about their relationships with the West and reactionary regimes. In the Arab Spring experience, for example, they cooperated with Israel through the Golan, and with Europe, they received money through ambassadors in Turkey,

and there were ambassadors who entered Syria with suitcases and handed over the money, and European governments encouraged young people from their countries to join the Islamists in Syria and Iraq to fight the regime there, and this is documented in public statements by the British Foreign Minister, for example, and public speeches and official positions... Before that, we saw the result when the Islamists were defeated, and their women and children were captured, and many of them were found to be holding Western nationalities and had come with the support of their governments. Then, who created ISIS and armed it in Iraq and Syria? It was it the White House and American forces who armed them, and when the matter was exposed, they said they had mistakenly seized the equipment and weapons!!

What about Hamas and Islamic Jihad? Before the first intifada, there was a religious group in the sector, affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood, which was originally present before the 1967 setback during Egyptian rule, but after the Israeli occupation of the sector, they turned into a group of takfiri and hijra (isolationists), claiming that the occupying enemy was not their concern at that time, but that they wanted to Islamize society and excommunicate those who didn't follow them; so the occupation left them alone for clear reasons. (All those who justify defeats and backwardness and say that they are the result of abandoning religion are from the school of takfiri and hijra). Then, the first intifada occurred; these people rode the wave and joined the ranks of opposing the enemy, and they formed groups and trained, etc... When the intifada achieved its goals with the beginnings of peace, they decided to thwart the plan and resorted to suicide operations against Israeli civilians to prove the failure of the Palestinian Authority's security... The story is long, and the result was their failure, along with Jewish extremists, to sabotage the peace process.

But Hamas participated in the second elections, resulting from the peace process and invested in suicide operations to build its popularity and achieved successes towards forming a Palestinian government, then it staged a coup in Gaza against the Authority and took control of affairs with Israeli support, funding, and encouragement to ensure the continuation of the Palestinian political and societal split and guarantee the non-establishment of a Palestinian state... Other funders of Hamas and Islamic Jihad were their brothers in the Gulf through collecting donations, and Qatar, which plans to gain a political role by sponsoring jihadist

Islamists with media services, and financially, and politically, as it did in the Arab Spring, in Egypt, and Gaza... And, of course, Iran jumped in to fund Islamic Jihad and then Hamas after others abandoned it.

When Hamas rebelled against the coexistence with Israel for 17 years after their bloody coup against the Authority, and launched the October 7, 2023 incursion, named the 'Al Aqsa Flood' and crossed Israeli lines, the enemy decided to eradicate it and activate plans to exterminate the Palestinian people and expel them from the country through starvation and the elimination of the means of human survival... Here, the red lights went on in Tehran; the end of Hamas and Islamic Jihad would be followed by the elimination of Hezbollah and the end of the role of political Islam in resistance, both Sunni and Shia... The West can tolerate political Islam in both forms taking power, coupled with subservience and dependence, as is the case in the Gulf Arab states, but when it turns to resistance and confrontation with the West and its tools; this calls for unleashing Israel and strengthening it, plain and simple.

It's not just Sunni Islam that's seeking power at any cost, but Shia Islam is even more persistent; after the West got rid of Saddam's regime, Iran expanded into the Arab world through ideology and money, and established branches for itself. Initially, the Khomeini Islamic revolution betrayed its allies from other Iranian political forces to take power, then prevented and persecuted them... The subsequent result was the expansion into Arab countries, starting with neighboring Iraq, then Syria, then Lebanon, and then Palestine in Gaza and the West Bank.

Despite the Arab campaign against the Brotherhood and the decision to leave Gaza to struggle alone, on the pretext of not wanting to support Hamas and the Brotherhood in achieving victory, the hearts of Sunni Arabs turned to their brothers, the inhabitants of Gaza, and they began to accept Iran and Hezbollah's adoption of the Palestinian resistance, and things reached the point of unity of the arena and unity of blood, all of which paves the way for an Iranian role in the region, accepted popularly and ideologically... Therefore, some Arabs will not hesitate to support attempts to utilize the West and Israel against Iran to preserve their religion and rule; the mullahs' system does not share power with anyone, it directs its followers, as is evident in Iraq, Syria (before Bashar's escape), Lebanon, and the Houthis.

This conclusion is a precis of facts I lived through and witnessed, and of course, everyone is experiencing the consequences while these memoirs are being written, and I will return later to clarify and explain the previous statements in due time.

If we return to my first memory of the Brotherhood in the Gaza Strip; it goes back to my uncle Hassan... The Egyptians arrested him on charges of belonging to the Brotherhood, and he was indeed a Brotherhood member, and since he was the youngest of my uncles, my grandmother Halima mourned him until she lost her sight... No one could calm her down; her beautiful blue eyes, which she had passed on to me alone among all her grandchildren, were gone. She didn't believe the promises and assurances of his possible release; she had negative ideas from her experiences with Arab regimes, and with the Egyptian regime from the days of the monarchy and the experience of the 1948 catastrophe. She lost everything, material and social, in our village of Barbara in Palestine, and almost lost her husband, who was sick during the catastrophe and feared that the children would leave him behind, but my uncle Muhammad, the eldest, said to his father: "I may leave everything and everyone, but I will not leave you", and he carried him on his back, followed by the mother (grandmother), brothers, and children, carrying what they could... This experience and fear never left my grandmother Halima's head, who later recognized us by our voices and the sound of our footsteps when we visited her.

My mother and aunt, Zaynab, my cousin Sabri's mother, took turns caring for my grandmother Halima at my uncle Hassan's house to relieve his wife from the care of her... Perhaps everyone loves their grandmother, but my love for my grandmother is beyond description, her face would light up with joy and her voice would be filled with happiness when she sensed my arrival; she would ask about my well-being, and usually, my visits being before nightfall; she would start telling stories of the clever Hassan, the crow and his sister, and dozens of traditional stories for children, which were different from the stories my uncle Hassan Sheikh told in the daily men's gathering, about Abu Zayd, Kulaib, and the Zair Salem, with fighting, killing, and captivity.

My grandmother passed away after the setback and my uncle Hassan's family fled to Jordan; he had been released from prison through the intervention of Ahmad Shukeiri after the establishment of the Palestine Liberation Organization in 1964...

After the October 7, 2023, 'flood', the remains of my uncle's house, my grandmother's house, our house, and our neighborhood, Barbara camp, and the Shajoura, and all of Rafah were erased, and my brothers and their children are once again living in miserable tents in the Al-Mawasi area near the sea... The fathers and grandfathers of this murderous army afflicting us had demolished the village of Barbara and 400 other Palestinian villages after the Nakba war 76 years ago, and now they are completing their mission to exterminate us and take over the rest of Palestinian territory, striving for the establishment of 'Greater Israel'.

I follow the news of my family in the sector daily, and my last act as a good citizen, was the establishment of an educational initiative for children in the sector called "Peace Birds Educational Initiative" to compensate some children educationally, and to give them a sense of normality. I fund this initiative from my own money, and for the first time, I confess here that I sold my house in Jordan to a relative of mine on condition that I can continue living in it for five years, which I don't expect to exceed in my lifetime, and I allocated the ensuing funds to finance this initiative, which I may return to talk about later... But my follow-up of the situation in Rafah, the destruction, and the displacement, have brought back memories that are fixed clearly in my mind from the 1956 aggression on the sector and Sinai.

Back then, a helicopter was circling over Rafah and overflew our camp to demand that people flee, its microphone saying: "I am speaking to you from the plane, flee quickly because the defense forces will destroy this place... flee to save your lives"... The border between Rafah and Sinai was imaginary, and the road was open as far as the Suez Canal, but knowing that Sinai had been occupied, it was decided to flee to the sea... And there we stayed in Al-Mawasi for several days, eating its onions and apples, and we were separated in the displacement, and I went with my aunt, my father's first wife, and she was kneading and baking, and encouraging me after hearing the explosions... We returned after days and remained under Israeli occupation for several months until one day we woke up to find that international emergency forces in blue helmets had taken the place of the Israelis... That was by order of the American Republican President Dwight Eisenhower, and immediately after that, the era of the British Empire ended.

When the PLO was established eight years after the Tripartite Aggression, I was in the preparatory stage at an UNRWA school in Rafah, near Return Circle, and my uncle's (my father's cousin) mosque, Sheikh Khalil, which Hamas later demolished and built a kindergarten underneath... Now, nothing remains standing in Rafah except memories and the scattered displaced people.

The PLO was established by the Arab League, and they entrusted its leadership to Ahmad Shukeiri, who was an eloquent speaker who rivaled the sheikhs in performance. Whenever Shukeiri came to visit the sector from Egypt, they would gather us, the young students of Rafah schools, to line up on both sides of the road, where the procession would pass through Sinai and El Arish to Egyptian Rafah and then to our green Rafah... We would sing about oranges, chant slogans, and wave flags.

Quickly, school activities came closer to scouting, then to militarized, morning exercises, and intensified physical education classes, and in the 1967 academic year, we were taught in the first secondary grade to shoot a Czech-made rifle, and to handle it, disassemble, clean, and assemble it.

In a previous book "What If?", in light of the Turkish earthquake, the war on Gaza, and the constant tension in the region, I proposed in detail, introducing a compulsory educational subject in Arab universities, to teach the basics of rescue, first aid, and organization among people in crises; because we see in natural and military disasters, human despair, confusion, and an inability to organize themselves; everyone screams, runs, or watches and waits for the arrival of rescue and aid that may not be able to come. If university graduates were aware and trained, they might succeed in reducing losses and improving conditions... This is the advice of a good citizen to the authorities and to society in the Arab world; perhaps someone will read the recommendations and apply them.

In 1965, compulsory conscription was announced to build the Palestinian army in the Gaza Strip, as Jordan, which had annexed the West Bank, rejected the idea of establishing a military force, and of course, rejected any compulsory conscription of West Bank residents... In reality, the Palestinian Liberation Army was established by Gamal Abdel Nasser in the Gaza Strip, and training was conducted by Egyptian officers.

They gathered all young men over 18 years old and not enrolled in schools or universities, and I don't know why we started calling them "Halima's Army"... They were equipped with new Russian-made "ZIL" trucks, "Kalashnikov" machine guns, and some Egyptian-made "Al-Walid" half-tracked armored vehicles... I later found out that our soldiers, brothers, neighbors, and sons of the country, had buried the weapons and burned the khaki uniforms, and the Egyptian soldiers did the same when they found Israeli tanks breaking through the sector on their way to Sinai and the Suez Canal during the 1967 war.

It turned out that the Jews knew who had been conscripted and what was happening; there was an intelligence officer disguised as a beggar who had been living in Rafah for years, entering weddings and funerals, earning a living, listening, and recording... After his group entered, he was seen wearing military rank and sitting in the front of the jeep... It was not necessarily an isolated case.

Between catastrophes

I lived through the Tripartite Aggression on the sector in 1956 when I was four years old, but I didn't experience Israel's entry in 1967; my mother had planned ahead and insisted that my father prepare a travel permit for me to Egypt, accompanying one of our trucks, which would join the other five trucks working in the United Arab Republic.

The atmosphere in the Gaza Strip was ominous, and immediately after finishing the first secondary exam at Beersheba Secondary School in Rafah, the travel permit was ready, and the truck set off with us, just five days before the start of the war, crossing the Sinai Peninsula, which was full of Egyptian army weapons and forces.

My mother expected, or rather, was certain, that war was approaching and that the experience of the Nakba would be repeated, or at least the 1956 aggression, and she saw that she should send me to Egypt, aged 15, to protect me from the dangers of war, as I was the eldest of her children, and she stayed with the others, brothers and sisters, in Rafah.

My mother didn't know that with this act, she was emulating the mother of Prophet Moses when she cast him into the sea to save him from Pharaoh's killing... Perhaps she did know, and hoped that the war would end and I would return to her before the end of the summer vacation.

I can say, which is meaningless in light of the repeated developments, if the June 6, 1967, war had started traditionally as a confrontation between two armies on land, or if the Arabs had launched a ground attack, Israel would not have been able to defeat the army I saw in Sinai in early June.

But the Israelis, knowing their weak position and small numbers in a traditional confrontation, and seeking to protect their soldiers from cheap death; didn't start a confrontational war, instead, they paralyzed the Egyptian and Syrian Arab air forces; fear spread in the hearts of the soldiers and leaders who hadn't planned to attack in the first place, and the Israelis crossed Sinai without seeking to confront the Egyptian army, but reached the Suez Canal through a single passage through

the desert, and began to receive and gather the fleeing military remnants from the desert to Cairo through the canal.

Over the following decades, Israel sought to achieve air superiority and prevent the Arabs from obtaining air defense weapons, meaning it sought to have more advanced weapons than its counterparts and to stay several steps ahead in aircraft superiority... Part of this aspiration was broken for a while by President Gamal Abdel Nasser, and I, as a good citizen, had a small role in building the missile wall on the Suez Canal to prevent Israeli air force arrogance and enable the Egyptian army to rebuild, and I'll explain that soon.

We stayed in Cairo for a few days to prepare to travel by truck to Aswan, where the rest of our trucks and other Palestinian trucks were working to complete the final stage of the High Dam, meaning adjustments and road construction through Upper Egypt from south to north to establish electricity poles between Aswan and Cairo.

Before heading to Upper Egypt, the war broke out; so we stayed in Cairo for a few days to observe, and this was the decision of the driver, Abu Al-Dib, a kind man with presence of mind. We heard the news of the war breaking out while we were on the Zamalek Bridge, heading by truck to Giza and Imbaba; I said to Abu Al-Dib: "It's gone"; he replied: "God is merciful"... I meant the spoils that would be gained in Tel Aviv were gone, and his opinion was the right one.

We followed the people's joy in the streets and listened to Ahmed Said bringing us closer to Tel Aviv, and how our planes were shooting down their planes in bulk... Practically, according to the radio, the war was decided, and it remained for us to decide what to do with the enemy.

On the evening of the third day of the war, the Egyptian radio broadcast the truth that Nasser had decided to announce quickly to stop the farce of deception, the president said in his resignation speech: "We have gotten used to sitting together, in times of victory and times of hardship, in sweet hours and bitter hours, talking with open hearts, and being honest with the facts, believing that only through this path can we always reach the right direction, no matter how difficult the circumstances, and no matter how dim the light"... He spoke about the circumstances of the war until he said: "We now come to an important point in this

revelation, asking ourselves: Does that mean that we don't bear responsibility for the consequences of this setback? I tell you honestly - despite any factors I may have based my position on in the crisis - I am ready to bear all responsibility, and I have made a decision that I want you all to help me with: I have decided to step down completely and finally from any official position and any political role, and to return to the ranks of the masses, performing my duty with them like any other citizen".

I was shocked by the president's withdrawal from the field, and I was impressed by his frankness and his taking responsibility, and I was drawn to his statement that he would return to the ranks of the masses to work as any citizen, and since then, I have formed the idea of a good citizen who must work with honesty, loyalty, and dedication, and prioritize the public interest over personal interests.

To be honest, I was a fan of the president; his speeches made me happy as a boy, and I saw him when he visited the Gaza Strip, where we students lined up on both sides of the road to welcome him. He was a man of the people and displayed a sense of humor in his speeches, making you feel like he was your friend and speaking to your heart.

I wasn't the only one shocked by the president's resignation, all of Cairo, and Egypt, rejected this decision, and the masses spontaneously marched to the Kubba Palace, security had broken down, and the masses walked like they were in a trance, crying, tearing their clothes, and beating themselves, and I wanted to walk in that direction, but Abu Al-Dib prevented me, saying that things might not end well and you might not know how to return... (I experienced a similar situation in Cairo when the president died)

I was convinced and held back my grief, and it was said later, in interpreting what happened after the resignation speech, that the masses refused to let the leader leave his position at this stage and that he should fix what could be fixed and exclude the bad elements as much as possible... One of the jokes that was repeated later was that the ladies of the night participated in a demonstration and were chanting: "..... for free, don't resign".

The next day, the president withdrew his resignation, and I headed with Abu Al-Dib in our Mercedes tipper truck to Upper Egypt to play my role as a good Arab citizen.

My father, Hussein Ibrahim Adwan, known as Abu Matar, had worked in the transportation and agriculture sector in Palestine since before the 1948 Nakba, and he used to transport grapes from our village, Barbara, to the markets of Jaffa and Beirut using two trucks he owned, one Volvo and the other International... After the Nakba, he took the trucks with him to the Gaza Strip, and the family settled in Rafah. They lived for long months in tents, the Palestinian's constant companion, until houses were quickly built for them under the supervision of the United Nations, Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees.

My brother Khader, my cousin Jihad, and my uncle Abdul Rahman, and many others were born in the tents of the Nakba, while my fate and others was to be born in houses made of cement bricks and locally made roof tiles, where running water and private bathrooms didn't put in an appearance until a decade later, and electricity was delayed for another half a decade.

That's how my father's work continued in the transportation and truck trading sector, and he taught me to drive cars when I was young, still at primary school. He would say to me: "I am teaching you to drive so you can drive your own car when you succeed in life, not so you become a driver". One of his other pieces of advice was: "Consider that all drivers on the road are crazy and you're the only sane one, and act accordingly".

That's how I was able to drive our cars of all types, whether Mercedes and Austin trucks, or Jeeps, or the Chevrolet 1956 model; I would steal the keys, and my brother Abdul Rahman and I would go with them to the sea in Rafah, passing through the sand dunes and then to Al-Mawasi, which is now crowded with displaced people after Rafah was completely destroyed and there are no more houses for people to return to.

That's how I sometimes drove trucks while we were involved in a road preparation project in Upper Egypt, and I lived with the brave Upper Egyptians and discovered that many villages are inhabited by Copts who are impossible to distinguish from Muslims; they share everything and are similar in food and clothing, and we relied

on these manual laborers to load the trucks in the mountain with pickaxes instead of bulldozers, and we transported them to where we paved roads to complete the electricity lines alongside.

In the evening, the workers would return to their families, while we preferred to stay away from our rented houses, and sleep under the cars after we anointed our bodies with diesel to keep the mosquitoes away. They were not normal mosquitoes, they bit, and I don't know how the villagers tolerated them, especially the villages scattered along the Nile and its subsidiary canals.

The diesel painting method was invented by my cousin, Muhammad Musa Adwan, nicknamed Al-Takh, the second son of my aunt Zaynab, whose firstborn son was killed during the 1956 aggression, when she reached the brink of madness from grief.

The summer vacation months passed, and we were busy working during the day, listening to the news in the evening, and sometimes eavesdropping on certain radio stations that broadcast short messages through the ether, like: From so-and-so to his family in such-and-such place: I'm fine, don't worry, and let us know.

It became clear that there would be no quick return to the Gaza Strip, and therefore, I had to continue my studies in Cairo like many others. First, I had to go to the Office of the Governor General of the Sector in Cairo; a summons with a specific wording is written and signed by the department, and you submit it to the Egyptian Ministry of Education; they give you permission to join the school you want and the grade that the Governor's administration has testified you deserve... I joined Imbaba Secondary School, second year, and lived with others in an apartment in Agouza.

Cairo was teeming with Palestinians, or maybe we were looking for each other and getting closer and cooperating... I looked older than my age, and those who knew me thought I was a university student at first, and in reality, I preferred the company of those older than me, and I mixed in political work and the formation of groups and organizations.

My cousin Fathi was one of the leaders of the Nasserite group, and they used to meet in the upscale cafes of Cairo, and I would participate in the meetings and

listen to what they said, and when they expected me to participate, I would tell them about Upper Egypt and the hard work to deliver electricity and achieve the goals of President Gamal Abdel Nasser, while their conversations were about the disagreements with the rest of the organizations and how to build the party and training camps... This coincidence and the open official support from Egypt for the sons of Gaza and the occupied West Bank added to my love and respect for the leader Nasser.

Perhaps one of the reasons for my respect and love for the Egyptian president, who imposed education on every Egyptian to eradicate illiteracy, and mobilized the sons of Gaza to carry out some of this task... Perhaps we agreed on a realistic vision despite all the differences between us. I was realistic even before I traveled to study in West Germany, I admit mistakes and failures and learn and try again... And the president was completely realistic even before the 1967 setback, he was frank with the people about all the problems... But his realism was revealed after 48 hours of the Naksa war; he acknowledged it, took responsibility, and resigned, and then withdrew his resignation at the people's request, and I was a witness and a contemporary to that.

This realism is not something we have seen before or after among Muslims and Arabs who suffer defeats and turn them into victories in their speeches and rhymes... I say this after the news of the assassination of Sayyid Hassan Nasrallah and the rest of the Hezbollah leadership and the continuation of the resonant speeches... The ten days preceding the horrific assassination witnessed daily qualitative blows from the Zionist entity, and boasting from Iran and its followers waiting for revenge... They didn't think, they didn't withdraw to regroup and close the gaps, which led to the loss of their leaders one by one, until it reached the leader and the morale of all the Shia sect around the world, and the dreams of the rest of Muslims and Palestinians who hoped for good from the Shia support, which came with two hundred rockets that caused losses in some military bases... Abdel Nasser acknowledged, took responsibility, and resigned, then accepted to return and benefited from the experience and established an army that achieved victory in October 1973... But Hamas still claims victory.

I don't know if my success in the second year of secondary school was a result of my hard work, or if it was a gift from the teachers at school; after the Battle of

Karama on March 21, 1968, the view of us as Palestinians changed to heroes who could defeat those who had defeated the Arab armies, and I remember that the social studies teacher gave a speech in class that embarrassed me with its excessive praise, and he told me to go to the fedayeen and return to them whenever I wanted and I would pass my academic year.

I completed the year, passed, and moved to Upper Egypt to inform my relatives there of my intention to travel and take some money with me. It was a period of transition from one job to another; after Aswan and Luxor, the work moved to the Dashna area, which was the worst in the world of mosquitoes, and in the following years, we also worked in Nag Hammadi and Asyut.

I discovered through conversations that our neighbor in Rafah, Abu Talal, who is from the Mehran family, and worked like us and with us with his trucks in the contracting field, was originally Egyptian and had relatives in Nag Hammadi... but he was with the family in Barbara and migrated in the Nakba with them to Rafah and then met his relatives in Upper Egypt.

Abu Talal was a respectable and understanding man and supported me many times in Egypt. The first time was when he chased me by car after I had walked kilometers towards the city of Qena to travel to Cairo, due to a dispute with my uncle; I withdrew from the village, and he saw me leaving at the time of breaking the fast in Ramadan, then having asked what was going on, chased after me and took me to Qena train station.

While I was walking, I passed by the houses of the Upper Egyptians with open doors, and whenever one of them saw me, he would come out and try to invite me to break my fast at his house. The second rescue for me from our neighbor and fellow villager was later in Cairo, where I lived for a while in the Qasr Al-Madina hotel at the intersection of Port Said Street with the Mouski market, and Abu Talal lived in the Palestine hotel opposite... I flirted with a girl who was the daughter of the hotel owner across the street and signaled to her to meet on the roof of their hotel. I thought she agreed; I went to their roof and looked from above to her balcony and called her; she started cursing and screaming at the doormen to cut me off... I was faster than them and reached Abu Talal's room; there was no way to reach the street and escape... He welcomed me and didn't ask anything, and when

some people asked if he had seen a strange young man, he said this is my relative, and he has been sitting here for hours, and dismissed them... He didn't ask but went down with me to the door and then I returned to my hotel.

As for the third rescue; it was psychological and moral on the day the leader died, and I will return to it in due time.

It was my first flight when I traveled in the summer of 1968 from Cairo to Damascus. At that time, Gazans holding a Palestinian travel document had to obtain an exit visa from Egypt and a return visa if they wanted to return, and that's what I got.

I carried a small pistol I took from a Nasserite friend... and there should be no surprise or amazement here; there was no physical search before boarding the plane. Passengers walked from the terminal to the twin-engine propeller plane; I took out a cigarette while waiting under the stairs, and one of the workers shouted at me not to light it, and I remember he said something like: Are you crazy, near the fuel?

A polite and well-groomed young man sat next to me, who seemed to be living outside the Arab world and had come to explore the situation. He felt the pistol at my waist and asked if I was a fedayeen; I didn't answer him, and he was very pleased to see me.

After landing at Damascus airport, my passport was stamped easily and quickly, and the young man took me with him in a taxi to the Marjeh square, where there are all kinds of restaurants, popular hotels, and currency exchangers; I asked and they directed me to the car parks heading to Amman.

I didn't know anyone or any address in Syria at that time, and my brothers, uncle, and many relatives had arrived in Amman and settled there, but we couldn't travel from Cairo to Amman by air. I rode with a driver working on the Damascus-Amman line, and on the way, he asked me if I had a visa to enter Jordan; I answered no and asked for his advice.

He said: When we leave the Syrian passport office and enter the Jordanian section, I will point out a hole in the fence; you take care of yourself and cross it to Jordan and walk along the road and wait for me until I finish the passport procedures and

I'll take you with me to Amman. And that's exactly what happened, I got out of the car and the driver went to the passport office, and I walked to the hole and entered it and came out in Jordan and waited for him at the side of the road.

I saw the car moving towards me, and the driver started turning the lights on and off... when he approached, I signaled him to stop; he asked me if I was traveling to Amman, and I answered yes. A police officer had boarded with him from the border to Amman; that's why he behaved in this way.

When we reached the sports city in Amman, which was outside the capital's limits at that time, I asked spontaneously: What is this building? The passengers replied that it was the sports city, and the officer asked if I was from outside the country... then shook his head and was silent... people were kind, generous, and cooperative.

Speaking of people's kindness, I'll tell a story that happened to me while returning from Amman to Damascus, then I'll get back to talking about the situation in Amman.

My uncle, Abu Fathi, had married a second time in Barbara, a woman who came with her brother and sister from Ararah in northern Palestine, and my father's cousin, Uncle Abu Samir, married her sister. The uncles and their wives were in Cairo before the Naksa, working in the trucking and contracting sector, and they stayed there for the rest of their lives. When Samir's mother knew I was traveling to Jordan and Syria, she wrote a letter to her brother and his family, and told me they lived in a village between the occupied Golan and the city of Daraa, and mentioned the name of the area.

So I got off in Syrian Daraa, after leaving Jordan, and asked how to get to where I was going; they directed me to a car park that transports passengers there. The car was full of passengers, and I was asking and they were discussing where to drop me off. My accent and face indicated that I was a stranger, but everyone knew my mission and goal... when we stopped at the first military checkpoint, the soldier looked at the passengers and asked if there were any strangers; most of them answered no, and one of them said: everyone is from the area. The same thing happened at the second checkpoint, as if divine care was controlling things.

The car stopped in sight of a stream, and a woman was washing dishes; I approached her to ask. There were no houses or people in sight; the road cuts through the plains towards the first border of the occupied Golan. I told her I was asking about Muhammad Al-Khatib's house. She stopped washing the dishes and looked at me, then asked me: Are you Amira's son? I felt relief, amazement, and admiration; my family had been displaced in 1948 south to the Gaza Strip, and she and her husband and family had been displaced from Ararah to the northeast, and there had been no personal meeting between the two sides for twenty years, and I hadn't been born when she came with her husband and sisters to Barbara, but she probably, or rather - certainly - saw my young mother... so when she looked at me, she saw my mother's face, Amira... what intuition!

The sunset was approaching, and she told me that her husband and the young men had gone to participate in a wedding celebration, and she gave me the choice between staying with her until they returned or going to the celebration; I chose, luckily, to go. That night, I saw what I had never expected to see in my dreams and imagination, and I heard and saw all our heritage... I was walking in paradise, heading to the celebration, fruit trees, a waterfall, grass, and birds... when we arrived, they quickly introduced me, and I joined in the singing and dancing with them, young and old, in perfect harmony.

That evening, I understood what the elders were talking about when they gathered in the evening at my father's house, remembering Barbara, the neighborhood, and Palestine, and I became convinced that the celebrations I had experienced in the refugee camps lacked the right aura.

We returned under the light of the stars, and ate what was available without seeing it, and I was again under divine care; when I woke up in the morning, I saw the tracks of a military truck that seemed to have maneuvered within two meters of my head, and the hosts said they had woken up, and I was deeply asleep, and they had warned the driver of my location.

After decades, I visited them repeatedly in Amman, where they settled for the rest of their lives and deaths, and where their children and grandchildren live, passing on stories of Ararah, the Golan, Palestine, and the lost paradise, or rather, the one stolen by force and oppression.

Many of my family and relatives had preceded me to Amman, some of them came as refugees from Gaza through the West Bank and the bridge, and others came through Egypt. There were my brothers Abdul Rahman and Khader, my uncle Hassan, my cousin Sabri, and my friend Abdul Rahman Jibril, and many others.

During this visit to Amman, I was staying intermittently with my brothers in Al-Nuzha and my cousin in Jabal Al-Jawfa, and visiting my uncle's house in Al-Ashrafiyah, all of which areas are mountains surrounding the city center, and I usually moved, on foot, up and down thousands of steps without anything at the sides to support the user.

Personal weapons were carried by everyone, in all streets and houses, and from time to time, the sound of Kalashnikovs would ring out without any reason.

My brother Khader worked in the media department of Fatah, and I learned from him that there was a team monitoring the enemy's radio and writing reports, and I discovered a phenomenon that continued throughout the resistance and still exists today, which is attributing actions to a specific organization.

All Palestinian organizations were competing, and each one was monitoring the enemy's radio to quickly distort any road accident or fire they heard about on the radio, and turn it into the result of a military operation carried out by the heroes of that organization, and serious disagreements occurred in the following years between the factions when more than one faction quickly claimed responsibility for an operation that never happened.

All the disagreements between Fatah and the Palestinian Authority on one hand, and Hamas and Islamic Jihad on the other, throughout two decades, culminating in the genocide war in Gaza in 2023, were all present in Amman before the existence of Islamic movements... they were disagreements between the right represented by Fatah, and the left represented by the Popular Front and its offshoots; divisions and infighting.

Of course, the disagreements usually take a political slant, but in reality, they are a quest for sole power or a larger share of power.

In Amman, the atmosphere was tense, but in the context of coexistence between the Jordanian authority and the fedayeen presence. After the joint victory of the

fedayeen and the Jordanian army in repelling the Israeli aggression on Karama and crushing that attack, the fedayeen's reputation spread, and volunteers from all over the Arab world came to join; camps were established for reception, training, and carrying arms... these are historical facts, we know how they started and how they ended, and I was a witness to them as an ordinary good citizen who came repeatedly through Syria to Amman in the summer of 1968, 1969, and 1970.

The activity I saw was the abundance of written slogans on walls, and the frequent overpainting and rewriting by other factions, and the spread of teams who posted posters carrying statements or pictures of martyrs, or news of a split and the birth of a new organization; the number of organizations reached about thirty in that period. Arab regimes established organizations, and Arab parties did the same, and fake organizations were established offering good salaries to absorb non-ideological volunteers, and some were armed with Russian Kalashnikovs and others with American M-16 rifles... but the common factor was chaos, and the Palestinian left was raising the slogan of controlling the government in Jordan, while the PLO, which had come under the control of Fatah, wanted to consider Jordan a base for launching the liberation of Palestine... the height of chaotic revolutionary romanticism... or rather, deadly chaos; every split in the leftist fronts led to the killing of comrades by comrades for trivial reasons, like hanging a poster or picture on a wall. (I witnessed this by chance and know the killer who became a leader but was later assassinated by Israel).

In late December 1967, following the Naksa, Yahya Hammuda took over the acting chairmanship of the Executive Committee instead of Ahmad Shukeiri, and announced that the PLO would do its utmost to unify the various Palestinian movements and work on establishing a national council for the organization.

Fatah and the Palestinian left refused to join the organization as long as its leadership was subject to Arab states, i.e., President Nasser. But on March 1, 1969, the fifth session of the Palestinian National Council was held, with the participation of all the fedayeen organizations, and the session ended with the election of Yasser Arafat as chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO, making Fatah part of the organization and its leadership.

The arrival of the fedayeen factions, headed by Fatah, to the leadership of the organization by 1969 gave a boost to the organization's activities and the national feeling among Palestinians, in addition to changes in generations and leadership, which brought about important structural changes.

Fatah had been led by a group of its founders until then, and when it became necessary to nominate one of them to lead the PLO, they pushed Yasser Arafat to this task, which he did not leave until he was poisoned in 2004, when President Mahmoud Abbas was elected chairman of the PLO, a post which he will not give up except by death, but the PLO was in effect killed and its founders died, and no elections were held to renew its blood due to the efforts of the Authority born of the Oslo Accords to hold fast to previous decisions... later, the public turned to support Islamic resistance movements due to their actions in foiling Oslo and representing a movement of change in the face of the stagnant and dull status quo. After October 2023, the masses began to berate themselves and abandon the Islamic fighting approach, focusing on self-survival, food, drink, and resisting death by hunger, and this has led to a decline in national spirit and, at a minimum, the cause needs a miracle to preserve it.

In Amman, it was possible to see anyone you knew or had ever heard of. Dinner was usually at the falafel and fuul restaurants, including Hashem's restaurant in the city center, which I think was always open; you'd find it crowded with visitors throughout the night and before and after dawn.

In the afternoon, I sometimes visited a café on the seventh floor of a building next to the Hussein Mosque... there, young men played cards, Tarneeb, or Egyptian, or Hendermy... each one of them with his weapon leaning against the chair, and the scene reminded me of the bars in cowboy movies.

Once, I entered the café and saw my old English teacher in Rafah... he saw me carrying a weapon, and he was a civilian; so we didn't greet each other. I regretted it and returned in the following days to see him and talk to him, but without success. He was a serious, physically strong man who used to beat us when we made mistakes in English or were lazy about doing our homework.

My lack of manners remained unrequited until I visited Tripoli, a quarter of a century later, and learned - by chance - that he lived in Benghazi; so I went to visit

him at his home without prior notice. His daughter opened the door; I asked her if her father was there; she confirmed this and asked for my name; I told her to tell him it's a surprise, and he recognized me immediately, and we drank coffee, and I returned to Tripoli by car... a thousand kilometers in each direction.

Amman has expanded and changed a lot over more than half a century since those days, but the hotels in the city center are still in their place, some of them receive visitors and others have gone out of service but are still there, adding to the city's charm. We used to sometimes sleep on the roofs of those hotels for a few pence, and it was the same in the hotels of Damascus.

Amman consisted of just the city center and Jabal Amman up to the third circle and around the citadel, and East Amman where it ended in Ashrafieh. Even in the early 1980s, West Amman ended at the fifth circle, followed by the desert after the Rabia area, but the city expanded rapidly in all directions.

Perhaps Amman can be considered the fastest-growing city architecturally in the world, and it has certainly been in the 2020s (the 21st century) that living there has become more expensive than in the famous Dubai. My brother-in-law described the city when he visited us in Amman in 2025, saying it's the most luxurious refugee camp in the world.

The missile wall

After the Naksa (1967), Egypt sought to rebuild its armed forces, it needed almost everything, and foremost was restoring the combat spirit of the army and the people, and a weapon to deter the arrogance of the Israeli air force, which used to attack wherever it wanted in the skies of Egypt, and Cairo's windows and street lights were dimmed to mislead the Israeli aircraft (!), and there was not a single fighter plane in Egypt after the Naksa, according to what I learned later - by chance - from a conversation.

I'll jump here in time to recount this coincidence; decades after the Naksa, and during the founding of the Arab Organization for Human Rights by a group of Arab personalities, in Geneva I met with my friend Mohamed Fayek, who was the Minister of National Guidance and close to Nasser in the Naksa government, and a former director and advisor to the President for African Affairs, and later one of the founders of the Arab Organization for Human Rights... We met someone by chance near the train station; Mohamed hugged him and I moved away from them to give them some privacy. Mohamed told me later that this was the pilot so-and-so, who took off leading a squadron of surviving planes after the Naksa, after President Nasser told Minister Mohamed to send the last planes to Africa to make use of and so that: "they don't get defeated by our defeat". Mohamed tasked this pilot with the mission, and here he was - by chance - meeting him in Geneva after three decades.

After the Naksa, the Egyptian forces lost any anti-aircraft weapon they had placed on or near the Suez Canal; so President Gamal went to Moscow and they agreed the establishment of a missile wall against aircraft along the Suez Canal front... the problem then became how to build the concrete bunkers that would house the Soviet missiles and radars; so the Soviets decided to take over the supervision... a tender was issued to build the concrete bases using the private sector, and many submitted quotations to the tender, including several Palestinian contractors, and our trucks were among that group.

For reasons I don't know, only Palestinian contractors were chosen, and we started working by transporting building materials to sites spread along the canal and not close to or overlooking it. I think some of the sites were fake, and others were real,

and we were exposed to Israeli artillery shells; when we unloaded the cargo by tipping it out, sometimes dust was raised; so shells were immediately fired at that site; we would escape at maximum speed and then return with the next load.

We lived during that period in the villages of Faqous and Salhiya, and the work was carried out during the day between Qantara and Ferdan. This missile wall, which was established during Nasser's era and with the modest help of our trucks, is what ensured the advance of the Egyptian forces and the crossing in October 1973, as it prevented any Israeli aircraft from reaching a depth of 20 kilometers west of the canal in Sinai, meaning that the Bar-Lev line, which was established along the canal, had no air protection, and Cairo and the rest of Egypt lived in safety from raids for three years before the October war.

The financial return from the trucks' work on the High Dam or the missile wall was not attractive, or even enough for our livelihood and rehabilitating the trucks, but we worked with a positive spirit. The Gazan trucks usually came to work in Egypt with a permit for three months, then returned to the Gaza Strip for rest and repair; they were Western-made trucks, relatively modern, and it was difficult to find original spare parts for them in Egypt.

After the Naksa, the trucks no longer had the opportunity to go to Gaza, and it was not easy to find spare parts in Egypt, which was suffering from a shortage of everything, sugar, tea, food, bread - and of course - original spare parts for vehicles that were not in common use... by the early 1970s, the trucks had almost gone with the wind.

During the period between the Naksa and the president's death, and then my departure from Egypt and the region, many jokes spread about the political and economic situation, and everyone later knew that Nasser used to ask to be told any new joke in the country... so here are some of those jokes from that period:

Abdel Hakim Amer got into his car with the Minister of War, Shams Badran, and suddenly Amer shouted at him: Watch out, Shams, you'll hit the lamppost! Shams replied: But you're the one driving, sir!

An ancient Egyptian statue was found, and archaeologists were puzzled about its name; Nasser suggested sending it to the intelligence services to uncover its

mystery, and after hours, they told him: We've confirmed it's Ramses II, - How? Nasser asked, - He confessed himself, sir.

A man once stood in the street and said loudly: To hell with you, Abdel Sattar! An informer hit him on the back of his neck and said: And you don't even know the president's name!

Two friends met; one said to the other: Did you know that so-and-so hasn't removed his tooth from his mouth? His friend asked: Why didn't he remove it from his mouth? He replied: Can anyone open his mouth?

A man from Cairo heard that rice was available in Alexandria; he traveled by train to get food for his family; the conductor asked him: Where are you traveling to and why? He replied: To Alexandria to buy rice. When the train reached Tanta, the conductor said: Get off here! He asked: Why, we haven't reached Alexandria yet? He replied: Aren't you going to buy rice? Get off, the queue starts here.

It's said that this joke hurt Abdel Nasser greatly; he summoned the Minister of Supply and ordered him to provide rice to the people by any means.

In 1970, some events occurred that contributed to determining my path and future... a young Palestinian Nasserite (Abdul Rahman Sabah) arrived in Cairo, he was studying and living in West Germany, and I met him through the Nasserite group in Cairo, and I helped him in the noisy city for a few days, and learned from him about the conditions of study and work in Germany, and I got his address.

The other event, which shook the entity, was the civil war in Jordan, known as Black September, and President Gamal Abdel Nasser made strenuous efforts to fix the situation and stop the deterioration, and he held a summit in Cairo to try to reach a solution and restore the bond between brothers... it was later known that on the last day of the conference, the president saw off the Emir of Kuwait as the last of the departing guests, and returned from the airport to the house, where he declined to eat with his family, and asked them to call his doctor, then went up to his bedroom, and the doctors failed to save his life.

On that day, and at the City Palace Hotel, I was rescued for the third time by our neighbor Abu Talal, and it was a psychological and moral rescue. I came down from my room via the elevator to the reception hall, and I saw Abu Talal sitting on

the sofa opposite the receptionist. I said good evening; the receptionist, the polite and decent man who respected me as he had known my father for years... replied: You guys, you've really gone too far! I was shocked, and Abu Talal started scolding the receptionist, and declaring non-responsibility, and gestured for me to come and sit next to him. I asked him if the receptionist was drunk on whiskey? He whispered to me: "Abdel Nasser is dead". I forgot any question about why we were being accused, but I later learned that the leader had died after seeing off the last of the Arab leaders who participated in the summit to resolve the differences between Jordan and the PLO, and that the president had died from exhaustion, and thus, some people blamed us for his death.

I stood at the door of the hotel overlooking Port Said Street and saw terrible scenes. The wide street had turned into a one-way route, people of all ages and classes were heading north to Manshiya al-Bakri and the president's house... crowds running, screaming, and beating their chests, and others on top of buses, which were overflowing and moving awkwardly due to the uneven distribution of their load, the tram line was stationary but still full... I saw naked and semi-naked people, not aware of their own condition... my mind and most of my reality were gone; I walked with them, stunned, but without any outward signs, I was like a zombie, and my mind didn't record the details of the rest of that day, but I returned at night and slept in my room at the City Palace Hotel at the end of Mouski Street.

The state of panic continued for days after the president's death, and all the details, photos, videos, and stories of the funeral are still available on social media, but personal experience and participation are different from the general information... I remember exactly that a day after the president's burial, I went to Opera Square; I found a crowd, and then I saw President Jaafar Nimeiri standing on something and giving a speech... I was like the rest of the people, in a state of psychological loss; suddenly, one of the attendees said in a loud voice: "This son of a... wants to be the president instead"... seconds later, a chase began... Nimeiri ran towards Abdel Khalek Tharwat Street, and we were behind him, and things were flying from all directions, targeting the Sudanese president!! I didn't understand why Nimeiri said what people understood as a hint to his taking over the leadership after Nasser, nor the reason that led to this reaction... perhaps none of us at that time imagined the possibility of someone replacing Nasser.

I saw the president when I was a child in Rafah when we lined up on the side of the road to welcome him, and I saw him in late 1969... he was returning from the Hussein Mosque, standing in a Cadillac, and next to him was the new Libyan leader, Muammar Gaddafi, and I was turning on foot from Port Said Street... I turned around and saw him smiling and looking at me; we waved to each other, and he continued on his way, and the street was not crowded at all, as it was a Friday and after the prayer... this was my only close view of the president, but I later met with other presidents, including Gaddafi, and the Sudanese president, the polite and humble, Sudqi al-Mahdi, and I saw many presidents, kings, and leaders up close, but the experience of seeing Nasser was something else entirely.

When I reflect on our situation now (after a year since October 7, 2023), and what has happened to the Gaza Strip and its people, and the expansion of destruction to Lebanon after the technical strikes on Hezbollah and the assassination of its leaders, I recall the difference in objectivity between Nasser and the leaders of the Islamic resistance. Two days later, Nasser acknowledged defeat and saved what could be saved, and began building the army and preparing the country's policy to absorb the defeat and turn it into an incursion... but the leaders of the Islamic resistance in Gaza started the entrapment war without preparation and without calculating the reaction, and they did not acknowledge the devastating results for the people.

I also wonder why people in the West stopped demonstrating in the streets, despite seeing the severity of the suffering and its length. The conclusion I reached lies in the difference in concepts between the West and the Islamists; the West, throughout its history, acknowledges defeat and adapts temporarily until they have opportunities to change, while the Islamists push the public to believe in victory or martyrdom, and thus give the enemy an additional opportunity to destroy and kill... This is why people stopped showing solidarity, and the Western governments refrained from seeking justice if it would harm their interests; our enemy controls the global media, and controls capital, and is in control of the arrogant American administration, which in turn moves the rest of the Western governments, which are economically and militarily stronger.

Here we see the difference between Nasser's leadership and the leadership of those who followed him throughout the Arab world, taking time to prepare for a new

attack, and this policy was also adopted by President Yasser Arafat, who never risked sending the masses to death, and acknowledged setbacks and defeats, and retreated, then returned to work, taking advantage of any opportunity... you can't win all battles, and you must ensure continuity until you qualify and defeat your enemy once, achieving balance and creating conditions for a solution that is proportional to the result... suicide, or slaughtering the people and media posturing, is not a solution.

Every Palestinian has gone through at least one national catastrophe in the past century, and there are those who have lived through many national disasters, starting from the conflict with British colonialism and Zionist gangs in the 1920s, followed by the 1948 Nakba and the 1967 Naksa, then the civil wars in Jordan and later in Lebanon and Syria... successive disasters leading up to the intifadas and the breaking of bones, and the Gulf wars that led to the expulsion of about half a million Palestinians from there, and even after the Oslo Accords of the last century, leading up to the Hamas coup in Gaza and the subsequent wars and Israeli destruction of the sector... but the catastrophe resulting from the October 2023 'Al Aqsa Flood' is unparalleled in Palestinian history or even globally; the Gaza Strip was destroyed by about 100,000 tons of Western-made explosives in the first year, knowing that the German city of Dresden, the most destroyed in World War II, was bombed with 4,000 tons, and Hitler's bombing of London throughout the war reached 18,000 tons, and the Hiroshima nuclear bomb was equivalent to 15,000 tons of explosives, totaling 37,000 tons that decided the fate of World War II... Japan surrendered due to the nuclear bombs to protect its citizens from destruction, and the Nazi army surrendered by agreement of its leaders on the futility of continuing to fight to protect the remaining infrastructure and people... but Hamas wants to be victorious at any cost and leaves the people to extermination, betting on a divine miracle or a catastrophic end.

After decades of study, follow-up, and involvement in events, I have come to the conviction that the composition of Palestinian leadership is one of the causes of disaster and the most important one. Of course, we cannot ignore the nature of the enemy we are fighting; it is the smartest, richest, and has the most control of Western governments with all their political and economic capabilities, led by the United States... it has become clear that we are fighting against America, Britain, France, and Germany, which supplies Israel with weapons through an

uninterrupted air bridge, and this official Western hostility to Palestinians and support for Zionists has been ongoing since the establishment of the entity... therefore, it is a real miracle that the Palestinian people have stood firm and demanded their rights and foiled counter-plans for a century. I say it's a miracle that they have stood firm, and it would have been possible to win if the successive Palestinian leaderships had been more civilized, knowledgeable, and aware, but the leaders amounted to no more than copies of each other throughout the century, whether in the cultural, social, and religious fields, or in the lack of scientific knowledge.

It is natural that some of the enemy's actions would influence the actions of those who oppose them, meaning that the enemy achieved its goals through violence and wars... so the conclusion was that wars and violence are the way to salvation. But Israel also relied on science and exploited it in applying violence, and continued violence and occupation while relying on democracy, science, and technology, while on the Palestinian side, we relied on armed violence, and those who took on the struggle were the least competent scientifically, culturally, and intellectually, or they were those who climbed to leadership through demagoguery, and they were the ones who bet on pleasing the public through the noise of bullets and totalitarian slogans, and they led us to where we are every time.

-Their actions contradicted our convictions... for example, Palestinian ideologues knew and said repeatedly that this conflict is long and complex and the enemy is advanced... etc., but the practices of the leadership were spontaneous and juvenile in terms of not caring about science and technology as a backup for the revolution in the future... no organization or group thought, for example, to develop a deterrent to protect the people from massacres; every military operation, be it small or large, but all of the same type, was met by the enemy with a much larger counter-operation... we knew from the beginning of the conflict, from before the Nakba and until now, and we continue to repeat that the enemy wants to exterminate the Palestinian people and expel them from their homeland, but the leaders of the organizations and groups who have money and decision-making capabilities did not develop any deterrent, while they were watching the enemy's capabilities grow every hour and day... it is bad enough that we did not imitate them in the democratic field, and here are the leaders of Fatah, the Authority, Hamas, and Jihad, and others, who do not want to agree on forming a National

Unity Government, despite the ongoing genocidal war that we see is leading to the displacement of the Palestinian people, while those who consider themselves leaders of the people are divided among themselves and refuse to agree on forming a unified government, even as a temporary measure, despite having met in the capitals of the world repeatedly... in Mecca, Doha, Cairo, Amman, and Beijing after Moscow, but to no avail, each of them wants the chairs and dominance; they cannot agree while our blood is being spilled!!

As a decent Palestinian Arab citizen, I did not content myself with public criticism for the past decades, but I did what I could and tried to develop that Palestinian leadership deficiency and improve it through self-work and providing advice and opinion to the Palestinian leadership, but I and some like me were in one valley and the leadership in another... as will become clear in the following chapters.

After the death of President Gamal Abdel Nasser on September 28, 1970, Cairo changed in my eyes, vision, and psyche, and I didn't imagine that Anwar Sadat or anyone else would maintain Nasser's line and steps, it was just a feeling not based on analysis or news. I was 18 years old and had finished high school, the literary section, and I didn't succeed in obtaining a place to study political science in Cairo... in fact, I didn't pursue it and was told that it was a college reserved for certain people of whom I was not one, -as I said- Egypt and Cairo were out of my head.

I remembered the young Nasserite, Abdul Rahman Sabah, who had visited Cairo and explained to me some information about studying in West Germany, -especially- the ability to study and work, as they follow a semi-annual semester system, half of which is study and the other half is vacation, during which one can work. I was supposed to translate my certificate and all my papers into German, get them approved, and submit them to the German embassy with a request to register at any university, and they would coordinate and decide, then give me a student visa, which would later facilitate getting a renewable annual student residence permit. That was a lot of work and would take a long time, and I felt I didn't have it... I asked my uncle, Abu Fathi, who was managing our trucks, to arrange for me any available money because I had decided to leave.

After a discussion that is not worth mentioning here, I arranged for the price of the ticket plus \$100 and headed to the embassy to request a tourist visa... things were relatively easy back then, and they printed the visa on my laissez passer, issued by Egypt and designated for Palestinian refugees, which was blue.

I didn't think about any difficulty that might arise, not the language I didn't know, nor my limited English, nor the lack of money, nor the few summer clothes I took to a snowy country in the middle of their winter.

Before heading to Cairo airport, my brother Abdul Rahman, who had come with his family from Amman to live in Cairo, gave me a thick blue wool sweater, and after a few months in Germany, I decided to wash it with water and soap as I had seen my mother do with the laundry... I later learned that wool is washed differently. The result was that the sweater stretched to twice its size, its openings widened, and its length and width increased, but I continued to use it and kept it in the closet for decades to come.

I had brought that sweater with my brother from Rafah through Palestine and the Allenby Bridge to Amman, then it moved to Helwan in Egypt with its owner after the start of Black September, and I took it to Germany, where it protected me from the winter of Bavaria, where the temperature drops to twenty below zero, and your mustache freezes on the street.

The last event I remember before traveling from Cairo; I went to my uncle Abu Samir's house in Manshiya al-Bakri to bid them farewell. When my uncle was sure of my decision to travel, and perhaps noticed some hesitation or so he thought, he advised me saying: When you're on the plane, urinate from the air on the Arabs... we laughed, but that was not my intention, and I didn't do so, nor will I ever abandon my nationalist, Nasserite, Arab ideas.

My weapons on that journey were diverse; despite my young age, I had Arab nationalist ideas leaning towards the left and socialism, meaning I had principles and a line that could be developed with more knowledge. I had the practical ability to be frugal, strong endurance, a desire for adventure, and a positive psyche, from the experience of the three years after the Naksa, whether traveling, training on arms, and associating with those who lived for politics and resistance, or -of course- my experience working as a worker with trucks all over Egypt, from

Aswan to the Suez Canal, and having a truck driving license... I also experienced severe illness and survived malaria, and went through some circumstances that I suffered from physically... add to that that finishing high school is a critical period that determines your direction and future, and I was strongly framed to continue studying as a result of the push from my parents in the successive educational stages previously in the Gaza Strip, and my father's advice and my mother's prayers, which I gradually discovered were answered as she wanted; the prayers were diverse and many, but my mother's prayers were clear.

All that known, unknown, and unseen was in my favor as I entered the experience of traveling to study, with only a hundred dollars in my pocket, which evaporated the next day upon my arrival in Frankfurt, before reaching my goal in the city of Freiburg on the Swiss border, where my friend Abdul Rahman lived, and where I met a group of good people from the Arab nation who became a fundamental element of help and, of course, friends.

It's appropriate to end this chapter with the events of arriving in Frankfurt for their humor... I left the airport terminal and didn't know that there was a train connecting the airport to the city; the airports I knew and visited before were left by taxi or public bus... I took a taxi and explained to him that I wanted a cheap hotel; he took me to my destination near the train station in Frankfurt, where such hotels are plenty... I handed him the hundred dollars as a single bill, and he returned German marks to me, and got out with me and handed me over to the hotel owner. Our entire interaction was closer to gestures and some English words... she gestured to me with her hand and fingers if I wanted a double or single; I thought she was asking if I wanted a prostitute with me, given the area, street, and night, and adding to that the preconceived ideas ingrained in the Arab mind about Europe. I chose to be alone, and later discovered that she was asking if I wanted a room alone or with someone else; I chose the single, and the most expensive one.

I went down to the street to explore before traveling by train the next day; I was comforted by the advertisements for Kuwait Airways and Middle East Airlines, and I saw prostitutes in the streets and in the windows, they wouldn't talk to you unless you asked them... and I passed by a small shop selling sandwiches that looked like kebabs; I entered and ordered one by gesture; he put in the bread what I later knew was sausage, or "Wuerst" in German, which is made from pork... I bit

into this new experience, and then finished eating the bread without the sausage, which didn't suit my taste at the time, and I didn't have enough money to try another food, as I had to keep the price of the train ticket to Freiburg: I had already contacted Abdul Rahman by phone from the hotel and he had explained to me how to buy the ticket.

Um al Abd's prayers

My mother's prayers accompanied me always, in the knowledge that people are different, some good and some bad, and with grey shades in between. My mother always prayed for me to meet and be with good people: "May God bless you with the children of halal". I met many of the children of halal in Germany, and a few rare ones of the children of haram, and I didn't think at the time that I might be drawing support from my mother's wishes for me, but now, as I review that period, I remember her prayers, which may have intensified after I left Rafah and then traveled from Egypt to Germany... (my mother had endured the hardship of traveling from Rafah to Amman with my father in the summer of 1969 to see me there).

Asbar was a friend of Abdul Rahman Sabah, who welcomed me in Freiburg, and immediately adopted a plan to help me administratively... Asbar was Lebanese, and I later learned that he was a Christian, a short, hunchbacked man studying medicine. He translated my high school certificate and the rest of the papers required for university admission to get acceptance, which usually qualifies for a yearly residence permit. He took me to the university secretariat, handed them the translations, and asked them to authenticate them, and wouldn't accept any excuses or listen to any other opinion, and he submitted a request for me to study political science and economics as I had asked him, and he arranged to return to collect the acceptance certificate within days to continue the procedures.

I noticed then and later that no employee dared to refuse Asbar's requests due to his sharp tongue and his use of his physical condition to accuse anyone who refused his request of not respecting the disabled, and this is a sin among advanced nations.

I had started learning German in a course affiliated with the university, but it was not intensive, and therefore, I needed translators and assistants to adjust my admission and residence matters. We took the acceptance certificate from the university and the necessary papers, and this time I went with Abdul Rahman to the foreigners' department at the police station to apply for residence... but the employee was one of the few children of haram I met during my studies and stay in Germany. He examined the papers and refused to accept the application... Abdul

Rahman was only translating, and when I stood up to explain my point of view to the employee, he thought I was attacking him; so Abdul Rahman asked me to sit down... the result was that the employee wanted me to return to Cairo with the university acceptance certificate to submit it to the German embassy there and wait for the police approval for me to come here!!

My friends agreed that this was an absurd and racist situation and couldn't be accepted, but there had to be an alternative plan, and here Saadi Zurob suggested that I apply to the famous Goethe Institute, which is expensive, to learn the language... This institute usually accepts everyone who wants to learn the language, and distributes students to its many centers in villages, and takes responsibility for obtaining a residence permit for them for three months, which is the duration of one course, and it also guarantees accommodation for each student with a family in the village, and there is a restaurant that provides lunch and dinner within the paid fees, while breakfast is provided by the host family.

Among my batch at the institute was an Egyptian doctor who wanted to learn the language to specialize in his field, and the brother of the artist Sid Mallah, who was seeking to specialize in music, and he was skilled in playing several instruments, including the piano located in the restaurant, and a group of young men and women from Turkey, Syria, and Asian countries, and a young Moroccan man who excelled in changing the words of Arabic songs played by Mallah.

Learning the language intensively every day is a beautiful temporary solution that ensures learning the language quickly and includes obtaining a residence permit and gaining time, and thus the possibility of that racist employee approving my annual residence permit.

Of course, I didn't have any money for the Goethe Institute fees, which were three thousand German marks, which is about the average student expenditure for ten months... but Saadi took responsibility and arranged the amount, and we registered at the institute, which in turn sent me to the village of Grafing in Bavaria, in the highest areas where ski centers are located, and that in the middle of the winter season.

I completed the task successfully and returned to Freiburg at the beginning of the university's semester break, I repeated the attempt with the support and

accompaniment of Asbar to obtain the residence permit, but the racist employee insisted on his previous opinion despite Asbar raising his voice, but that didn't work.

Asbar suggested that we go to the director of the foreign students department at the university to complain... the director explained to us that that employee would not change his mind, and suggested that he prepare a similar acceptance for me at Heidelberg University, and I could apply for a residence permit there and then return to Freiburg later... students holding an Egyptian high school certificate had to complete a German high school certificate because school in Germany lasts thirteen years, while in Egypt and other Arab countries it is twelve years.

We accepted the director's proposal and agreed to return to him after completing the procedures with Heidelberg University, or rather, completing the preparatory year for the university successfully, and I agreed with Asbar to take advantage of the opportunity to work during the vacation, to strengthen my language skill and to get money to repay Saadi Zurob.

Saadi is also from Rafah, and I knew him from there, and our parents worked together in the car trade, but the Zurob family is one of the original Rafah families, meaning they are not refugees like us who came after the Nakba to the Gaza Strip, and therefore, they have agricultural land, and they benefited after the Nakba from the availability of cheap refugee labor and then the availability of markets for their agricultural products, and they occupied, along with other Rafah people, as in the rest of the Gaza Strip, the few government positions such as the chairmanship of municipalities... the important thing is that I knew Saadi's family well, and therefore, this was considered an additional commitment between us, in addition to the commitment to Arabism and Palestinian nationalism and the political direction that became one of the elements of cohesion among groups of Arab students.

(The Zurob family had their homes destroyed and their land confiscated in Rafah, and they were expelled from there in the massacre).

I remained in touch with Saadi later; I settled in Heidelberg and he remained in Freiburg until he finished his education and worked as a surgeon in Germany for years... we communicated monthly during our studies and met at student meetings

and central demonstrations, and I kept in touch with him when I was in London later.

Saadi passed away in late June 2013, and he had finished his studies and become a famous surgeon in Germany before moving to the Gaza Strip, and luckily, he did not live to see the October 2023 Nakba and its aftermath, but some of his children and grandchildren did.

As for the gentleman, Abdul Rahman Sabah, he completed his Ph.D. in political science and worked in the Qatari Foreign Ministry for years until Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait; 400,000 Palestinians were expelled from the Gulf countries, and Abdul Rahman was one of them, and he returned to Jordan with his family to live in poor economic conditions.

I had visited him in Doha while he was in office, but I failed to find him later in Jordan.

Before Abdul Rahman joined the University of Freiburg, he was an officer in the Iraqi army as a commitment from a Palestinian to the idea of Arab nationalism and its implementation, but he decided to leave that task due to Iraqi political developments and completed his education outside the Arab world.

The first kind man, Asbar, was the first to pass away among that group of good people... he went one night with Abdul Rahman to the lake near the student dormitory in Freiburg, and went swimming and disappeared from his friend's sight, who couldn't swim at all... At the request of his family, his body was sent to Lebanon, and he had finished his medical studies and was waiting to receive his papers and preparing to travel, and he was in the process of accepting requests from his friends of what they wanted from Lebanon to send to them from there after his arrival.

Asbar was extremely open to people, and he reminded me of life in Arab villages where people greet each other on every occasion... when I walked with Asbar in the area of the student dormitory, Germans and foreigners mixed, he would receive greetings from everyone we met, and joke with them even when he was in a hurry... he loved life and people, may God have mercy on him.

I remember some of Abdul Rahman's reactions to the death of his friend Asbar, including his decision to learn swimming; I started accompanying him weekly to a swimming pool in Freiburg and teaching him until he mastered it in a short period, and I noticed then, and later, that most residents of Jordan and the West Bank do not know how to swim due to the lack of swimming lessons in schools, and the absence of a nearby beach, unlike the rest of the Palestinian people.

Another note comes to mind on the occasion of talking about that kind man Asbar, which is the lack of interest of our generation in the 1970s in the idea of religion, or the creed of others... our identification as Arabs was the bond between everyone, while our differences were to be found in our political ideological orientation, left, right, or center, and the right was not religious as it is today, but the Fatah movement was considered right-wing, as well as supporters of traditional regimes.

Thus, it never occurred to me then or now to think of asking anyone about their beliefs, or to take any position accordingly. I later learned, by chance, that Asbar was a Christian... I also befriended other people whose religion I didn't know except by chance, including Suhail Fazel, who was a moderate leftist, and we used to participate with others in almost weekly meetings in Heidelberg and visit each other socially... one time I visited him at the end of the year, and I found that his wife had put up decorations indicating the celebration of Christmas; I asked him if he was a Christian and reproached him for not telling me that throughout the years... he said what would you have done if you knew; I said I would have brought you a gift at the end of every year.

Suhail later became a famous German writer, and took the name Rafik Schami. He had come to Germany in 1971 fleeing from Syrian conscription, and studied organic chemistry and obtained a doctorate and worked in a German pharmaceutical company, but he resigned and decided to devote himself to writing literature and became a famous author in the German language and some of his works were translated into dozens of languages... he is the son of a baker from a Syriac Christian family from the mountain town of Maaloula east of Damascus.

In this regard, Suhail shares with thousands of celebrities who have risen in scientific achievement and then moved to different fields of work, and the largest group may well be doctors, including George Habash and his companion Wadi'

Haddad, and I also know an American doctor in nuclear physics who left his field and worked as a rescuer for stranded cars in the mountains and deserts... and there are famous Egyptian doctors: the artist Yahya al-Fakhrani, the writer Yusuf Idris, the thinker Mustafa Mahmoud, and the satirist Basim Yusuf... and there are, of course, countless numbers of them who have abandoned academic certificates and followed their hobbies to specialize in them.

In Heidelberg, and during the first semester of the preparatory year, my mixing with different types of students became wider; in the student house, there are Germans and foreigners of both sexes and various levels of study, starting from students of the preparatory year like me to those who are preparing to finish their studies. The atmosphere was open and leftist among most students, and it happened that we were incited to protest against the director of the preparatory year institute, and we carried banners and besieged the place... when the demonstration ended, the director insisted on not receiving me and some others to return and complete the second semester.

Again, I complained to the director of the foreign student's department at the university; he intervened for me to do the second semester at the institute of the city and university of Mainz, ninety kilometers to the north, and then return to Heidelberg University to begin university studies.

I met my future wife in Heidelberg, and she had just arrived from Ireland to study languages and translation, and Grace started visiting me on weekends in the city of Mainz, which is located in the Rhineland-Palatinate state, but I lived above a bakery in the city of Gustavsburg, which is located on the opposite bank of the Rhine, but it is part of the state of Hesse, whose capital is Frankfurt... this coincidence of living in one state and studying in another saved me after the events of the Munich operation against the Israeli sports team, where they were taken hostage during the summer Olympics held in September 1972 and attributed to the Black September organization, and the Palestinian team's demand was the release of 236 detainees in Israeli prisons, most of whom were Arabs, in addition to Kozo Okamoto from the Japanese Red Army, and the operation ended with the killing of 11 Israeli athletes and 5 Palestinian operatives and a German policeman and helicopter pilot... of course, the Germans were angry about the operation being

carried out in their country and decided to retaliate; they started arresting Palestinians wherever they found them and deporting them out of the country.

I had been active immediately in Mainz since my arrival, and encouraged the holding of elections for the Palestinian Students' Union and won the presidency of the union, and therefore, the first steps of the German police were to search for and arrest activists of the student and labor unions; they arrested my secretary and didn't find me because I wasn't registered as a resident in the police records of the state where the university is located... thus, I escaped deportation to East Germany, which received the union secretary and dozens of others who found themselves victims of random retaliation.

At a later time, and because of this experience, my girlfriend insisted on our marriage to give me some protection as the husband of a European, and then we visited Britain and she obtained a permanent residence visa for me there, and I returned to continue my studies at Heidelberg University, Department of Political Science... the residence permit in Britain was a second line of protection, as the German authorities continued arrests and deportations, and I didn't want to return to any Arab country without an academic achievement that would secure my future... thus, if I clashed with the German authorities; I could travel and reside in Britain, but things went despite the difficulties to their goals, and I was like many others, always prepared and on alert, expecting arrest at any moment, especially after every external operation carried out by Palestinian organizations; I didn't keep addresses, phone numbers, or any papers that could harm anyone if they fell into the hands of the German authorities.

This was the first experience and test for my wife, and I explained to her all our circumstances under occupation and the loss of nationality, passports, and countries of residence, and she read a lot of literature to keep up with the historical and current information, and we decided to visit the Gaza Strip and Palestine - together - at the earliest possible opportunity; she was eager to meet my family... of course, it's easy for someone like me to be cautious and vigilant even after engaging in resistance work... but those who were supposed to be cautious after the Munich operation neglected this, or maybe the Israeli intelligence and capabilities were above their level.

Golda Meir, an Ukrainian-born Israeli politician, was the fourth Prime Minister of Israel from 1969 to 1974, and she decided with her leadership to retaliate against all those who contributed to the Munich operation, and gave the green light to assassinate a long list of people, most of whom had no connection to the organization that carried out the operation (Black September), just as Israel did more than half a century later when it retaliated against all Palestinians in the Gaza Strip under the pretext of retaliating against Hamas, which carried out the Al-Aqsa Flood operation; Israel is looking at every stage for justifications that allow it to continue implementing its plans to get rid of the Palestinian people and remove them physically, culturally, and historically from existence to justify its claim regarding the idea of a Jewish people without a land for a Palestinian land without a people.

Before the Munich operation, Ghassan Kanafani was assassinated on July 8, 1972, in Beirut, when his car was blown up with an explosive device by the Israeli Mossad, and his niece was killed with him. After the list of assassinations was approved, Wael Adel Zwaiter was assassinated in Rome by gunmen at the entrance to his apartment on October 16, and he was officially a Libyan embassy employee and a representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization in Rome. On December 8 of the same year, Dr. Mahmoud Hamshari was assassinated, a representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization in France, where he was killed in Paris by a bomb hidden in the phone.

The series of external assassinations of Palestinian diplomats and intellectuals continued for a long time, and the principle of assassinations later became official policy, and no longer needed decisions from the Prime Minister's office.

Hussein Abu al-Khair, a representative of the Fatah organization in Cyprus, was assassinated by a bomb in his room in a hotel in Nicosia on January 24, 1973, and on April 6, Dr. Basil al-Kubaisi, a professor of law at the American University in Beirut, was assassinated by gunmen in Paris... on April 9, a special forces team landed in Beirut, including Ehud Barak, who later became Prime Minister, and they carried out the Verdun operation, assassinating Muhammad Youssef al-Najjar, Kamal Adwan, and Kamal Nasser, all of whom were founding leaders of the Fatah movement and had no connection to Black September... Kamal Adwan was the head of the Western Sector, i.e., the Palestinian interior, in the Fatah movement.

Only two days after the Munich operation, Zaid Maghasi, a representative of Fatah in Cyprus, was assassinated in a hotel room in Athens. On June 28, Muhammad Boudia, an operations officer in the Black September Organization, was killed by a bomb under his car seat in Paris. On July 11, the Lebanese security forces arrested a German man carrying a forged passport in the name of (Orluch Lusberg) who was later found to be Dani Yatom, part of an Israeli network planning to assassinate Saeed al-Sabbah in the city of Tripoli, Lebanon.

The next Israeli failure was on July 21, when Israeli intelligence killed Ahmed Bouchiki, an innocent waiter who was suspected of being Ali Hassan Salameh, in the city of Lillehammer, Norway. But, after 6 years, the Israelis succeeded in assassinating Ali Hassan Salameh in Beirut, where they blew up his car on the road, after an agent who had long pretended to be a supporter of the Palestinians and had become involved with the victim tracked him down.

The story of the Black September Organization is very interesting and has implications for the situation before the Nakba, as well as the situation after October 2023 and the 'Al-Aqsa Flood' attack. As it is a story with political, military, and social dimensions, I will give it a wider scope later in this book.

As a good citizen, I can confirm that I received support and assistance from friends and acquaintances, and in return, I provided continuous assistance to others and to the country, extending from the early days of university study to this day, more than a year after the October disaster that produced a process of extermination in the Gaza Strip and its people, and assistance is required in everything for everything.

I organized the establishment of a branch of the Palestinian Students' Union in the city of Mainz, and after returning to Heidelberg, despite the atmosphere of terror against Palestinians following the Munich operation, I reorganized the branch of the union after it had dispersed, and transferred control of it from supporters of the Fatah movement to supporters of the Palestinian left, and the same thing happened in several cities to the extent that the ambassador of the organization in Bonn, Mr. Abdullah Al-Ifrangi, who had a relationship of respect with me, was annoyed, especially after I sent him to Yasser Arafat with a special file... I had met Abu Ammar briefly during the mourning ceremony for the martyrs of Verdun, and our

ambassador returned with a response that I did not understand at the time about the contents of the file.

The story -in brief- is that a German friend, who is trustworthy and sympathetic, met another person who developed a small submarine that can accommodate one person and cargo, or two people without cargo... when I found out about the matter, I went with my friend to examine it out of curiosity, and we collected the technical information and I recorded the result of the experiment and some photos of the submarine and put them in a file, imagining opportunities for the resistance to use it by to mine the ports of Palestine or the trade routes of the occupying entity.

I took the file to Abdullah, who looked at it in amazement and asked me if the matter was true; I confirmed it to him. He traveled the next day to Beirut, and when he returned, he told me: "The old man sends you greetings and thanks and says that we have something similar."

The end of the story reinforced my conviction that there was something wrong; if we have submarines like that, why didn't we use them, and what were we waiting for, especially since all our country is coastal?

The story of my first meeting with the old man was also full of contradictions. After hearing the news of the assassination in Verdun, I borrowed money to buy a plane ticket and went down to Beirut the next day. The taxi driver took me to the building where Abu Youssef Al-Najjar lived, and the young men took me to his apartment on the sixth floor, where Abu Youssef and his wife, who had resisted the killers and stood between them and her injured husband, had been assassinated. There, I met his cousin, who bears the same name, Mohammad Al-Najjar, who used to work with his trucks with us in Upper Egypt and we lived together for periods, and the Al-Najjar family is also from Rafah, and Mohammad was a friend of my father's... the important thing is that before moving to my cousin Kamal Adwan's house, who I had known since the days of Gaza despite the age difference between us, and we used to correspond between Beirut and Germany about some personal and family matters... before moving to his apartment in the opposite building, Abu Ammar entered; I sat for a few more minutes, when the old man heard something that did not please him, and tears fell as he said in Egyptian

dialect: "Don't say that..." our eyes met, and I left with one of the guards to take me to my cousin's house, where I found Kamal's nephews, Majid and Sobhi, and his sister Suad, the mother of Fathi and her husband, who is my uncle, and one of their sons, Jihad, and my uncle Abu Samir, and these people had come from Cairo... the important thing here is to point out the old man's presence after my arrival here too, and we shook hands and communicated with our eyes, and we had other meetings, conversations, and correspondence, which I will discuss in due time.

It should be noted here that the apartment of the third martyr, Kamal Nasser, was in the same building and above the apartment of the martyr Kamal Adwan... about an hour after the old man left, Abu Iyad, Salah Khalaf, arrived to offer condolences to the family of the martyr Adwan, greeted the attendees without a word, and sat silently for about ten minutes, then left the apartment.

It should be noted that a group of Israelis disguised as priests were living on the fifth floor below Abu Youssef Al-Najjar's apartment, as one of his sons said later, and that they had been there for months before the operation was carried out, perhaps immediately after Golda Meir decided to retaliate for the Munich 1972 operation.

It is necessary here to explain the tears of the old man. The Verdun operation was big, strong, and influential, and seemed easy to execute, and it was surprising to the mind and logic at the time that Israeli special forces came from occupied Palestine, carried out the assassinations, and then left without anyone being caught. The martyrs were from the founders of the Fatah movement, and there were, as usual, talks about peaceful projects, and those close to the leadership knew that the choice of Abu Ammar as a spokesman for Fatah at the beginning and then his reaching the top position came by chance, and it was known in the beginning that pushing Yasser Arafat to be spokesman was like sacrificing him in the face of the dangers surrounding him at the time, both Arab and Israeli... so when this mass assassination took place in the row following Arafat, it was easy to suspect that he had a hand in the operation and that it was not made by Israel, and if it was an Israeli operation, it was done with Arafat's knowledge so that he could get rid of his potential rivals and opponents of peaceful solutions... and because the operation did not approach Arafat and his headquarters and was limited to these Gazans, it

was easy to suspect and rumors spread, and the old man heard direct accusations against him that day; so his tears fell.

But it is unnecessary to say that Israel later killed Arafat and participated in the destruction of the peaceful solution, and of course, acknowledged the details of the implementation of the Verdun operation.

That trip to Beirut changed a lot in my personality and the course of my life. I saw the possibilities, and yet I felt the utter failure and poor planning, and the matter was not in its essence and details much different from the situation in Jordan from 1967 to Black September 1970, -in short- I was convinced that it was not necessary for the series of assassinations to happen so easily because we are fighting an enemy who is a usurper, half of whose people are criminals, and we must assume that to be the case and therefore take precautions even before we provoke it with attacks on athletes or civilians.

After two days of condolences and repeating the same conversations, rituals, and actions, I asked Kamal's deputy for the Western Sector to arrange a concentrated training period for me, and he immediately responded and arranged the matter in the best way.

I was told to leave the building and head north, then take the first turn, and someone would recognize me there, and I was to go with him... I arrived and looked at and recognized the person before he spoke to me, and I told him that I knew his face and his family's name from the days in Rafah... He tried to deny it, for security reasons, then admitted it was so and took me to a house used for special training in the Dbiyeh camp for Palestinian refugees, most of whom were Christian refugees from Galilee and Haifa, and it was the only Palestinian camp east of Beirut, where the majority is Christian.

They nicknamed me George for security reasons, and I did not respond to the calls on the first day, and they had to remind me that I was George. The best thing about that experience was the old woman, Um Simon, who brought us traditional popular food every day, that I was not used to, and prayed to God to help us and grant us victory.

I learned and trained on handling the Kalashnikov and pretended that I was new to this weapon, but the only new thing was the amount of bullets I used for training in a nearby location; then we agreed to learn other things about manufacturing and assembling explosives and detonators, and exploding by timing and battery, and focusing on the aspects of caution in the equation, composition, and wires, because a mistake would lead to one of two possibilities: either a spontaneous explosion that would kill oneself and those around him, or the bomb not exploding at its time and place.

All the materials used in the manufacture of these strong explosives were available for purchase by the public in European countries relatively easily... some of them are used in cosmetics, and others are fertilizer for plants or primary industrial materials.

When the training period ended, I returned to Germany, and was surprised at Frankfurt airport that my wife did not recognize me immediately as I approached her until I got close to her; she opened her mouth... my color had changed, and my weight had decreased, and muscle mass had taken the place of fat.

I returned to work, study, and Palestinian and Arab student political activity through student unions and interest in relations with the German student left, where we formed "Middle East Committees" in many university cities, and organizing the committees was a task entrusted to the Germans, while we provided them with general and specific information and sent them to the West Bank, Gaza, and Beirut for information, meetings, and relations... I also began to form dormant cells of guaranteed youths and slow and studied collection and storage of materials in preparation for any emergency that required their use... but things went smoothly.

Before ending this chapter, it is necessary to return to the atmosphere that prevailed in the 1970s... fluctuations in the results of the impact of the June defeat psychologically on the Arab people, from a state of defeat to a return of hope as a result of the guerrilla activity, then the setback of the guerrilla withdrawal from Jordan, and the joining of the official Arabs to the American solution and fear of Israel's brutality and capabilities and its lack of fear of doing anything that serves its interests... while globally, the conviction prevailed that there was an Israeli occupation on the one hand, and Israel's right to borders and security within the

framework before the 1967 war on the other hand... as for the student and university level in the West and East Europe, the leftist ideology prevailed to the extent that students in philosophical sciences were participating in choosing the materials they studied in each semester, and often rejected the professor's suggestions for some books on the grounds that they were purely reactionary and capitalist.

As for us as Palestinian students in Germany and the West in general, we used to receive any new student coming to study, we facilitated his task and helped him in registration and finding accommodation, usually in student houses... and most importantly, I started in the city of Heidelberg to organize workplaces for new students in need of money, usually in restaurant kitchens, or night shifts in the city's hotels, or working at night in the city's newspaper printing press... this way, some students could work at night and study at the university during the day, and I was able to get to know the good elements and classify and frame the students and connect them socially.

We did not differentiate on a sectarian basis, or even regionally, and we, as Arab and Palestinian students, had good relations with Iranians and Turks, and of course, Germans, as long as they were leftists, and as Palestinians, we had two directions, Fatah right-wing and left-wing supporting leftist organizations, but we worked together openly, cooperated socially, and competed for leadership of unions and organizations and leading the work in general, but we, as individuals and unions and groups, never fought each other, as has happened in the last decades since the strengthening of religious movements in politics and the split of political work and the creation of social differences and fighting and killing and rejection of unity and participation, even in the darkest circumstances of the genocide that the Palestinian people are facing in the Gaza Strip, as we find the Islamist Hamas currently rejecting unity for the Palestinian leadership, and refusing to give up the chair to protect what remains and insisting on leading to the last house and person in Gaza, or until the heart of colonialism softens and accepts a solution that keeps them in power, even if only in form.

Black September... Why and How?

I can confirm a permanent memory of details of things that happened when I was four years old, such as the Tripartite Aggression of 1956 on the Gaza Strip and Sinai and their occupation, and the details of the beginning of school and elementary stage... I say this as I clearly remember how the men of the village of Barbara, refugees in Rafah, used to gather every night in the council (Majlis) at my father's house, and talk about their lives in Barbara, which had been occupied for four years when I was born, and for nineteen years when the 1967 setback occurred... Barbara and Palestine before the Nakba lived in their minds and controlled their behavior, vision, and social status... and now their stories, which I listened to, and the reality of life that I lived in Rafah and the Gaza Strip, live in my mind, although three times the time that passed between the Nakba and the setback has gone past.

While reviewing information about personalities, some of whom I knew, and who made up the revolution in its various and different stages, I noticed the fact that they were all born in Palestine before the Nakba, and that they were expelled from it at ages between ten and twenty years old, like Dr. Wadi Haddad, i.e., they all remember the details of their lives that they were deprived of continuing through oppression... Many of them were from well-off families; for example, Sabri al-Banna's (Abu Nidal) father was one of the richest men in Jaffa, and they had a swimming pool in their big house! Sabri was 11 years old when he was displaced with his family first to al-Bureij in the Gaza Strip, then they moved to Nablus... Perhaps the oldest of those leaders was al-Hakim, George Habash, born in Lydda in 1926 to a wealthy Christian family of landowners in Palestine... Al-Hakim was three years older than the old man, Yasser Arafat, and between them was Abu Yusuf al-Najjar, born in Yibna in 1927, while Kamal Adwan was born in Barbara in 1935, i.e., he was thirteen years old at the time of the Nakba... The events of this age, between ten and twenty, are the most ingrained in the mind as they witness the physical and intellectual transformation from childhood and adolescence to youth and manhood. I learned that Israel, through the (Aman) intelligence agency, investigates the adolescence and youth of any person whose capabilities and aspirations they want to know, and they take that into account when they assess the risks they may pose.

This generation is the one that partially benefited from the lessons of the failure of the pre-Nakba experience, and was witness to the betrayal of the Arab environment - specifically - the regimes, and the hostility of the West, which helped establish the entity - specifically - Britain. They also believed that revolutionary violence is the only way to restore rights, relying on the experience of the Zionist movement, which succeeded in its efforts through violence, assassinations, and terrorism... The Zionists bombed British headquarters, executed Mandate soldiers, blew up hotels, and assassinated the UN representative, Count Bernadotte, and committed massacres, of which the Deir Yassin massacre was not the only one... Thus, that generation was convinced that as their enemy's practices succeeded through violence and terrorism, there was no harm in adopting and imitating them as much as possible... But they did not imitate the other aspect of the Zionist experience, which is adherence to democracy and, therefore, the principle of changing and renewing leadership, and moving away from a leadership rife with tribal connections and Sheikhdoms, and they did not adhere to the same extent to the scientific aspect that their enemy focused on, nor did they mobilize wealthy Palestinians and Arabs as the Zionists mobilized the wealthy Jews for media and political influence... But their excuse was the hostile environment they faced, whether Arab official or global; they were forced to secrecy and resorted to violence in all its forms, including the violence of Abu Nidal's organization, which turned against itself and harmed the revolution and the revolutionaries and became a traitor to the national cause... or Wadi Haddad's violence in the external field before and after the Jordan experience, and the experience of Black September as a result of the defeat of the fedayeen in Jordan.

Black September is the name that symbolizes the events in Jordan in the summer of 1970 between the Palestinian fedayeen organizations and the Jordanian army, which achieved its goal of expelling the fedayeen, and Arab mediation efforts led by Gamal Abdel Nasser failed to bridge the gap, and the Palestinian fedayeen left Jordan for Lebanon. At that time, feelings of despair, frustration, and disappointment dominated all Palestinians, because they could no longer carry out fedayeen operations from the longest borders with Israel; thus, the need arose to establish a secret organization as an auxiliary to the Palestinian resistance at a time when the latter could not fulfill its responsibilities fully, militarily and politically. It is worth noting here that the Palestinian resistance leadership met in full in

September 1971 and took a set of public decisions, the most important of which was to strengthen the resistance bases in Jordan and Lebanon, and to launch attacks on Israel from southern Lebanon, but it was also decided to form a secret force to practice revenge, and the name of Salah Khalaf, Abu Iyad, was later associated with the leadership of the Black September organization... and Abu Iyad (born in Jaffa in 1933) was one of the leaders of the Fatah organization and was responsible for security devices.

Abu Iyad is considered one of the most important theorists of revolutionary thought of the Fatah movement, to the extent that he was nicknamed the Trotsky of Palestine, broad-minded and insightful, the first to propose the idea of a secular state in Palestine, where the three religions, Muslims, Christians, and Jews, coexist with equal rights and duties.

He was one of the prominent founders of the pillars of the Revolutionary Surveillance Department, where he took the department to the highest levels, both regionally and globally, according to the world's security experts. He brought the external work to a level that rivaled the Israeli Mossad, the American CIA, and the Soviet KGB, despite the modest capabilities of the Palestinian revolution.

He was also one of the most prominent negotiators at the Palestinian, Arab, and international levels, and was called the Jarring of Palestine, in reference to the famous Swedish diplomat Jarring, due to his superior ability to formulate orientations and strategies, build alliances, and manage negotiations with great wisdom.

The Fatah movement officially denied any relation or responsibility for the Black September organization, in order to avoid Arab and international criticism and to give Black September the freedom to work freely in the service of the cause. Given this situation, some organizations claimed responsibility for Black September's actions in order to gain popularity, (the Palestinian people and their leadership have been raised on a love of revolutionary violence and do not distinguish between chaos and planning), and other organizations or groups carried out actions and attributed them to Black September.

Some of the most famous operations attributed to the organization, through which it was able to extract Arab and international recognition of the Palestine Liberation

Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people in the 1970s, include: the assassination of Wasfi al-Tal, the former Prime Minister of Jordan, in November 1971, and the attempted assassination of Zaid al-Rifai in London a month later... followed by the Munich operation in September 1972, in which 11 Israeli athletes were killed during the Olympic Games.

In January of the following year, Baruch Cohen was assassinated, and the Mossad network in Madrid was dismantled. In February of the same year, an attempt to detain members of the Jordanian government failed, and in March, an operation in Khartoum succeeded in freeing a cell that had attempted to overthrow the regime in Jordan, including Abu Daoud. In March and April, Samha Tazer was assassinated in Cyprus, and a double attack was launched against the Israeli ambassador and an Israeli airline.

The most famous operation after Munich was the one that took place in Casablanca in October 1974, during the Arab Summit, which led to Arab recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Two weeks later, the United Nations received Yasser Arafat, and the PLO was recognized globally, given observer status at the UN, a first in history for a national liberation movement.

After that, the Fatah leadership decided to end the operations of Black September, having achieved all its goals. Its leaders and fighters officially returned to the Fatah movement.

The leadership of Black September consisted of the first generation of founders of military and security operations, who received their initial security training at the Strategic Research Institute of Egyptian Intelligence in mid-1968. They included Fakhri al-Omari (Abu Muhammad al-Omari), Ali Hassan Salameh (Abu Hassan Salameh), and Muhammad Daoud Odeh (Abu Daoud).

The Casablanca operation needs highlighting, as its events resemble the situation of the Palestinian resistance in 2024, following the October invasion, Arab abandonment of the resistance and the people of Gaza, and the appeasement of Israel and the West.

At that time, the Islamic current had no role in armed or civil resistance; they emphasized returning society to religion despite the occupation. They continued

this approach until the first intifada, then joined and focused on violence to gain popularity among Palestinians, who were thrilled by explosions and gunfire.

The Islamic resistance has not carried out any external operations against Israel. Since Hamas's coup, they have not conducted military operations inside Israel, unlike their actions against the Oslo Accords, targeting Israeli civilians.

Before the Casablanca summit, a summit was held in Algiers in November 1973, after the October War, and it proposed a resolution recognizing the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, with the approval of all Arab states except King Hussein, who abstained from endorsing the resolution, so it was not adopted.

However, Egyptian President Sadat secretly met with King Hussein in Alexandria and signed a joint statement acknowledging the king's right to speak on behalf of Palestinians living in Jordan, numbering over a million. This was accompanied by an unprecedented media campaign in the Egyptian press against the PLO, preparing the ground for installing King Hussein as the spokesperson for the Palestinian people, to be endorsed by an Arab resolution at the next Arab summit in Morocco on 26/10/74.

Thus, Black September responded quickly, with instructions from Abu Iyad, to organize a deterrent and retaliatory operation. The organization put several plans into action. Abu Muhammad al-Omari formed a team of 13 people, and with the help of Abu al-Walid al-Iraqi, provided them with fake passports that didn't require a Moroccan visa.

Abu Muhammad al-Omari, Abu al-Walid al-Iraqi, Abu Raja'i, and Abu Hisham participated in planning and leading the operation, traveling to Morocco individually to stay in their hotels, awaiting instructions to gather at the designated meeting point.

While Abu Muhammad and Abu Raja'i were in Casablanca, they met a Libyan businessman they knew, known for his enthusiasm for the Palestinian cause and support for revolutionary violence. However, he seemed to suspect their story and reason for being there, and it turned out he was working for Moroccan intelligence.

Hours after this chance meeting, Abu Muhammad and Abu Raja'i discovered they were being monitored and decided to leave Morocco immediately. However, they were unable to leave, as Moroccan security surprised and arrested them.

Moroccan intelligence staff took over their rooms, receiving phone calls and potential visitors. They received a call from Tangier informing Abu Hisham of his arrival time in Casablanca, and since he didn't follow security rules, he was also arrested (he was in charge of delivering weapons to the assassination team).

The Moroccan security task became less easy when a fourth person called from Agadir, announcing his arrival by air. Since he called from a public phone, Moroccan security had to detain all plane passengers and investigate, easily discovering the person with a Pakistani passport who didn't speak his native language, and he was also arrested. Arrests continued this way, with 14 people eventually detained.

Mor, the security chief, quickly reported to King Hassan, informing him of a plot to assassinate him, King Hussein, President Sadat, King Faisal, and President Numeiri. Since no weapons were found, the threat was still considered active. The report also mentioned Abu Iyad's involvement, but Abu Ammar, who was at the summit, defended him. When shown photos of the detainees, Abu Ammar recognized Abu Muhammad al-Omari and Abu Raja'i, telling the Moroccan king they were expelled from Fatah and worked with Black September, not Fatah.

Abu Iyad acted quickly to prevent weapons from reaching Morocco, avoiding evidence that would condemn the fedayeen. He instructed a Black September agent to inform Spanish authorities about a weapons shipment, which was intercepted and confiscated, and the drivers were expelled.

Moroccan security pressured the detainees to confess Abu Iyad or Abu Ammar's involvement. Abu Muhammad al-Omari took the brunt of torture, but remained steadfast.

The Casablanca operation achieved several results: affirming the Palestinian right to return, recognizing the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and acknowledging the right to establish an independent

national authority on liberated Palestinian territories. Arab states pledged support for this authority.

These were Arab-Palestinian battles to affirm who had the right to representation. It's worth comparing then and now, how Arab states have shifted to surrendering Palestine and normalizing relations with Israel, allowing them to watch the carnage while maintaining sweet relations.

Two weeks later, on 13/11/74, Yasser Arafat was received at the UN, and the PLO was recognized as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, gaining observer status – a first for a national liberation movement.

The PLO and Fatah had prepared the ground by adopting the Ten-Point Program, proposing a Palestinian state on any liberated territory, without specifying liberation means. This marked the beginning of official Palestinian recognition of compromise and Israel's existence.

In November 1974, at a rally at the American University of Beirut, Abu Iyad claimed responsibility for the detained fedayeen in Morocco, saying Fatah's leadership had decided to remove King Hussein and his regime after Black September. He threatened that if King Hassan II didn't release the detainees, Fatah had means to make him comply.

However, during his speech, he received a note saying Morocco had released the detainees to Sadat, who had imprisoned them in Qal'a?! Abu Iyad shifted his attack from Hassan II to Sadat, until interrupted by an Egyptian embassy member, who handed him a note saying Sadat invited him to meet and advised against criticizing before listening.

Abu Iyad then told the audience that Egyptian friends informed him the fedayeen's detention was "routine" and they were being treated well. The next day, he went to Cairo, met Sadat, and the fedayeen were released.

As a journalist and Middle East consultant for Britain's Channel 4 News, I once spoke with Abu Iyad by phone from London. The main news presenter, John Snow, asked me to arrange a live phone interview with Abu Iyad. His aides were hesitant, but I convinced them of the importance.

When Abu Iyad answered, I explained the situation, and he agreed to the interview in Arabic. He asked if the questions were safe, and I assured him they were. He requested to stay awake for the call, and we proceeded.

The 1970 war in Jordan led to the formation of revolutionary groups practicing external terrorism. The defeat and withdrawal from Amman to Jerash and Ajloun, then Syria and Lebanon, sparked opposition from fighters like Abu Ali Iyad, who refused to withdraw and criticized the decision.

Abu Ali Iyad's group fought fiercely, but he was captured and killed. This led to the formation of Black September to avenge his death. The withdrawal and Abu Ali Iyad's killing also led to Abu Nidal's withdrawal from Fatah and formation of a revenge organization, which turned against Fatah and others.

Abu Nidal's organization assassinated Fatah security leaders, including Abu Iyad and Abu al-Hol, in Tunis on January 14, 1991, through a mole, Hamza Abu Zaid, a former member of Fatah's security force. Abu Zaid infiltrated Abu al-Hol's household and killed him and Abu Iyad when they visited.

A tragic mistake by a security leader, caught in a simple trap.

Fatah sentenced Hamza Abu Zaid to death for his role in the assassination, but Tunisian President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali refused to execute him under US pressure. An agreement was made with Yemen to execute him secretly there. Abu Zaid was taken on a boat into the ocean and executed, his body thrown into the sea, to avoid repercussions for Yemen.

The events in Jordan led to extremism. Dr. Wadi Haddad engineered the hijacking of planes, landing them in a desert airport in Jordan, an operation claimed by the Popular Front. The Jordanian regime was outraged, and the king declared martial law, leading to Black September.

Dr. Wadi Haddad, second-in-command of the Popular Front, and friend of Dr. George Habash, had been part of a group of students at the American University of Beirut who formed a movement embracing violence to achieve noble goals. The founding group included Habash, Haddad, and others from various Arab countries, forming the Arab Nationalist Movement in 1965.

After graduating from medical school, Wadi Haddad and his friend George Habash moved to Jordan and opened a clinic to treat refugees. Wadi had been arrested in April 1957 after the coup against the government of Suleiman Nabulsi, spent three years in the Al-Jafr desert prison, and escaped to Syria in 1961.

In the spring of 1968, Wadi planned to rescue George from a Damascus prison. George had planned and executed the hijacking of an El Al plane to Algeria, but didn't know about the outcome before his arrest in Syria.

George recounts the rescue: "I recall building relationships with the guards before my escape. Perhaps I didn't think about it at the time, but I'm a friendly person and deal with people humanely.

"I befriended an Alawite soldier who would ask, 'Do you need anything?' I always said no, thanks.

"When I trusted him sufficiently, I sent messages to Faiz Qaddura (Abu Bassam) and my wife through him. He knew Abu Bassam's house and visited, becoming a liaison.

"One day, I received a message from Abu Bassam's family saying two relatives would visit. The next message was clearer: they would visit, and I'd be taken during my return to Sheikh Hassan prison.

"Sheikh Hassan prison didn't allow direct visits. Instead, visitors went to the political department, which brought the prisoner for questioning, then returned them to prison via military police.

Perhaps there was a test run; I was called for a visit, then returned to prison. I knew the next visit would be it.

"When they visited, I knew what would happen. I had to set aside emotions and follow instructions.

I looked at the prison director, who was kind to me, and the guards, thinking, 'How will they be affected?'

If only we could find a way to escape without hurting them.

The two women visited, and we exchanged greetings. I knew everything was set.

Before reaching the prison gate, I saw comrades in Syrian military police uniforms with prepared cars. They were Shuhada al-Ajrami (Abu Talat), Gabriel Nofal (Abu Raft), and others, who stopped the car taking me to Sheikh Hassan prison.

The car stopped, and they pointed guns at the driver, front guard, and the guard beside me, saying, 'Jump!'

I jumped, and a car sped me away. We crossed the Syrian border in under an hour, and I went straight to Wadi's house.

The operation was a masterstroke, embarrassing Syrian intelligence. Wadi insisted I leave Beirut immediately, so I traveled to Cairo, met President Gamal Abdel Nasser, then went to Iraq, and finally to Jordan by land."

Here is another addition about Dr. Wadi Haddad, one of the founding leaders of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and the leader of its "external operations". He bewildered the world with special operations such as the Lod Airport operation in 1972, and the OPEC conference operation in Vienna in 1975. These operations turned the world of civil aviation upside down.

On September 8, 1970, while Wadi Haddad was at the Revolution Airport in Jordan, busy fighting the world to release Palestinian prisoners after his men hijacked four planes in one day, a Palestinian in Bahrain, on his own initiative, hijacked a British Airways plane and ordered it to head to Beirut to refuel, then to the Revolution Airport.

Since Wadi Haddad knew nothing about this plane, he was suspicious and feared it might be a trap. He asked the hijacker for proof of his nationality and purpose. The hijacker replied, "Stuffed zucchini and grape leaves." Wadi Haddad burst out laughing and said, "He's one of ours; let him land."

This plane was used in negotiations to release Leila Khaled, who had failed to hijack an El Al plane and was arrested in London.

Note that all Palestinian operations aimed to release prisoners from Israeli jails, and none demanded the return of refugees, restoration of partition borders, or implementation of UN resolutions.

I want to draw your attention to something else that distinguishes us in the 1970s from our current social reality after half a century. We were united and cooperative, Palestinians trusted each other, or at least assumed good intentions.

Wadi was almost certain the hijacker was one of their group, sharing the same food and culture, and allowed him to participate in the operation. Like Wadi, we used to open our homes to each other, share secrets, and offer advice and support.

We fasted, few prayed, but with a secular ideology. Now, after 17 years of Hamas rule in Gaza and Islamic-nationalist upbringing, you see the result: selfishness, exploitation, and thug-like behavior. Young men, strong and without limits, don't participate in resistance or support their people. Most want to leave the land to Hamas and flee.

We see a terrible spread of aid theft and irresponsibility among Hamas members and leaders, a result of their training as a collection gang that opposes anyone who doesn't follow them.

Dr. Wadi Haddad passed away on March 28, 1978, in East Germany. The cause of death was either due to leukemia or, as Israel claimed 28 years later, through poisoning by an Iraqi agent who was a high-ranking official. Israel reportedly decided to eliminate Haddad due to his involvement in hijacking an Air France plane to Entebbe, Uganda in 1976, and other serious operations.

Haddad was accused of being responsible for a series of dangerous operations, including hijacking an El Al plane in 1968 and establishing relationships between Palestinian organizations and global terrorist groups.

The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine was involved in external operations, specifically hijacking planes or attacking Israeli or Ben Gurion-bound aircraft passenger terminals. Fatah, on the other hand, established secret organizations after Black September to practice violence against enemies without taking responsibility.

However, splits occurred within Fatah, some of which turned to random violence, like Abu Nidal's organization.

Abu Nidal established the "Impex" company in Jordan as a front for Fatah's activities, serving as a meeting place for members, a channel for funding, and a means to pay members. This became a hallmark of his career, making him a wealthy man through legitimate business deals while masking his political violence, arms deals, and mercenary activities.

When Yasser Arafat became PLO chairman in 1969, he appointed Abu Nidal as Fatah's representative in Khartoum, then Baghdad in July 1970. After Black September, Abu Nidal criticized and eventually split from Fatah, exploiting his position in Baghdad and Fatah's resources with Iraqi support.

Abu Nidal's first operation was on September 5, 1973, when five militants attacked the Saudi embassy in Paris, taking 11 hostages and demanding Abu Dawud's release from Jordanian prison. The operation was reportedly commissioned by Iraqi President Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr.

When Mahmoud Abbas met Abu Nidal in Baghdad to rebuke him, Iraqi officials said, "Why are you scolding him? We were the ones who asked him to do it!"

Six months later, Fatah sentenced Abu Nidal to death in absentia for allegedly attempting to assassinate Mahmoud Abbas. It's unlikely Abu Nidal intended to kill Abbas, and Fatah's attempt to kill him was unwise. Abu Nidal was invited to Beirut to discuss the sentence, refused to submit, and was allowed to leave.

Abu Nidal became "the master of Palestine" in Iraq, with a training camp, farm, newspaper, radio station, passports, scholarships, and \$5 million worth of Chinese weapons originally meant for Fatah.

The US State Department held Abu Nidal responsible for attacks in over 20 countries, killing or injuring 900 people. His organization was notorious for executing members on suspicion and controlling their personal lives.

Abu Nidal died in Baghdad in August 2002, reportedly shot 1-4 times. Palestinian sources suspected he was killed on Saddam Hussein's orders, while the Iraqi government claimed it was a suicide.

In the context of this book, I'll mention my relationships with Palestinian leaders and the nature of those interactions. Regarding Abu Nidal, I'll share some incidents that shed light on his personality.

In the 1980s, I worked as a journalist in London, writing daily political commentary for Al-Arab newspaper. One day, Editor-in-Chief Hajj Ahmed Al-Huni handed me a handwritten letter from Abu Nidal, instructing him to give me full freedom to write. Al-Huni was surprised, and I was too – I had no prior connection with Abu Nidal.

Days later, someone contacted me, wanting to have tea. He brought verbal messages, saying Abu Nidal followed my writing. I clarified I wasn't affiliated with any political group and maintained my critical stance.

It was during Israel's invasion of Lebanon, and I was openly critical of the Palestinian leadership's vision and actions. My studies, from secondary school to postgraduate studies in politics, sociology, and Islamic studies, spanned the 1970s, a decade marked by major Palestinian external operations.

Each operation negatively impacted Palestinians in Western Europe, making us more cautious and prepared. Some even participated in solo operations, aligning with the general trend. I recall Germans asking if I carried bombs in my pockets when they learned I was Palestinian!

The difference between then and now, 2024, is the freedom of speech and action. Hamas and the Authority now suppress any dissent or action within Palestinian circles. Due to factional infighting, there's no spirit for external work, except for demonstrations echoing factional slogans.

The revolution once encompassed all ideologies, but now it's represented by an unbalanced religious current serving the occupation, and another openly collaborating with it.

Is it reasonable that Gaza has been subjected to genocide for over a year, while the religious and submissive currents refuse to form a unified, temporary leadership to speak, negotiate, and struggle for Palestinians?

The militarily defeated religious current wants to sacrifice the last Gazan and drag the West Bank into a losing battle to maintain its grip on leadership and power. The Authority, representing Fatah and the PLO, waits for Israel to end the war by eliminating the religious current, so they can monopolize leadership and rebuild, profiting from aid.

Israel's goal is to establish its greater state with fewer Palestinians on the land or in the vicinity.

When the revolution was open and secular, many worldwide supported it. Now, global demonstrations have dwindled, as it's clear who the Arab and Palestinian supporters are – those with religious slogans who chant "All the world has become Hamas." The world has distanced itself, as it's illogical to support irrational, religious movements disregarding their people's lives.

Any remaining external sympathy stems from humanitarian outrage against the ongoing genocide through killing and starvation. Proposed solutions aim to remove Hamas and its allies from the picture.

Beards, tents, and destruction

In early November 2024, a century and seven years after the Balfour Declaration, 76 years after the first Nakba, and 13 months since the second Nakba began in October 2023, there is no clear end in sight.

The killing, destruction, starvation, and siege continue, awaiting a suitable moment for expulsion from the remaining homeland.

I received news that the Barbara camp in Rafah's Shaboura district has been completely demolished. I was born, grew up, and spent my childhood there before the 1967 defeat. My siblings and family lived there until five months ago, when they were relocated to Al-Mawasi and are still living in plastic tents without care or aid.

I say "lived" in the past tense, despite their physical presence on Rafah and Khan Younis shores, because they'll never return to their homes, erased from existence, and their belongings scattered with their hopes.

Barbara camp, like others in Gaza, is now just a memory, hard to believe and accept.

Three-quarters of a century ago, similar circumstances, extreme terror, and a power imbalance between Palestinians and Zionist gangs, coupled with Arab regimes' collaboration with the British and Jews, led to the displacement of most Palestinians from their land. My father, the mukhtar of Barbara, arrived in Rafah with the village's people.

During wartime chaos, the mukhtar gathered Barbara's residents in one location, forbidding outsiders from entering or staying, and deployed youth patrols at night for protection and reassurance. Thus, the refugee village preserved its social fabric, despite losing its livelihood and land in Palestine.

Despite Egyptian royal and Nasserite authorities, most residents' issues were resolved in the mukhtar's nightly council, and documents like marriage, divorce, and death certificates were authenticated with the mukhtar's British-era seal.

Three generations passed in the same place until the enemy scattered them, making reunification impossible. What catastrophe has the 'Flood' brought?

The incursion aimed to liberate captives, but it turned Gaza to destruction, a besieged, starved, prison of the hunted. Instead of coming closer to Barbara and Palestine, we've become lost, losing hope of returning to pre-Nakba times. We now negotiate for flour, water, and tents, rather than political rights.

Our people have become accustomed to supplication, waiting for mercy, whereas they were once proud, launching the first intifada with children, women, and elderly, facing bullets and tanks. Now, they're submissive, obedient to enemy instructions.

Hamas and Al-Jazeera claim victory and resilience, but may God not forgive them.

I won't reiterate news, predictions, or opinions on how we reached this state. I'll look at things from a new, bold angle, even if it exposes me to ignorant criticism.

Before the 1948 Nakba, British and Zionist violence targeted all Palestine. Jews didn't want Palestinians in their designated area or the additional territory they occupied. 150,000 Palestinians in the center and north remained, while 800,000 left due to pressure and fear.

Those who stayed became Israeli citizens with limited rights, now representing 21% of Israel's population, with voting and parliamentary rights.

The question is: who is better off – Palestinians who became Israelis in their homeland or those who became refugees in Gaza, the West Bank, and the Arab world?

The current Nakba (2023) won't be a positive beginning for Palestinians in Gaza, the West Bank, and refugee camps. The mentality leading to this fate will continue to decline, generation after generation, unless it changes.

Arab countries and their people are undergoing a transformation, combating extremist ideology. This is why there's no genuine Arab support for Gaza's Islamic resistance – no one wants Hamas to win or spread its vision.

Hamas and its allies won't acknowledge defeat, risking the last Gazan and pushing for annihilation. They believe they're divinely mandated to continue, sacrificing all for paradise.

Many in Gaza, the West Bank, and abroad believe Hamas' religious approach is correct, having lost faith in the Ramallah Authority's opposite, negative approach. They see no third, democratic, peaceful path aligning with Arab and Muslim progress.

If not for ideological confusion affecting Israeli Arabs' performance, they could influence Israel's development. Instead, fueling comprehensive enmity reduces their opportunities, pushing all sides toward extremism.

I recall Yasser Arafat's December 13, 1988, speech at the UN General Assembly in Geneva, demanding Israeli withdrawal from 1967 territories and a peace conference. This led to US talks, the 1991 Madrid Conference, and eventually the 1993 Oslo Accords – a formal agreement between Israel and the PLO.

The accords committed parties to:

- Recognizing each other's right to exist
- Ending violence
- Establishing Palestinian self-governance in Gaza and Jericho
- Negotiating final status issues (borders, Jerusalem, settlements, refugees)
- Implementing a phased withdrawal

The PLO, through Yasser Arafat, committed to Israel's right to exist in peace and security, resolving core issues (refugee return, compensation, water) through negotiations. The PLO denounced terrorism and violence, pledging to amend its charter and ensure compliance.

In response, Israel's government, via Yitzhak Rabin, recognized the PLO as the Palestinian people's representative, agreeing to negotiate.

This recognition may seem insignificant to Palestinians, but it undermines Israel's founding narrative: "a land without a people for a people without a land." Israel acknowledges a Palestinian people, land, and representative organization, conceding they're a colonial-settler movement with a state established by force, at the expense of indigenous people – a significant concession.

The Palestinian vision was to try peace, focus on self-development, and build new generations for quiet, persistent pursuit – acknowledging the mistake of rejecting the 1947 partition plan, seeking peaceful success where armed struggle failed.

Hamas emerged during the first intifada, practicing violent armed resistance, targeting Israeli civilians to sabotage Oslo and peaceful resolution. They killed Rabin, and Arafat failed to curb them.

Hamas initially focused on Islamizing society, deeming resistance to occupation secondary. They later engaged in popular action, then suicide bombings in Israeli cities post-Oslo.

Preparing for October 2023's "Al-Aqsa Flood," they didn't prepare deterrence or internal front defenses. No retaliatory operations followed, unlike when they sabotaged Oslo.

People fled under war pressure, psychological warfare, and Hamas' social conditioning. Now, they leave, responding to drone leaflets, dropped by Israel remotely.

Don't be fooled by Al-Jazeera's resistance rhetoric – outcomes are decided by destruction and casualties.

Millions lost chances for peace and independence, were left vulnerable. If the same mentality persists, the next phase will be the beginning of the end, not the end of wars and suffering.

We can't keep gambling, losing more each time, like a desperate gambler chasing losses.

If Hamas hadn't sabotaged Oslo, and democracy continued with economic and social development, we'd be better off, closer to our rights, and Israeli society would be more peaceful.

Instead, Hamas exploited democracy, then scrapped peace and democracy. This led to catastrophe, infighting, and Israeli extremism. Gaza's isolation and repeated wars paved the way for the second Nakba, eliminating the two-state solution.

Imagine if Oslo had continued – we'd have Palestinian democracy, economic growth, and global support. Israeli society would be more peaceful, instead of our current destruction.

Yet, we failed to stop Arab normalization with Israel, which continued from Oslo to our second Nakba. Arab states prioritize their own interests, driven by Western influence and ideological divergence from Hamas.

What if Hamas declared victory after October's war? Would it improve Gaza's life, lift the siege, or bring Arab support? Probably not – it'd likely strengthen Iranian influence, alarming Arab states.

Hamas allied with Iran, a regional bully dominating Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, seeking Palestine under its wing, then targeting Gulf states.

Hamas chose to erase Oslo's progress, reverting us socially and politically. They discovered Israel's strength, Western backing, and their own limitations – all previously known quantities.

Hamas exploited funding, then was abandoned by sponsors who'd backed them. Qatar denies hosting Hamas leaders; Turkey denies their presence. Trump warned the Israelis to secure hostages before his presidency.

Post-flood, Biden allowed a Hamas office in Doha, but Trump won't budge. Funding stopped, leaving Gaza suffering.

Hamas' policies pushed us out of history; now they're pushing us out of geographical affiliation, under a tattered tent, starving.

Young Gazans will flee if given a chance, escaping Hamas' rule. Hamas' goal was an Islamic Palestine from river to sea; now they bargain for survival.

They traded territory for hostages, then food, then leader safety and funds – no mention of returning villages, refugees, or resisting ethnic cleansing. Just a throne, even under Israeli mercy.

Their demands shifted from liberation to self-preservation, prioritizing their leaders' lives and wealth over people's suffering.

Free advice for God's sake: Where were we before the incursion, and where are we now? Think, reflect, and deduce – maybe you'll understand if you use your reason, not just blind faith.

Everything Israel did and continues to do was planned – that's true. But what's more accurate is that the incursion accelerated their plans and provided justification for their massacre.

Assuming nothing positive would've happened against Israel's plans, so let's unleash the flood, destroy everything, and let our enemy emerge victorious, occupying and expelling us? That's not wise.

Claiming we'll only win by returning to religion implies we've been infidels for 1400 years. The truth is, our defeats stem from a dogmatic, backward-thinking religious mentality seeking to regress society.

These retrograde clerics preserve their social and economic status by dragging society back, exploiting "knowledge" for power.

Friendly figures

Returning to our narrative, I've mentioned groups like Islamic Jihad and Hamas, and individuals like Dr. Haidar and Faisal Husseini. I'd like to share personal connections with these figures and organizations, adding a contemporary, personal perspective to history.

My earliest connection was with the esteemed Dr. Haidar, to whom I owe gratitude. He saved my life as an infant. My mother took me to Gaza, specifically to Dr. Haidar, after treatments failed in Rafah's UNRWA clinic (1954).

Dr. Haidar, born in Gaza (1919), studied in Jerusalem, then Beirut's American University (1936), and specialized in surgery in Dayton, Ohio. He returned to Gaza, working under Egyptian administration.

I first saw Dr. Haidar at our Rafah home, where my father hosted a quail dinner. He was campaigning for the 2nd Palestinian National Council elections (1966).

Years later, in Germany, I sourced medicine and sent it to Dr. Haidar via the Red Crescent, repeating this process.

During the first intifada, I advocated donations to Dr. Haidar and Ghassan Shaka, Nablus' former mayor. I hosted Dr. Haidar in London, visiting Munib al-Masri's home, attending discussions with Ambassador Afif Safieh and others.

I learned I had been brought to the attention of Yasser Arafat, but my relationship with Arafat predated this, especially since the first intifada.

During preparations for the Madrid Conference, Israeli PM Shamir insisted on excluding the PLO. The PLO agreed to send a Palestinian delegation from inside, but Shamir refused any Jerusalemite. The solution was to appoint Faisal Husseini as supervisor, not a delegate.

A Palestinian delegation leader from inside was needed. I suggested Dr. Haidar to Arafat, who agreed. I informed Dr. Haidar, who initially refused, citing inability. I conveyed his refusal to Arafat, but he was tasked with leading the delegation.

In Madrid, I met Dr. Haidar daily, briefing him on press coverage and foreign journalists' insights. This continued in Washington during Palestinian-Jordanian-Israeli talks.

In Washington, Mohammad Shtayyeh, together with young activists and Faisal Husseini, tried to hastily meet the Israeli delegation. Dr. Haidar caught and rebuked him. Shtayyeh claimed he was getting coffee, but was reprimanded. He's now a prominent figure under Mahmoud Abbas.

Another incident: Hanan Ashrawi, knowing Dr. Haidar's communist background, exploited his decision to declare Saturday a holiday, joining him at Washington's mosque. She spoke to the media, causing a stir, as others disapproved of her mosque visit.

Some might be surprised I suggested Dr. Haidar to Arafat for the delegation lead, but I was closely following events and backgrounds.

During the intifada, I had a strong media team covering Palestine, receiving hourly updates. We conducted opinion polls, published in major newspapers, impacting Hamas and opposition forces.

I informed Arafat and Arab leaders about Dr. Haidar's arrest. Arafat summoned Mohammad Dahlan, asking about Gaza news, then about Dr. Haidar's arrest. Dahlan didn't know, which didn't help his standing.

Arafat knew my connection with Dr. Haidar and that my relationship with him was strong. He had known my views since Beirut and when I sent our ambassador in Bonn a submarine file.

Faisal Husseini worked tirelessly for Jerusalem and was arrested multiple times by Israel. I helped ease conditions for detainees, smuggling clothes and TVs, including one to Faisal's cell.

I visited Faisal in London, discussing donations. I rebuked him for neglecting Gaza, especially Rafah. We arranged a visit to our home, where he met locals, increasing my respect for him.

We stayed in touch, meeting in Madrid and Washington. Before the Madrid conference, Faisal gathered the delegation, giving instructions to media, showcasing Palestinian leadership.

As they left, I handed Faisal a keffiyeh, asking him to give it to Saeb Erekat to wear at the conference. Shamir was furious, nearly leaving. Saeb later claimed it was his father's keffiyeh, brought for the occasion.

I maintained daily contact with Arafat via fax during the Madrid Conference. I felt deep sorrow that he wasn't there, and that they'd marginalized him in Tunis; I wanted to keep him engaged, knowing Nabil Shaath, Arafat's advisor, was present, visiting the delegation's hotel and meeting with them despite the ban on PLO members contacting the delegation.

The BBC's Washington office provided news and background, informing us of US plans to send Dennis Ross to meet Arafat in Tunis to placate him. BBC correspondent David Smith told me this; Dennis was a low-level official then, and I felt they were humiliating Arafat. I wrote to Arafat that they were sending a minor official, and it'd be better if someone else received him. The message reached Arafat, and he tasked others with receiving Ross. David Smith laughed when he heard this from Tunis, saying, "That's your doing; good move."

I'll address some issues I promised to return to, specifically the polls, and their connection to current events and future developments.

In late November 2024, a US-French-Saudi-brokered ceasefire agreement was reached between Israel and Lebanon. Washington emerged victorious, asserting itself as a guardian and reference in the region, monitoring Lebanon's borders, allowing or opposing Israeli military intervention when Hezbollah movements or infractions displease Israel.

Gaza continued to face blows, with the Israeli PM showing no interest in stopping the aggression or recovering hostages. There's no hope for effective prisoner exchange or Hamas' return to governing Gaza. Netanyahu awaits Trump's inauguration (January 2025). If Hamas remains in Gaza, Israel will consider it a pretext to block peace, progress, or reconstruction, using it as an excuse to strike

and destroy, aiming to "voluntarily" relocate Palestinians to Canada, Australia, or Africa, funded by Germany, Britain, and the US.

Israel claims to be at war with Hamas, despite the imbalance of power and capabilities. Hamas hasn't resisted militarily since shortly after the 'flood', resorting to futile rocket attacks, then ceasing. Al Jazeera continues to tout "war," while Gaza's civilians are slaughtered without resistance.

On July 1, 1994, after 27 years since the 1967 war, President Arafat returned to Gaza, following the Oslo Accords and elections in 1996. Hamas boycotted those elections, but participated in 2006, winning the majority and forming the government.

Hamas' victory was due to their stance, military operations against Israel, and poor governance by Arafat, Fatah, and the PLO. The people were disillusioned with the peace process and the privileges given to returnees.

I conducted polls during the intifada, showing people's dissatisfaction. I sent the results to Arafat, who wrote, "God forgive you, have we just started?" The results were real, and Hamas capitalized on them, eventually seizing Gaza.

Today, Gaza's residents, especially youth, prefer Israeli control or migration if possible. Those claiming Hamas' popularity should explain why West Bank and 1948 residents don't protest for Hamas, and why only Brotherhood supporters demonstrate in Amman.

Prior to the 19th PNC in Algiers, November 1988, my media team conducted a poll on the Palestinian people's acceptance of factions, including Islamic movements and opposition groups. Results showed the people's enthusiasm for armed struggle and reflected the rise of Hamas.

The poll followed the PFLP-GC's glider operation on November 25, 1987, and the first intifada began on December 8, 1987. Islamic movement leaders met at Sheikh Ahmed Yassin's home in Gaza, agreeing to capitalize on the intifada for armed struggle.

They drafted the first statement, assigning its printing and distribution to Hamas' security apparatus, "Mujahid," led by Yahya Sinwar. Security conditions delayed its release until December 14, 1987.

A year into the intifada, Hamas gained 11% support, PFLP-GC 8%, and Fatah the majority. Khalid al-Hassan, a Fatah founder, warned the PLO factions, citing the poll, that Hamas was growing and the people demanded renewal, statehood, and a peaceful solution based on liberated territory.

I recall sitting alone during a PNC session break, reviewing papers, when a middle-aged woman approached, introduced herself, and asked to sit. I welcomed her, noticing Palestinian security agents watching. She was a former Secretary to President Carter, sent by the Carter Center. I knew the Center's goals: promoting human rights, alleviating suffering, and improving lives in 80+ countries.

She asked if I was responsible for the above-mentioned poll; I confirmed and answered her questions about the poll and the occupied territories. My friend Ahmed warned me about her connection to Carter, but I assured him I knew.

I shared my views with her, reflecting this book's content. Carter's administration was close to Palestinians, but our leaders didn't respond. I discussed democracy, its absence, and internal-external leadership differences, and poll results; she took notes.

I recall sitting with Hani al-Hassan; we discussed his studies in Darmstadt, near Heidelberg, where I studied in Germany. He asked about Gaza, assuming I was with Fatah. I briefed him; he asked about comparisons with Hamas, saying we could easily overwhelm them. I mentioned the poll results, and we didn't continue.

Hani al-Hassan later unified Palestinian security agencies, serving as Interior Minister and advisor to Arafat. Khalid and Hani are Fatah founders; their brother Bilal is a leftist thinker, criticizing Oslo and advocating Palestinian return rights.

Regarding the poll, Ahmed al-Khalidi and I visited Arafat in Tunis post-PNC. At the airport, I met "Filastin al-Muslima" editors, leaving for Tunis. They'd met Arafat, asking about the poll, intending to publish it in their magazine.

Hamas' magazine mimicked PLO's "Filastin al-Thawra" in form, opposing it in content.

We, Ahmed, and I, with Nizar Ammar, went to Arafat, requesting to meet him before heading home. Guards said he'd just eaten and was resting. We insisted, saying we came from the airport to greet him.

Arafat invited us to join him for lunch: mallow stew, olives, tomatoes, rice, and bread. He insisted we share, offering me the sole meat piece. Leaders arrived, but he kept them standing, refusing to allow me to give up my seat.

He asked about my plastic bag; I presented three books on the intifada, each with a dedication. He smiled, saying, "Books for me? Thanks." I gave him a kilo of French black forest honey; he recognized it, tasted it, and was pleased.

He asked if I knew the standing leaders, pointing to three men.

"Yes, they're famous," I said innocently. "No, sir, they're the ones 'wearing the pants'," Arafat said, looking at me and pointing to them. I thought, "What trouble am I in?" and said to myself, everyone makes mistakes, but you're the leader, and your orders are followed.

We left, Ahmed, Nizar, and I, leaving Arafat and "those wearing pants" together. I later learned the three were pushing for a response to US requests to start talks with Washington and meet George Shultz.

Before leaving, I went to the bathroom; Arafat entered, and we stood side by side. At the sinks, he asked where we'd stay, offering an empty room. I thanked him, saying we'd stay with Nizar. He asked, "And his wife?" I said she was in Beirut visiting her mother. He said, "Good, you'll be more comfortable there."

I bid him farewell, saying we'd come tomorrow to talk. This conversation remains in my memory for its social and human implications.

I must recall Fathi al-Liby's story. Arafat visited Libya, meeting supporters. A man in traditional dress approached, offering his son as a fighter, saying he had no money to donate. Arafat accepted, taking Fathi to Lebanon. Fathi became trusted, cooking Arafat's food, overseeing food sources, and tasting gifts if needed.

The next day, we met Arafat in his office; he presided, Ahmed, Nizar, and I sat opposite him. He continued reviewing and signing papers; I decided to discuss Saudi-Arab relations. He stopped, launching into a heated speech; I interrupted, seeking points to ease tensions.

I wrote for London's Asharq Al-Awsat, owned by Prince Salman; I knew the editor, who met the Prince regularly. I hoped Arafat would say something positive, which I could convey to the Prince.

Instead, Arafat threatened, saying he'd wield the "Sword of Jerusalem." The PLO and Arafat were struggling, facing Arab political and financial boycott, and rumors of embezzlement. I saw Arafat's simple lifestyle; his guards hadn't been paid in months.

After venting, we discussed US recognition of the PLO and talks. Suha Tawil, Arafat's secretary, whispered to him; their marriage wasn't public. I figured it out, told Nizar, who asked me to keep quiet. (Weeks later, Suha's mother, Raymonda Tawil, arrived, demanding the marriage be announced; it was.)

After our meeting, I approached Arafat, saying Abu Jihad had tasked me with something before his martyrdom. I developed motorized seats with parachutes with a German friend. Arafat paused, saying, "We need to show some teeth," and asked me to inform someone (a media person, indicating a negative response).

I realized there was no military operations room or qualified leader to assess anti-Israeli operations. Security focused on protecting leaders and headquarters; no forces were prepared for action, and there was no political vision for armed resistance.

I wished for another meeting with Abu Jihad, but he was martyred on April 16, 1988. I met him at the PNC in Algiers; we discussed military conduct, and I criticized it. He said external critics don't understand our circumstances.

I offered ideas; he wanted to infiltrate fighters without detection. I promised to find a solution, recalling the rejected submarine story, but remembered its small size and our fighters' group movements.

The conversation was recorded, but I haven't published it due to its sensitive nature; I still have the tape.

Upon my return to London, I spoke with Peter, my German friend from student days, who guided me on the submarine issue. He said it was easy and explained that people use parachutes to jump from heights and control the descent. He suggested developing it to take off from the ground using a backpack motor and propeller, inflating and opening the parachute, allowing ascent and descent via a manual throttle.

We developed it jointly; he wanted to market it for sports, while I sought it as a solution to cross borders. The idea spread, evolving into lightweight seats carrying a propeller and one or two riders. These are the parachutes Hamas used on October 7, 2023, 35 years after the idea's birth.

The PFLP-GC used gliders in an operation that could've been larger, but inadequate training led to two failures to reach southern Lebanon's borders in late 1987. The gliders had no engines, launched from heights, and couldn't ascend again. Two failed to take off, one landed before the border and was arrested, and the fourth reached the army camp, killing six soldiers and wounding eight before the pilot was martyred.

One conclusion is that Palestinians are emotional, easily swayed by force and violence rhetoric, and return to reason after the fact. They revert to emotion and dependency, hoping for a swift heavenly solution. Leadership seeks power, position, and influence, dislikes democracy, and doesn't respect the people's lives or will if it conflicts with their aspirations.

Who would've thought that after 19+ months of clear objectives, Fatah, the Authority, and Hamas couldn't agree on a national unity government?

We lack leaders like Habib Bourguiba; Arafat was the closest to realism, accepting a phased solution, but he lacked depth in building scientific cadres and strategic solutions like Zionist thought.

The main problem is the people's and leadership's acceptance to ignore elections and avoid renewal. No ideas emerged, like demanding a one-state, democratic,

secular solution for all Palestinians or a peaceful return to 1948 territories as refugees.

Leaders evaporate, ideas fall, and the nation consumes itself. No criticism is heard about Hamas' destruction of the Oslo Accords or their failure to deter Israeli aggression. When Israel attacked Lebanon, Hezbollah responded by bombing Tel Aviv, leading to escalation and a ceasefire.

Hamas thought hostage-taking would subdue Israel after their October 7, 2023, blunder, breaking Israel's deterrence. Any beginner in politics knows this would lead to defeat and war. The West would stand with Israel, and Hamas must prepare for their reaction.

Hamas' mentality rivals Fatah's and the Authority's in authoritarianism, selfishness, lack of thought, and absence of planning. They promote backwardness to maintain rule, lacking responsibility, self-criticism, and democracy. Both sides condemn the occupation, but don't criticize each other objectively, stuck in the same quagmire.

As a citizen and journalist, I've spoken, written, and published since the first intifada, but it's like planting roses in the desert; leaders are as described, and the people are mostly lost in illusions, driven by livelihood.

During the January 1996 presidential elections, I sent Arafat a fax, highlighting the importance of prisoners and suggesting Marwan Barghouti as vice president, making it a presidential and vice-presidential election. I knew Arafat's fear of having a trained deputy, like Nasser's appointment of Sadat.

I emphasized the prisoners' situation and the psychological relief this step would bring, but Arafat ignored it.

I also worked to democratize the Palestinian National Council, but the idea was killed by some old-guard members of the PLO Executive Committee.

The PNC became the Palestinian parliament when the PLO was formed before the 1967 war. After the war, revolutionary factions, led by Fatah, took control, justifying the situation to suit themselves.

Direct elections for PNC members were canceled, citing technical difficulties, despite Article 5 stating representation is by direct election. The PNC continued without elections, with appointments made by parties and factions.

The PNC has 765 members, distributed among factions (16 factions), with Fatah being the largest, and independents (198 members) chosen by Arafat. There's a list for 1967 occupied territories residents, unannounced and non-existent, supposedly to avoid arrests, but actually due to fear of internal representation.

Seats are allocated to unions and syndicates, mostly affiliated with Fatah.

Post-intifada, I proposed internal elections, opening the way for all members, internal and external, to start a democratic era.

I visited prominent PNC members in various cities, suggesting that qualified internal residents gather signatures from local figures to represent them. I created a document from Rafah notables nominating me, despite not being eligible, to clarify and document.

I sent the document to the Palestinian president. Hassan Asfour, an Executive Committee member, told me Arafat raised his hand, saying I sent the proposal and asked for their opinion.

Of course, if Arafat wanted it done, it would've been. Others suggested appointing a member from the Egyptian Rafah area. I was asked to suggest someone; I did, writing that the goal was to activate internal residents and exercise their rights, promoting PNC democracy.

The idea was killed. Notably, many PNC members have died since the last meeting; over 64 have passed away. The remaining members exchange medication, and deceased members' grandchildren receive salaries and pensions.

Arafat chose and appointed most members to ensure loyalty and votes.

The same cycle continues, with elections prevented or postponed, and the powerful appointing their own.

It's impossible for chaos, selfishness, and backwardness to triumph over renewed democracy.

Die Tage der Mercedes

In 1972, I decided to visit occupied Palestine, needing a security permit from the occupation police in Rafah. I booked a Lufthansa flight from Frankfurt to Lod Airport.

At passport control, the soldier examined my passport, asking, "What's this? A Palestinian refugee passport?" I explained it was issued by the United Arab Republic.

She called colleagues to look, and they laughed, speaking Hebrew. I didn't understand. She stamped my laissez passer, and a soldier escorted me out.

We drove to Gaza via Jaffa and Ashkelon, stopping at my village, Barbara, occupied since 1948. I visited the school, now a restaurant, and saw the ceiling made from railway sleepers, as my father had told me.

This visit was my first practical experience of my village; I walked, sat, ate, and drank there. I later visited with my wife and found an empty Egyptian bullet from 1956.

Reflecting on that trip, 52 years later, I realize the 1967 defeat made West Bank and Gaza residents lose hope in a quick liberation through force. They adapted to social and economic changes, and Moshe Dayan's policy of "full bellies don't riot" took hold.

I noticed TV antennas on rooftops in Rafah camps, electricity in homes, and appliances like refrigerators and washing machines. Many women worked in Israel, returning late at night or staying five days to save time and money.

After the 1967 defeat, children were withdrawn from school and employed in Israel, changing the community's view on education, once seen as a magical future solution. Most secondary school graduates joined the workforce, with Israel employing them in various sectors, including agriculture, services, and even arms manufacture. Palestinian workers also built most settlements on West Bank and Gaza lands.

During that period, my father, the mukhtar, faced problems with the occupation, which held him responsible for the presence of resistance fighters and demanded

he hand them over. People were busy working and had no time for evening gatherings. The worst was the demolition of homes in Barbara camp and elsewhere, as residents accepted the occupation's offer of a larger plot and financial aid to build a new home. The mukhtar warned that the new homes would be in Egypt, and the land would one day return to the Egyptians, but people didn't believe it then.

Now, Netanyahu wants to expel Gaza residents to Sinai, criticizing Egypt for refusing his proposals, claiming it doesn't consider Palestinian rights. The world watches, and the Arabs, Hamas, and Egypt don't propose returning people to their almost-empty villages, from which they were expelled in 1948.

I asked about the reality of resistance to the occupation; I learned about Popular Front cells attempting to stop worker movement by planting mines in Egged buses transporting workers from Gaza to their jobs inside Israel. The buses stopped, and local taxis, mostly Mercedes with seven-passenger capacity, took over, transporting them to Israeli cities and back to their camps.

Some young men joined the local police under Israeli command. Some Egyptian-era policemen resigned, but one from our camp continued, informing the mukhtar about police activities and trying to help people, walking a middle path. He was later killed after being promoted to officer rank.

The occupation investigated suspects daily, and those arriving from abroad via security permits had to visit the police station during their visit and before departure, receiving a summons for routine investigation.

Luckily, questions focused on my presence in Germany, and my answers were consistent. I had no activities except non-secret student unions, and the Munich operation hadn't occurred yet, making the meeting quick and easy. A policeman from our camp was nearby.

I tried to keep the atmosphere light, asking the investigator, "I was told your name is Jimmy, an American name; are you from there?" He smiled, saying it was a pseudonym. After questioning, I asked, "What's your favorite local food?" He said it's usually rice and meat; I mentioned muftul, burghul, bread, maqluba, and musakhan.

Another investigator, listening outside, entered and hit the back of my head while Jimmy asked him to stop, as I understood from the signals. They played good cop, bad cop, then left me with a gun on the desk! I was sure it was empty, and they wanted me to pick it up or steal it, but I didn't. Jimmy returned, saying I could leave.

The food reference came to mind after noticing occupation police and army officers were invited to local events, eating and drinking without fear of poisoning or assassination.

I decided to tour the country, taking a Mercedes car with seven passengers, plus my cousin, the driver, who knew the roads. I asked my father to join us, but he refused, fearing the shock of seeing Barbara; some of his generation visited their villages and sat under trees, unable to move, dying from shock, joy, or sorrow. So, the mukhtar decided not to visit, but on my next trip, he came with his friend, the mukhtar of Yibna village, to Lod Airport, greeting me in traditional Arab attire.

My mother, sister Aisha, brother Abd al-Karim, and my uncle's wife joined us (may God have mercy on them; they passed away before this massacre). We traveled from Rafah to northern Palestine, passing Beit Hanoun checkpoint without stopping, then turned to Barbara farms, continuing to Jaffa and Tel Aviv, where we visited the zoo. In Acre, we strolled in the old city, taking photos by the walls. We swam in Tiberias Lake, ate watermelon at the roadside, and visited a mineral water bath. I asked Israelis about places and directions, and they responded politely, seeing our car numbers indicating we were from Gaza, and my mother and aunt wore distinctive Palestinian attire.

No policeman or checkpoint stopped us throughout the trip, as we returned via the West Bank and Hebron to Gaza and Rafah. Freedom of movement within all natural Palestine was available to all Palestinians, not a privilege for some. Palestinians used public transportation with Israelis in all cities and on external lines, and workers from the West Bank and Gaza occupied every inch of Palestine at dawn, going to work.

Life wasn't rosy for Palestinians, but it was economically and socially better for most than before the defeat. This economic change brought social changes, negatively affecting education and the idea of resistance; the idea was ignored, but

freedom of movement opened some eyes to easy civilian targets for political and ideological goals, helping shift Israeli politics to the right quickly.

The first intifada expressed the peacefulness of Palestinians inside, coming after the defeat of the Palestinian military thought abroad and the displacement of PLO forces from Lebanon to the Arab deserts. It was an opportunity for a peaceful solution and democratic construction, but Islamic fundamentalism backed by external parties increased tension with military actions contradicting the intifada's peaceful vision, leading to our current state of loss, weakness, and dependence on an unresponsive heaven, a land that rejects us, and a world that pursues and excludes us.

Is it reasonable for Gaza's people to be in this state while the rest of the world lives normally? Examining the causes reveals several truths: following backwardness, opposing democracy, and claiming divine will while sending people to heaven without consulting them.

I recounted my journey in my homeland without touching on my emotions, to remind myself and others that Israeli Jewish hostility and racism weren't mentioned then, and can't be compared to what's happening after October's assault. Israelis felt secure after the Six-Day War, reducing hostility, seeing mutual benefits with West Bank and Gaza residents who joined production and became a market for consumption, even the top importer of Israeli products globally.

This isn't patriotic or idealistic, but if handled and developed peacefully, Gaza and West Bank residents could've become part of Israel like their 1948 counterparts. Perhaps if they'd demanded democracy and equality instead of independence and statehood, Israel might now have an Arab majority, with Arabs better off in every aspect. What they'd lack is Mahmoud Abbas as their leader and Hamas as their model and controller of their fate.

I wonder if we missed an opportunity for peace and democracy, reaching this state by our own will, after rejecting Oslo and encouraging Israeli extremism to deny peace. Today, December 7, 2024, Bashar al-Assad has fled Damascus, Lebanon is in ruins, and the Levant's states are in a state of chaos, including oil-rich ones like Iraq and Libya. Egypt's currency is struggling daily against the dollar. Would a

Palestinian state in Gaza and the West Bank, led by Fatah, Hamas, or both, be better than the current Levant situation?

The fundamentalism that practiced brutality in the Islamic State (ISIS) has returned to Damascus, meaning Assad's devil has gone and Daesh's devils have come. These, for the record, were and will remain friends of Israel, like all Islamists. Al-Jolani, who returned to his name as Ahmad Al-Shara', leader of Al-Nusra Front, which entered Syria with support and planning from Erdogan, London, and Washington, is the same group Israel treated, armed, and supported a decade ago.

Don't you see how Iran, which considered Syria an Iranian Shia province for decades, abandoned Assad and Syria without a shot? What about Hezbollah, forced to sit on the sidelines, with its supply lines from Iran through Syria cut by land, air, and sea? Can these countries and groups defend themselves, let alone liberate others?

What about Assad's regime, ruling for over half a century, collapsing in a week without a soldier defending it? Soldiers left their posts and weapons, returning home, while the regime's thugs, torturers, and jailers vanished... no one to defend, nothing to mourn!

Can we predict that any non-democratic system's population, institutions, and apparatus will act differently from the Syrians? We have a Shia state, a strong arm in Hezbollah, and a country that was their playground, Syria, ruled by someone proven stupid and cowardly. We also have Hamas, with its policies, and Sunni Islamic fundamentalism, friend of Israel and the West, now ruling the Syrian people through Turkey's influence. Terrorist Islam roams Syria with Western support, with colonial intentions again, and more to come...

The fundamental conclusion remains: it's impossible for selfish chaos and backwardness to triumph over renewed democracy.

Please, don't let Syrians become nostalgic over Assad's days, like Iraqis, Libyans, Tunisians, Egyptians, Sudanese, and Yemenis do; when a leader leaves and democracy doesn't replace him, conditions worsen, and people start missing the departed.

Note before moving on: Opposition forces entered Aleppo without destruction, looting, or harming civilians, following Erdogan's instructions, making it easy to take Hama, Homs, and Damascus' defenses collapsed before it was reached. Assad asked Iran's Foreign Minister: Why don't they resist? Perhaps this is a foolish question in modern history, like Marie Antoinette's: Why don't they eat cake instead of bread?

Second note: Rebels didn't loot Damascus, but some residents looted headquarters and took money from the Central Bank in trucks, a trait of Islamic societies during wars, happening in Gaza in 1967 and now, where aid trucks are looted, homes are burgled, and even tents and shoes are stolen.

Third note: As the Syrian army collapsed, officers told soldiers to leave their weapons, put on civilian clothes, and go home! This is strange, though not unique, happening in all modern Arab wars. But it's absurd that two divisions on the Golan front left everything and went home!! If we swallow the army's withdrawal from facing the opposition to prevent civil war, how can we swallow two divisions on the occupied enemy front leaving everything and vanishing? What kind of military and patriotism is this?

I recall some of my contradictory personal stances... I was happy with Iran's 1978 revolution, ignoring that the mullahs took over. I supported the revolution and revolutionaries, but soon realized Khomeini was a dictatorial fundamentalist.

When Iraq-Iran war broke out, I sympathized with my Arab identity despite opposing Saddam. When he invaded Kuwait, I opposed Iraq. Iraq was destroyed, and when Saddam was killed, I cried in frustration.

Similar memories abound, but regarding Syria, I find myself confused again... Assad's rule was brutal, but the experience with Islamist rebels, especially Daesh, is the worst.

Should we rejoice for Syria and its people getting rid of Bashar and his thugs, or grieve for what's in store for Syria, its people, and neighbors? Only God knows, and certainty lies in the coming days.

I want to record a vision for the near future, a likely outcome of Syria's events... Syria's situation won't improve; random revenge will lead to sectarianism, secret

and then open normalization with Israel will occur, and Syrians will return to subservience due to their long upbringing.

Egypt will face chaos due to the Muslim Brotherhood's actions, destruction will spread, and Israel will exploit the opportunity to push Gaza residents to Sinai by force or deceit, possibly occupying at least half of Sinai. Jordan also faces risks; the Brotherhood is becoming aggressive, demanding amnesty for political prisoners to gain popularity, seeking control and dominance, not just parliamentary representation.

All these developments are, unfortunately, either a gift from heaven for Israel or a result of their good planning versus our reliance on others.

Returning to the recent past and my memories in Syria, this beautiful country has become repulsive to its people and its lovers since the Arab Spring of 2011, with around 10 million citizens displaced or fleeing, 700,000 killed, and 300,000 arrested by Assad's regime in medieval-like conditions.

The situation wasn't great before, but pre-Spring wasn't comparable to what's happened since. I knew Damascus, its countryside, and that of Deraa before the Assad family's rule in 1971. Incidentally, Hafez's grandfather's name was Sulayman al-Wahsh, later changed to Assad, meaning he remained voluntarily distant from humanity.

I personally knew Syria before turning 18, when I was arrested for carrying a weapon, I spent two hours in jail and was released by the judge as a minor. If this had happened under Assad's rule, I wouldn't have left prison except with the last released who didn't know why they had been arrested, and most of whose companions had died from torture, neglect, and hunger.

Syria remained our destination from the 1967 defeat until Jordan's civil war and Black September, expelling revolutionary forces to Lebanon... Then the coup happened, Assad and his group took power, and did what they did until they were repaid in kind.

In 1980, I finished my studies in Germany and went to Jordan, hoping to live and work freely after the occupation rejected my family's reunification requests in Gaza... But Jordanian intelligence refused to grant me a yearly residence, so every

three months, I would leave Jordan with my wife by car to Syria, spending happy, cheap days and returning to Jordan with a three-month permit.

My wife worked as a teacher in two schools, Orthodox and Frères, with students who later became prime ministers. I was banned from working, denied permission to establish any project.

Eventually, I went with a sheikh to the Interior Minister's office, Suleiman Arrar, who said in front of me that he's in agreement and will sign, but intelligence will reject it... Later, I went to intelligence to inquire, and they detained me, stamping my passport with a 48-hour deportation order... This is a story we'll return to later.

In 2006, I visited Jordan and agreed with my friend and relative Abd al-Rahman, Abu Mazen, to tour Syria... all of Syria, taking his youngest son, who I think had finished high school... We wanted to rely on him.

At the land border, we faced a problem; Abu Mazen had a diplomatic passport, his son was Jordanian, and I was a British non-resident in Jordan... When the Syrian officer asked my profession, I said retired; he asked about my pre-retirement job; I said journalist, and he decided to ask Damascus about me, sending telegrams with no response, and the border intelligence officer was nowhere to be found... I got angry, shouted at the officer, and threatened him with bluffed consequences when they find out in Damascus, and we finally passed peacefully.

I won't bore you with details, but two observations stuck in my mind: first, all top-grade hotels in Syria's cities were government-owned, filled with cockroaches; we'd hunt them every night to sleep peacefully... and hotels charged in hard currency.

Another observation shocked me in Raqqa, on the Euphrates River, in northeast Syria, a city with massive Umayyad ruins, where we wanted to trace Khalid ibn al-Walid's desert route from Iraq to Damascus... On the main street, I saw a banner reading "Long live President Hafez al-Assad", strange since Hafez had died six years earlier, and no official dared change it to "Long live Bashar al-Assad", illustrating the fear and subservience of the Syrian people.

We also visited Khalid ibn al-Walid's shrine and mosque in Homs, and Umar ibn Abd al-Aziz's in Idlib, out of respect and love for Khalid and Umar. Khalid needs

no introduction, Umar's cousin, who Omar ibn al-Khattab envied, and upon taking power, removed from the Syrian army command, tried him, and took half his wealth, even his shoes, leaving one pair for Khalid, who remained in Syria, not opposing or resisting until his death and burial in Homs... Umar ibn Abd al-Aziz was a rare, just caliph, who reclaimed wealth from his Umayyad relatives and distributed it to the people, leading his family to poison him... His mosque and shrine were burned and destroyed in 2020.

Our trip included Damascus, Homs, Hama, Idlib, Aleppo, Raqqa, al-Rasafa, Deir ez-Zor, Palmyra, and surrounding countryside, deserts, and villages on unpaved roads, returning via Damascus to Deraa, visiting the ancient city of Busra, where the Prophet and caravans rested on their summer journey between Mecca and Syria, and where Muhammad met the monk Bahira before prophethood... May you be well and wise, people.

Between wars and travels

In September 1973, we traveled via Beirut to Cairo, as if I was destined to witness Egypt's wars, the Naksa, attrition, and now the October War. I was with my wife, my German friend Heiner, and his French wife Dominique... We were all in our early twenties, and that trip strengthened our friendship, which has lasted for over half a century. When Dominique passed away from leukemia, they waited for me to arrive from Jordan to France before burying her, honoring me to deliver the farewell speech at her grave as the family's oldest friend.

I intentionally passed through Beirut to visit friends at the Palestinian Research Center and those I had met five months prior at the funeral of the Fedayeen martyrs, then continued to Cairo Airport, where Palestinian refugees must wait for approval, despite the document being issued by Cairo and Egyptian embassies... Eventually, my friends' presence and the German annual residence stamp on the new document I obtained from the Egyptian embassy in Bonn, proved I didn't intend to stay in their paradise or disrupt their security.

I knew Egypt from top to bottom; I worked on the High Dam, building streets for electricity lines, and fortifying Soviet missile sites. We didn't expect war, given Sadat's expulsion of Soviet experts, pilots, and radar technicians, and his repeated promises and threats that this year would be the war... Then came the year of delay, the year of fog, and then, on their holiday, the October War. (Later, it was revealed

that Israeli intelligence examined Sadat's past and youth, concluding he wouldn't wage war).

A day before the war, Dominique returned due to prior commitments, and we took the next day's train from Cairo to Luxor... On the way, we heard from a passenger's transistor radio that the war had begun, and we could only continue the journey, enjoying Luxor and Upper Egypt, and following the battles... We arrived at the hotel as other tourists were leaving, hoping to find flights back home. Tourist sites were empty except for us three... Karnak and the Valley of the Kings were ours, and I wondered where everyone, especially the Egyptians, went, all following the war near radios and TVs.

When our trip ended, we headed to Cairo, learning that remaining foreigners were gathering at the Hilton to be bused to Benghazi, Libya, to fly home... About 1300 km without sleep, with short desert breaks, accompanied by an officer and soldiers, passing areas we visited before the war, like El Alamein, empty except for a police station guarding WWII soldiers' graves.

In Benghazi, we entered hotel rooms for minutes, then were told a plane awaited us at the airport... A twin-engine military plane took us to Rome that night, and we spent the night on plastic chairs in the airport until our flight to Frankfurt.

There were three buses from Cairo to Benghazi, and the plane accommodated all passengers standing and sitting. I see, hear, remember, and write about the October War while Israel roams the Syrian Golan after Assad's regime collapse, saying the end of the Syrian regime means the end of the ceasefire agreement signed after the October War, thus Israel has the right to defend itself by occupying the rest of the Golan and expelling residents since the signatory is gone! It doesn't matter there's no threat to Israel or a single soldier on the border, and those with this criminal thinking are destroying Syrian army forces and weapons across the country, which haven't fired at them since the October War. There's a short British saying: Might is right.

Regarding Egypt's memories and Syria's reality, I note that the United Arab Republic, during the unity between the two countries under Gamal Abdel Nasser, formed three armies: the first was the Syrian army, and the second and third were formed in Egypt. Despite the separation and Nasser's refusal to forcefully restore

unity, these armies retained their names and fought together in the October 1973 war. To help the first Arab army, the third army was almost destroyed.

The story in brief: Before the secretly agreed-upon war between Assad and Sadat, the Syrian president insisted that the Egyptian army continue advancing into central Sinai to provide time and distract Israel, allowing the first army to liberate the Golan... Sadat agreed to Assad's condition reluctantly, and Chief of Staff Shazly objected, as the second army's push into Sinai would mean forces would be out of the anti-air missile umbrella, with a range of only 12 km west of the Suez Canal.

The war began, and the second army, under missile protection, breached the Bar-Lev lines, but the first army's advance stalled in the Golan, and Sadat insisted on sending additional forces to central Sinai, where Israeli planes awaited, destroying 400 tanks in one day... Sadat then refused to recall these forces to help counter the Israeli breach of the canal... Political retreat and military hesitation ensued, avoiding the destruction of Israeli forces that crossed the canal, which would have ended Israel entirely, as the breach was their last attempt to regain prestige, and their forces were about to be surrounded, and would have been surrounded if Sadat had let military leaders implement their plan.

The result was that the second and third armies are banned from entering Sinai, per the 1978 Camp David Accords signed by Sadat, and the first army is now, in early December 2024, with its weapons and forces, in a state of collapse.

Democracy in both countries was also in a state of collapse, the Assad family was torn apart, Sadat was assassinated, and Mubarak, who succeeded him, attempted to pass on rule to his sons like Assad; he and his sons were imprisoned, and the military took over again, without actual power to deter external aggression... This will continue and be repeated in any country not following actual democratic rules and clinging to authoritarianism... Egypt's situation might suddenly change, as people are unhappy with the government, economy, and freedoms, and Iran will likely face the same fate; where opposition faces dictatorship, the outcome is known, sooner or later... The fact is, Iran has lost its prestige, external wings, and is now threatened at home and in its decision-making.

If Syria had remained geographically and nationally united, without returning to clashes and wars, its reconstruction and return to pre-civil war status would cost at least \$300 billion, equivalent to the combined budgets of Egypt, Jordan, and Israel; where would this money come from, especially as Gulf states face budget deficits, and Europe struggles financially due to Ukraine war expenses exceeding \$1 trillion... Syria was the least indebted country, most self-reliant, with its army ranked third in the Arab world and 26th globally, but due to the Assad family's policies and refusal to respond to demands for democracy, the state was executed, and Israel destroyed stored weapons, requiring another \$300 billion to replace, meaning the new Syria must live neutrally without an army to protect its borders... Incidentally, Gaza needs \$100 billion for reconstruction to its pre-October 7 state, but, of course, the dead won't return, the wounded won't heal, and personal sorrows and tragedies won't fade!

Yes, liberating homelands requires sacrifices, but in Syria's case, if its president had been elected and left when the people rejected him, this catastrophe, from which Syria may not recover, wouldn't have happened... If Hamas had responded to democracy demands and submitted to elections, forcing Fatah and the Authority to do the same, we wouldn't have reached this slaughter and threat to the future... Did the Palestinian people, or even Gaza residents alone, elect Yahya Sinwar, who made the October 7 decision in their name, bearing all these consequences? It is necessary to understand the power difference and therefore resort to better, easier liberation methods... Why do some fundamentalists believe their intellectual level and vision are the only way forward, even if it leads to destruction, and the same applies to the Authority group, less intellectually capable than fundamentalists, clinging to narrow self-interests at the expense of the cause, people, and generations, remaining practically still throughout the slaughter without initiatives to take control! They were waiting and wishing Israel would rid them of Hamas.

As a good citizen, I follow the horrors revealed about Assad's prisons, especially Sednaya... I recall my experience with Arab prisons, which can't be compared, or I could compare them to a lush garden filled with bliss, security, justice, and law, compared to what we hear and see in Damascus after Bashar's escape.

The first prison I entered was in Dokki, Cairo, when I was under 18... I went to the police station to renew my expired residence, and I had to spend the night in the

detention room until procedures were completed. The room was filled with thieves and pickpockets, but I had nothing to fear, and my health was excellent, so anyone would avoid antagonizing me. There was a strangeness at night that made me imagine the walls were moving, and I discovered it was the insects' movement on the walls that gave me that impression, and my concern was when I'd be able to leave, planning the nearest place to reach for a shower.

The second detention was in Damascus before the Assad family's rule, I carried a weapon, a Kalashnikov, in the street, and I had come with my brother Khader from Jordan to visit Syria... After two hours, the judge ruled my release, and I returned to the hotel; Khader asked: Where's the Kalashnikov; I said it was confiscated, and that was it.

A decade after finishing high school in Egypt, traveling to Germany, and completing postgraduate studies in politics, sociology, and Islamic studies in 1979, I consulted with my wife, and we agreed to seek residence in Jordan. I flew to Amman to prepare housing, and my wife followed with our small daughter (two years old) by car and then via sea from Italy, where she visited her cousin. We had previously traveled from Brindisi, southern Italy, to Alexandria by sea. I waited for her in Latakia for two days, then we traveled, stopping and visiting friends in Damascus, before continuing on to Amman. I had savings from studying and working during vacations, but I doubted finding a job with my certificates, especially in Jordan, and personally, holding a Palestinian travel document... so I wanted to engage in a turkey farm project and began researching and planning while applying for a renewable annual residence permit. My daughter Lyla entered kindergarten, and my wife worked as an English and French language teacher in two schools, being a language graduate and holding a British passport, and I sought ways to reside... Time passed, and I only received three-month renewals, and our limited money dwindled despite the income from my wife's work and some unlicensed trading. Our rented house was a ground-floor villa in Shmeisani (later Rabia), bordered by the American ambassador's house on the left, with Palestinian families living in tents and mud houses, and who had known my father since Palestine days to the right, and behind us, the westernmost edge of Amman's development, with an empty desert ahead... Occasionally, Bedouins arrived from the west on their way to Amman; they'd sit on mats in our garden, drink from the fountain, and I'd bring them tea and guide them to the bus station... If we went out

in the evening and returned at night, we'd have to park the car next to the garden gate to escape the wild dogs gathering in the area... This area later became known as Um Udhaina, near the fifth circle, which was the edge of development, followed by the desert... Now, there are sixth, seventh, and eighth circles, Wadi Sir, and the Badr area, all west of our house back then.

The important thing is that I got tired of waiting without getting a residence permit; so I submitted a new application and involved intermediaries from the Adwan sheikhs, then repeatedly visited the intelligence headquarters to get a result, until I went on one occasion without informing anyone, and there they took my passport and stamped it with a deportation order from the country within 48 hours, and a policeman accompanied me to Abdali police station to be detained until deportation time.

Throughout my attempts to get a residence permit, I mentioned that I hold an open ticket to Germany, a valid residence permit there, and permanent residence in Britain, and I mentioned this to help the authorities accept my application, but it was in vain.

On the way to the police station, I asked the policeman to stop at a phone booth, and I informed my friend and cousin Abu Mazen about the situation, and I called my wife at school and told her I was going to Abdali police station, where I stayed in detention until evening.

Strangely, I didn't feel out of place in detention; I met a group from Gaza who knew my family; when bread was distributed, the prisoners rushed and shouted, and I was sitting; these acquaintances brought me bread and food, and we talked and got along until I heard someone say: Which young man is married to a foreigner? I looked, and there was my wife holding our daughter on the other side of the iron window, saying Abu Mazen was in the office with the officer, and she got a week's extension for deportation, and my release to prepare ourselves.

After minutes, I bid farewell to the young men and went to the officer's office, and we returned home to prepare for travel, getting rid of unnecessary things, storing some with family, loading what the Fiat 125 could carry, and we left, returning to Europe via a 10,000 km journey to London.

As my wife informed me, she had spread the news among teachers and the Orthodox school principal, who advised her, knowing that this school's students are the sons of the financial and security ruling class in the country, tried to contact acquaintances, but to no avail... Before giving up, a colleague told my wife that the intelligence pasha lives in an apartment above theirs and returns daily in the afternoon, and she suggested going with her, and when the pasha arrives, she'll point him out, and my wife could intercept him, telling him what happened and asking for an extension and my release to prepare for travel by land... My wife informed Abu Mazen of the plan, and he joined her, explaining the situation, anticipating language difficulties... This is what has happened, they told him briefly at the building entrance, and my wife said it's inhumane, demanding my release and a week's extension to prepare for travel... The pasha asked her where they took me, and she told him, and he said go there, and you'll find your husband has been released and the extension awaiting you, and that's what happened.

Before continuing with detention experiences in Arab countries, I'll continue this story briefly. We started the next day going to embassies to get visas to travel by land and carry what we could of our belongings... We went to the Greek embassy hoping to travel by sea from Latakia to their country; they refused to give me a visa, and the Italians did the same the next day, and we noticed a car watching and following us all the time. We later went to the Turkish embassy; it was immediately rejected; we asked to meet the consul and explained the whole story, as it was our last hope... He said after silence and further explanation that he's not authorized, since the country is under military rule, and he'll be severely punished if I'm caught in the country with a visa he's not authorized to issue, then after silence and contemplation, he said; I'll give you a transit visa, but you must promise me not to stop anywhere in Turkey, and do what you can to avoid contact with authorities... I thanked him for the trust and promised not to stop, and I kept my promise, not stopping except to answer nature's call by the roadside and buy gasoline throughout 1500 km from the Syrian-Turkish border to the Turkish-Bulgarian border. We left Amman, rested for two days in Damascus with friend Omar Shahabi, then headed to the Bab al-Hawa border crossing between Syria and Turkey, and continued without notable obstacles, except in Yugoslavia, where the exhaust needed repair after it became noisy, and we slept in a hotel for the first time during the trip, and in Hungary, bread was bought with coupons, and an old

woman gave us half her loaf after seeing Lyla and noticing our confusion when trying to buy bread. We passed through Austria, and as we approached Germany, Lyla started talking to us again; she had been almost silent, cramped in a corner of the back seat, with a carton and a typewriter under her feet... I later discovered she was in shock after seeing me behind bars, when we arrived in London, and I spoke to her in Arabic, and she screamed, demanding I stop speaking that language, shocking me in turn so that I thought and reached certain conclusions.

My experience of London is rich, interesting, and long, and I'll return to those details, but for now, let's continue with prison stories, and I'll summarize by saying that before the first intifada, I went to Egypt to visit relatives and friends in the Egyptian Rafah area, which became known as (Canada) because the village was established by Israeli action and support on a site that was a camp for the Canadian international forces, and on the Palestinian side, there's a site called Brazil for the same reason... Canada's residents were a mix of refugees in Rafah, including relatives whose homes were demolished in Palestinian Rafah in exchange for wider housing in Egyptian Rafah, and who the Egyptian government planned to return within Palestinian borders in agreement and coordination with Israel, and homes were built for them in the Tel Sultan area in Rafah, near the coastal strip and beach. I rented a chalet on the beach on the Egyptian side, and I repeated my visits there, mixing with people, and I saw an opportunity to store weapons and smuggle them into Palestinian territory without using them in Egypt or taking them through the border, keeping the atmosphere safe and suitable for smuggling, and I formed groups, each specialized in a specific matter. Things went well due to the precise knowledge of people on both sides of the border, and because these borders were then just two barbed wire strips separating a 20-meter-wide empty area, which became known as the Philadelphia axis. Gaps were available on both sides... There were also commercial tunnels under the border, but we didn't resort to them to ensure secrecy; they were commercial tunnels worked on with Egyptian and Israeli knowledge. To cover my movements, I pretended to be a tourist and filmed some things in Sinai and Bedouin markets... One day, my relative and I stopped in front of Arish police station, and the Egyptian flag was flying on the door, and I had known the site before its liberation and return to the Egyptians through my two visits to Gaza Strip and my wanderings in occupied Sinai at the time... Without deep thought, and with blatant stupidity, I got out of the car, holding a video

camera, and filmed the flag and soldiers at the door... I felt movement and noticed men in civilian clothes, and I was sure they were informants; so I went to them and asked if I had done something wrong; I'm filming the flag and the liberated site, and I told them if they wanted, I could erase the pictures here in front of them; they replied that there's no need, and everything is fine. -Of course- they recorded the car's number, and they followed us skillfully, and we didn't notice them, but the next day, they came to my relative's house and took him, and we had taken some precautionary measures after the filming incident.

Shukri was missing in the Arish police department, and the next day we sent some notables to inquire about him and bail him out; they returned with refusal and reassurance that he was in good condition and would be released when the person who was with him in front of the police station arrived... meaning they wanted me. I asked who was in the delegation; I understood that they were torturing Shukri and were determined to see me. I arranged with the delegation to go the next day, hoping that they would ask me what they wanted and release Shukri, and we would return... I wanted some time to deal with the filmed video tape, to contact Egyptian friends, my brother Abdul Karim in Germany, and my wife in London, and to clarify what happened and where I would be sent, and I arranged to inform them where I was taken later from Arish.

I was confident that they didn't have conclusive information and it was just an inquiry, so I informed my Egyptian friends to that effect, and that they would be informed if the matter escalated further. We were received in the department, and we asked them to bring Shukri -and indeed- they brought him so that the delegation could be reassured about him, but the official refused to release me or Shukri, telling the delegation that we would be sent to Cairo for questioning, and from there, we would be released... When the delegation members expressed embarrassment, I reassured them that there was no need for concern and they should be reassured and return to their homes.

We spent the night in Arish police detention, and Shukri was with me throughout. We sat all day in the duty officer's office without restraints, and when the night shift officer came, I talked to him and got to know him, and he was from the Farmawi family, and I told him about a friend of mine, a cartoonist in London, from this family, Saeed Farmawi. When it got late, the officer asked us to sleep a

bit in detention with the other prisoners until morning, when we would be transferred to Cairo, and he told me that we would probably go to Lazogli, which is the intelligence headquarters, and then he threatened the prisoners that if anyone approached us or we lost anything, they would face severe punishment.

In the morning, we were transferred in a closed car, but without restraints, and there was an armed soldier with us in the back, and a security officer in civilian clothes, carrying a pistol, in the front, and he was very polite, addressing us as "brothers" until we entered the Lazogli building; then he changed his language, and we became the accused. On the stairs, we met someone who inquired, then shouted at the escort, for transporting us in the building without covering our eyes, and we remained there until they brought us two strips, which were put over our eyes, but we remained without restraints. After that, I was no longer able to determine where we went, up and down the stairs several times, for the purpose of disorientation, until we finally settled, I think, in an empty hall, and a husky voice asked us to stand still, and whenever I spoke or asked about something, we were told with a voice that sounded like it was coming from the grave to be silent; so I decided to sit and relax, and Shukri did the same, and he was always beside me.

We had previously agreed, Shukri and I, on the story we would tell, and not to change it at all, and that he should be sure to be strong and reassured. We spent long hours in this state, which makes you feel that your freedom is restricted, and you are at the mercy of others, and your future is unknown, and you cannot speak or do anything. When I was taken to the officer, he investigated and recorded the information, and I explained to him that the matter and the attempt to film were done in public, and I was watching the informants, so I didn't actually film at all, and I talked to them, and here is the camera and the tape, and I played it for him; he saw a play called "Kask Ya Watan" recorded from TV, and I told him I could have left the country at any time, but I came to you when I knew you wanted to talk to me... He said he appreciated my voluntary presence, but I couldn't leave the country, I think. And he said he would verify the information and then decide about us.

It was Ramadan in the era of Hosni Mubarak, and we spent four days in a cell full of young Egyptian men who were tortured every day... They would take some of them in the morning and return them in the afternoon, unable to walk due to the

flogging and beating they received on their feet. They had nothing to tell the investigators, and each of them was from a different place, and they were all young men around twenty years old, from outside Cairo. I got to know them all, and they got to know me and my relative, and that we were from Rafah and had come here from Al Arish, and most of them wanted to visit us in Al Arish later to help them find work there.

The prison guard sat in a booth at the door, and he was kind to the prisoners and brought us what we wanted from outside; so I asked for a large amount of water, so each one would have his own bottle, and some sweets to eat after breakfast. On the fourth day, I was taken alone to an office with three officers in civilian clothes, and on the desk, I saw my camera; I felt optimistic, and they started asking me about the situation in the prison, and if anyone had bothered me, and if I was tortured or treated without respect... I answered them with what would please them and what was true, and I felt there was external interference.

One of them said, "We'll release you today"; I interrupted him, saying I wouldn't leave unless my cousin Shukri was with me; he agreed and continued his speech, meaning: You should know that we didn't bother you at all, and if you go back to London and say you were tortured and such, know that we'll send a file to British intelligence about you. I told him that the treatment was respectful, and that I appreciate the role of security and intelligence as national institutions, and that I'm a Nasserist and nationalist, and I wouldn't think of harming Egypt.

We left safely, with the camera too, and Shukri traveled directly to Rafah Canada, while I decided to spend the night in Cairo before joining him to celebrate with the family. I learned that my wife had been in contact with the British embassy in Cairo since the first day of our detention, and the consul had gone to Lazogli and was told I wasn't there, and when the family in Rafah Canada confirmed I was there, she contacted the embassy again with more concern because they denied my presence; so the consul went back to them, insisting on my presence and the need to release me if they didn't charge me with anything, and that's how we were released, and the consul told my wife to tell me to leave Egypt immediately... I told her I would go to Rafah first and then leave, so I wouldn't appear like a guilty fugitive.

This is what happened, I returned to Canada Rafah, and lunch was ready, with most of the camp's men present, and even an informant disguised as a beggar was there, listening to all the conversations, but everyone knew he was an informant.

The rest of the story came from two parts; after the intifada and the use of violence by the occupying army, one of the group members couldn't control himself when he saw an Israeli patrol on foot between the border fences; he fired at them and escaped, and this wasn't planned. Because he didn't claim responsibility, the Popular Front - General Command took responsibility for the operation, and Ahmed Jibril said that the revolution's forces were striking from the north, where they had carried out the hang glider operation, to Rafah in the south.

Of course, the atmosphere became tense, and the Egyptian intelligence became active, and they raided an unplanned meeting and arrested the group, and they were interrogated and then decided to deport them from Egypt without trial, and each one chose where to go, and they left to the Emirates, Libya, and Algeria.

The second part, my friend Abu Tayyib, Dr. Ahmed Sudqi al-Dajani, called me and said he had arrived in London and wanted to see me that night, he had come only for the meeting and returned the next day. He said that all the group members had confessed about me and that I was responsible, and that was probably because they thought I was far from Egyptian security's reach and to make things easier for themselves... The important thing is that he warned me not to travel to Cairo under any circumstances or for any reason.

It must be clarified that Dr. Abu Tayyib used to teach Arab nationalism at the university, and security and intelligence officers were required to take courses that included this subject, and therefore, he was a teacher to many since the days of Gamal Abdel Nasser, and I informed him of the problem of young people being arrested, he had heard about me; so he came, thankfully, to warn me... and since then, I've been longing to return to Egypt and unable to visit it despite the change in circumstances and the passage of decades, and even the people who were deported returned to Canada and then to Rafah after the settlement of the situation between Egypt and Israel and the recovery of Egyptian land without its Palestinian inhabitants; the security agencies saw fit to allow the young people to reach Canada to return with their families to Palestine, and they had previously deported

them rather than arrest them despite the seizure of security prohibited items... As for me, my name has been added to a list that exists since the days of Thutmose, which is long and never gets any shorter.

The unjust arrest that we see as something illogical is a tool used by the unjust ruler to control his subjects and ensure the continuation of his rule, whether as a person, a family, or a fascist dictatorial party... and sometimes the ruler resorts to individual and collective arrest and torture to face his own fear of being overthrown and conspired against, and therefore, he arrests or eliminates some of his supporters and close servants, fearing a coup against him.

The solution to this old and ongoing dilemma in materially and intellectually poor developing countries and the like is to use democracy. In democratic countries, the ruler has no reason to fear when he loses the elections; no one will punish him or take revenge on him except by law, and there is no justification for the ruler and the elected government to oppress people and arrest them unless they commit a crime, and when oppression occurs, there is the law to separate the ruler and the ruled, and there is a free media and a pressuring public opinion between election times... when democracy is absent, inhuman intrusion nests, as we have discovered and seen in the case of Syrian prisons.

As for the detainee, the matter may lead him to madness even without physical torture, and to death, of course, due to systematic starvation or torture in its various forms and types that require volumes to describe, whether since the Middle Ages or in the last century, or what is currently ongoing in many dictatorial, hereditary, or single-party countries.

I later went through a simple experience in an Arab country, without any verbal or physical torture, but only a brief mental restriction. I had to go to the intelligence headquarters; I was verified at the gate, and the purpose of the visit and which department had requested me were asked. Then I was taken with others who had come to the gate for their own purposes, we were lined up into a room with lockers to put our belongings, and we were told not to ask or talk. We put everything we had in the box, a watch or phone or book or newspaper or any paper or wallet... "keep only your ID or passport", we were told.

We sat silently under surveillance until a bus with curtains on its sides arrived, and it took us some distance until we reached a building and a reception hall where our identities were handed over, and then we were taken to another hall with chairs facing the walls, where you sit and see the back of the head of the person in front of you and the wall behind him... No talking or looking back is allowed, -of course- you don't carry anything to occupy yourself with... Time passes, and you wait for what you don't know, when and how. After a time that's hard to estimate, you hear your name, so you stand up and are taken to a room with an investigator and the file in front of him... He asks, and you answer. Then you're returned to the chairs to face the wall, waiting for all the visitors to finish; so you return as you came, and as soon as you exit the door, conversation, acquaintance, and smoking start between you and the other guests as a response to the coercive deprivation of communication and social interchange.

This is, of course, a very civilized example of restricting personal freedom for several hours; what about forced disappearance and the methods we hear about and read about from prison experiences? There's a big difference between a regular prison for criminals, wrongdoers, accused, and those with criminal cases, and an intelligence prison and its branches, and a political prisoner; the latter aims to break your morale, humanity, and vitality, or at least subjugate you in all ways, whether psychological or traditionally coercive, with beating, insults, and humiliation.

Yesterday (Friday, December 20, 2024), I participated in a gathering for the engagement of one of the young men of the family, and in the bride's house, some political conversations took place, as we are all Palestinians with the same concerns, we talked about Syria and Ahmad al-Shara' positively and negatively, then one of the hosts asked: Why do people accept prisons, and why do we tolerate Abu Mazen, who admits to all the mistakes, including that he lives under Israeli boots, and arrests young people? Unfortunately, there wasn't an opportunity to discuss this question, but it raised internal conversations in me, and I reached the conviction that fear of oneself is the only thing that prevents people from opposing the oppressor, and I remembered the story of 'Who sounds the alarm'? -of course- all this is possible due to fear and the absence of democracy, which eliminates justice and law and allows tyranny... Belief in the importance of democracy is the backbone of all solutions.

Even if backward groups, like religious groups, succeed through democracy in taking power; that's an important experience for the public as long as the continuation and repetition of elections are guaranteed with integrity, and not that they win once due to certain circumstances and then take the people's approval and cease to renew their legitimacy through elections.

We are now in the last day of 2024, and since October 7, 2023, I've been in almost daily contact, whenever circumstances allow, with diverse people in the Gaza Strip... including brothers, relatives, acquaintances, and people I met volunteering to help in the "Peace Birds Educational Initiative" that I founded in March 2024 when I realized that there was no imminent solution, and that I couldn't save the country and its people; so I resorted to establishing this educational initiative for the benefit of some children... I mean, the communication framework is broad and long, and I used to communicate for hours, as phone calls from Jordan to Gaza are free if you're a subscriber to Zain Telecom.

To be completely honest, I didn't hear from anyone that they support Hamas or what it did, or the subsequent procedures and management... everyone preferred a change of government, whether through the return of the Palestinian Authority or Arab or international administration... this includes members and supporters of Hamas who didn't like what happened and its development and continuation.

When I asked them why we don't see opposition to Hamas rule in the streets, I got answers in one direction, even if they weren't identical, including: because we're in a state of war, we don't want the enemy to take advantage of us, and some confirm that the movement has a firm grip on the situation, and its members don't hesitate to shoot at opponents, and some hinted at the fact that Hamas controls the distribution of aid, even if indirectly, and everyone, of course, needs everything from flour to tents... some realized that people have been displaced repeatedly and don't know each other for long periods, so it's hard to organize any demonstration against Hamas, or demand peace and solutions, or anything related to politics; in the end, people are shocked, physically and mentally paralyzed, and have moved to the stage of searching for survival, and this massacre has eliminated any illusions about cooperation or coexistence with Israel, and the enmity has become entrenched and institutionalized... but maybe this national destruction will lead to convictions to seek solutions and options that lead to coexistence and shared

growth on new foundations, who knows? (later, demonstrations against Hamas did take place, but Israel shot at them!)

Liberating Palestine... Why did we fail and what should we do?

The previous chapter compels us to ask the question, why did we fail to liberate Palestine and achieve proper social development, and how should we proceed? Every Palestinian has an answer to that question, and the answers are as different as there are people, ranging from the religious factor to military failure, passing through backwardness, betrayal of all kinds, and much more. I'm a decent citizen, relatively deeply concerned in this matter, and I have an answer worthy of note, despite its simplicity and ease of deduction from the course of events... but before going any further, I put this question to the artificial intelligence, unbiased, unemotional, neither religious, warlike, or submissive... I asked it: "Why did we fail to liberate Palestine, and what is the path to success?" It answered literally the following:

Achieving the liberation of Palestine is considered a common goal for many Arab countries and Palestinian movements. There are several reasons for the failure of previous attempts:

Main reasons:

1. Political contradictions: Differences between Arab countries and Palestinian movements have led to weak solidarity and coordination.
2. Israeli military power: Israel's advanced military power, supported by global powers.
3. Geographical fragmentation: The division of Palestine into separate areas (West Bank, Gaza, Jerusalem) makes communication and coordination difficult.
4. International pressure: Pressure from global powers, especially the United States, on Arab countries and Palestinian movements.
5. Weak economic development: Weak economic development in Arab countries and Palestinian territories affects the ability to support the struggle.

Other reasons:

1. Palestinian division: The division between Palestinian factions (Hamas, Fatah) affects unity and coordination.
2. Lack of clear strategy: Lack of a clear and shared strategy to achieve liberation.
3. Dependence on external support: Dependence on external support instead of building self-capabilities.
4. Ideological contradictions: Ideological differences between Palestinian factions and Arab countries.

The path to success:

1. Palestinian unity: Achieving unity between Palestinian factions and forming a unified national government.
2. Arab coordination: Enhancing coordination and cooperation between Arab countries to achieve liberation.
3. Building self-capabilities: Building economic and military self-capabilities for Palestinians.
4. Clear strategy: Developing a clear and shared strategy to achieve liberation.

5. International cooperation: Enhancing cooperation with countries supporting the Palestinian cause.
6. Public awareness: Enhancing public awareness and mobilization to achieve liberation.
7. Utilizing technology: Using technology to enhance the struggle and communication.

Practical steps:

1. Forming a national committee: Forming a Palestinian national committee to coordinate efforts.
2. Developing a strategic plan: Developing a clear strategic plan to achieve liberation.
3. Building institutions: Building strong Palestinian economic and military institutions.
4. Enhancing popular support: Enhancing popular support and communication with the Palestinian people.
5. International communication: Communicating with supporting countries and international organizations.

These are some of the reasons and steps that can help achieve the liberation of Palestine. It requires solidarity and cooperation between Palestinian factions and Arab countries.

(End of AI answer)

I was impressed by the logic of the answer, and knowing the impossibility of achieving these simple things, I asked it again: "How do you see the end of the war in Gaza?" It said:

The end of the war in Gaza requires multi-faceted efforts. Here are some possible solutions:

Political solutions:

1. Peace agreement: Enhancing diplomatic efforts to achieve a comprehensive peace agreement between Palestinian factions and Israel.
2. Unified national government: Forming a unified Palestinian national government to enhance stability and unity.
3. Enhancing the UN role: Enhancing the UN role in achieving peace and stability in the region.

Economic solutions:

1. Rebuilding Gaza: Providing economic aid to rebuild Gaza and enhance economic development.
2. Opening crossings: Opening trade crossings and reducing the economic blockade on Gaza.
3. Supporting small projects: Supporting small and medium-sized projects in Gaza.

Humanitarian solutions:

1. Providing humanitarian aid: Providing necessary humanitarian aid to Palestinians in Gaza.
2. Enhancing human rights: Enhancing human rights and international humanitarian law in the region.
3. Supporting youth and education: Supporting youth and education in Gaza to enhance the future.

Regional solutions:

1. Arab countries' role: Enhancing the role of Arab countries in supporting peace and stability in the region.
2. Regional cooperation: Enhancing regional cooperation between neighboring countries to enhance stability.
3. Turkey and Cairo's role: Enhancing Turkey and Cairo's role in supporting peace and stability in the region.

Long-term solutions:

1. Providing security: Providing security and stability for Palestinians in Gaza.
2. Enhancing self-governance: Enhancing Palestinian self-governance in Gaza and the West Bank.
3. Achieving comprehensive peace: Achieving comprehensive peace and justice between Palestinians and Israelis.

These solutions require international and regional cooperation and understanding between the parties involved.

(End of AI answer)

I agree, of course, with the answers to the two questions, but the most important point for me, which I have always spoken about openly in my articles and books, is the point: "Utilizing technology: Using technology to enhance the struggle and communication".

We must pay attention to the combination of struggle and communication through technology; as for communication, I expressed my opinions as a concerned citizen, publicly and specifically to those concerned... I proposed conducting elections through technology, i.e., the internet, to avoid Israel's prevention of elections in Jerusalem, while President Abbas insists on including Jerusalemites, and thus the elections were never held. I also proposed utilizing technological communication to elect members from inside the Occupied Territories to the National Council to end the dominance of armed organizations over political decisions, but the proposal was rejected when the PLO leadership, represented by its executive committee, ignored it... Of course, the technological failure in achieving communication between Palestinians is wider and includes the inability to form a Palestinian database and communicate between the diaspora to hold conferences and make popular decisions, or even think about establishing a shadow government to regulate the visions of the factions' leaders, especially since they have always failed, in crucial moments, to achieve anything through traditional military action, but they continue to monopolize fateful decisions... In other words,

the Palestinian technological failure in communication includes leaders, intellectual elites, and popular sectors as well, and this is easy understood because we are part of Arab and Islamic societies that are technologically backward, and when we use technology, it's for consumer purposes.

As for the inability to benefit from technology to enhance the struggle, it is a blatant, sweeping, and overwhelming failure, as has been proven time and again, and is reinforced every day between the conflicting forces, i.e., Israel supported by the West, and the Palestinians, Arabs, and Persians as countries and organizations.

We must remember that we, as Palestinians, have fallen into the trap set for us and seem unable to escape it due to social and ideological reasons. Aspects of this trap include the conviction in the principle of force, i.e., what is taken by force can only be regained by force, and the principle that no voice should be louder than the voice of the battle, or even the voice of preparation for the battle, or even the voice of silence in anticipation of it, and whoever raises his voice with a demand or criticism is a traitor and should at least be ostracized by society. The experience of the establishment the Zionist entity has contributed to deepening this vision; it was established, succeeded, expanded, and triumphed through the use of excessive force, but we don't take into consideration here that it used force combined with technological enhancement, while we used determination with bare, poor force, unsupported by any technology... When the first popular, peaceful intifada took place, seeking to achieve its goals through peace and international law, the traditionalists and Hamas militarized it.

To avoid getting lost in theoretical explanations, I would say that our leaders did not do a good job in recognizing the weaknesses of their enemy, and even where they did, they were not prepared to take advantage of them. If Palestinian leaders were men of science or thought, or at least listened to those who are and sought consultation and advice, perhaps they would have been advised to build human scientific bases, i.e., encourage and support students to specialize in advanced studies that have an impact on enhancing distinctive military capabilities.

To be fair, Hamas did pay attention to this aspect, but the movement generally came late in time and started in the early 1990s, and in addition, its focus was on mastering traditional and prevalent sciences that can be easily obtained, such as

manufacturing small drones, primitive rockets, or gliders... The movement was interested in this from the start and worked secretly, while these same industries have reached their technological peak with the Zionist enemy and others... What was needed and still is, is a broad and open scientific renaissance that includes any required specialties.

Hamas wanted experts capable of manufacture to ensure secrecy and opportunities to amass stores, and this was not a bad aim if what they were creating had been equivalent to the enemy's weapons or close to them, or even if they were creating a weapon that caused damage to the enemy's forces and citizens. Whereas they created temporary fear but neither killed nor destroyed, and their rockets were in no way comparable to what the enemy has... -Of course- and this is important, they formed no deterrent to the enemy.

If the Palestinian side had paid attention to science and technology and achieved methods to deter the enemy, it would have been preferable to creating weapons that are merely pro forma but can be exploited by the enemy in the media through claims that it is defending its security and civilians from the barrage of Palestinian rockets.

If we were not capable of learning effective technology, we could have certainly obtained quality weapons from the black market, especially during the period when the Soviet Union was disintegrating, or gained foreign scientists to help us... But Palestinian youth are not lacking capability, the problem lay in the focus of the leadership that had control of the resources, which was on primitive affairs and militarization that failed in every confrontation, and on building a patronage system and acting with a gang mentality.

Israeli intelligence stole nuclear materials from the Soviet Union and the United States, and foiled a French-Iraqi nuclear project... All this and more was done by a group of intelligence operators, with their wits and a few weapons, the important aspect being that they had a plan and tools for implementation.

What I am driving at, with all these explanations and examples, is that if the Israeli leadership had suspected at any time the existence of a deterrent Palestinian weapon, it would not have acted in Gaza as it did and will do in the West Bank as well.

In this regard, it is difficult to imagine the horizons and minds of those who planned the 'Al-Aqsa Flood', i.e., violating Israeli deterrence and expecting Israel to surrender, release prisoners, lift the siege, and so on, as announced at the time as goals of the incursion... At least, it was to be assumed they had prepared the necessary tools of deterrence and retaliation that could target Israeli civilians if the occupying army persisted... -In fact- the persistence and extermination occurred without any Israeli civilian losses in return, which is the only thing that could have stopped the massacre and public extermination... The planners of the incursion did not even take into consideration any Western reaction in favor of the enemy, although they have been saying for decades that Israel is the West and the West is Israel.

It should be becoming clear to us that we Palestinians are not prepared for the expected Israeli persistence, and preparation here cannot be equated with a battle against cavalry, we are dealing here with unique military technology... The Jews made the first nuclear bombs and their sisters and developed them for the benefit of others and then for their own entity, and we did not even think of obtaining a ready-made bomb or manufacturing a dirty one, or poisonous weapons, or sonic weapons, or anything with comprehensive effectiveness so that we could use it as a threat to protect ourselves from extermination... This takes us back to the poor planning of the Al-Aqsa incursion and the stupidity of the methodology and the limited goal in contrast to the possibilities of the Israeli response, before which we stand naked... Gaza, before the incursion, was relatively free and unoccupied but besieged, now it is completely besieged and has been erased from existence, and its people are being exterminated under the eyes of the world, and we have no deterrent weapon, and failed to estimate the reactions of the enemy who turned the matter into an opportunity for geographical expansion and getting rid of undesired human beings... This is the result of our failure to use technology and to build a cadre of scientific experts to this end while wasting time and money in a crippled armed struggle... A leadership that looks to fighting without proper preparation, and a people that delights in the sound of bullets, and then, when the inevitable happens, the wailing rises, and we return to square one, saddled with a backward leadership that seeks to keep the street ignorant so that it can continue to lead.

We only have to imagine how different it would be if there were repeated and guaranteed democratic elections!

The conclusion is that there is no solution and salvation for the Palestinian people other than the possession of a deterrent weapon... and the establishment of a democratic system, no matter what form this takes; through democracy and deterrence, we can move forward... The armed struggle, as we have known it so far, takes us back to backwardness and national and physical suicide.

The signing of the Oslo Accords was supposed to mark the end of a historical era, or so it was presumed, as the agreement saw the end of official hostility between the two peoples, despite the fact that the agreement did not provide a complete and final solution to the Palestinian issue, but it came as a result of a political balance of power, not a military one, after a century of Palestinian armed struggle against Zionism and then Israel... The Palestinian national movement generally raised the slogan of armed struggle, especially after the 1948 catastrophe, where it added the slogan of complete liberation, after rejecting the 1947 partition plan, but Israel accepted the partition and occupied more by force and took all of Palestine, and the armed struggle did not achieve the liberation of any inch of Palestine except through the Oslo Accords, which was in response to the 1987 peaceful intifada, not the armed struggle.

The leaders of the national movement and the Islamic movement focused on the slogans of liberation through arms and struggle, but their actions, or the results of their actions, were retreat on the issue politically and geographically, and through the Islamic movement's renewal of the slogan of armed struggle and the liberation of all Palestine, the Oslo Accords were destroyed, and paved the way for the re-occupation of all Palestine and the undertaking in earnest of the work to exterminate its people, so that the new catastrophe is ten times worse than the previous one... Despite all this, there is no self-criticism and no retreat from the path of the abyss, thanks to the love of power and rule; if Israel accepted now the continuation of Hamas' rule over the Gaza Strip within complete submission to the Israeli vision, Hamas would be the first to agree to the solution and accept it because its goal and purpose is to continue in power, not to serve or have mercy on the people of Gaza, just as the goal of the national movement was to establish a state for the leader to rule, and therefore the national movement quickly abandoned the demand for a secular, democratic, and shared state.

We return to the memories of the good citizen, the link between the past, present, and apparently the future, but every year becomes more intense than the previous one. On the last day of 2024, Um Nabel passed away, and on the first day of 2025, we buried her in the Sahaab cemetery, which resembles a city of graves... Sahaab is on the outskirts of Amman, and my uncle Abu Nabel was buried there years ago, and I participated in burying Nabel, and before that, the cemetery held my brother Abu Ramzi, Abdul Rahman, and his son Ramzi joined him... All of them and others were not born in Jordan, but in the Gaza Strip.

The first memory that stuck in my head about Um Nabel was when I was only four years old...I have many memories of that year that witnessed the tripartite aggression on Egypt, Abdel Nasser, and the Gaza Strip... The helicopter, which resembled a locust, hovered above Barbara camp, calling on the residents to leave; so they headed west towards the sea, and Israel wanted us to head to the Egyptian Sinai. Circumstances led me to stay behind with my aunt, Um Matar, and not leave for al-Mawasi... We walked on foot, and she was carrying on her head what had been collected from the house before leaving... A transport vehicle caught up with us, and I turned back to see the truck full of people, and my uncle Abu Nabel standing on the wing of the cabin, inside which Um Nabel was carrying her newborn, Nabel.

When the truck passed us, my uncle asked if we were going to ride with them; my aunt signaled him to continue his journey, because she had decided to walk. I was in a hurry and pulled her all the way to safety, as I thought, and she calmed me down and told me that she had taken me with her to protect her and help her, and she told me that the sea would not run away from us and we would get there eventually... And we reached it and stayed for days, sleeping in the open and eating what we found planted in al-Mawasi, which was teeming with people looking for each other.

At that time, it did not occur to me or anyone's imagination that the situation would be repeated in 1967 and after that repeatedly, until we reached this catastrophe that is now on-going, and we have become dying strangers for all sorts of reasons in Gaza and other countries...In the Gaza Strip, we were also strangers and refugees from Barbara, southern Palestine.

After burying Um Nabel, the sheikh said to us at her grave, how fortunate she and her like are to have so many people gathered at the grave, while people in Gaza are dying and disappearing, many of them receiving no burial of any kind.

The tragi-comedy at that time was that Smotrich, the Israeli Finance Minister, renewed the demand to expel the residents of Gaza to Sinai or relocate them somewhere else, saying that these residents are not originally Gazans, but from Jaffa, Haifa, Acre, and Safed... Therefore, they are not Gazans and can be expelled and Gaza taken for the Jews!! The Arabs, the West, the sane, and the insane paid no attention to these statements or to the origins of this racist and his ilk... No leader or wise leader or active media figure has demanded the right of return for these refugees to their cities and villages and compensation for what they faced after the catastrophe... I add that neither Hamas in any negotiations, nor any state or Arab or world leader, has brought up the necessity of fining Israel for its actions in Gaza and demanding compensation!! This reflects our psychological defeat and acceptance of an unjust reality.

I know thirteen of my brothers and sisters, but I never saw two sisters of mine who were twins, Hajer and Halima, born during the first migration in the first catastrophe, and everyone has told me how beautiful they were... When they died, my father buried them in a wooden box so that he could retrieve the box when he returned to Barbara; to bury them there in the cemetery of his birthplace next to his father Ibrahim and his mother Aisha... In the end, my father was buried next to the twins in the Rafah cemetery, which has been bulldozed, like all the lands and houses of Rafah in this ongoing massacre.

To add to my sorrow, I always remember, and I am approaching seventy-three, that my grandfather's grandchildren and their sons and daughters number in the hundreds... I have not seen or spoken directly to the majority of them in the Palestinian territories, where I would be welcomed as their uncle; can there be a more brutal injustice and oppression than this? May God have mercy on our antecedents and our descendants.

My last trip, to the Gaza Strip and Palestine was in 1974, the year after the October War. I was received by my father, the mukhtar, and his friend from before the first

catastrophe, Awada Allah, mukhtar of the village of Yibna (mentioned in the Bible, and literary and historical sources provide much detail about the ancient history of Yibna, a Canaanite city five thousand years old. In the Hellenistic era it was a military and administrative center for the region, and it was occupied by the Romans in 63 BC, who took it from the Hasmoneans, and rebuilt it so that it flourished in that era, and became a center for a whole district, with a port larger than the port of Jaffa. It was occupied by the Arabs led by Amr ibn al-As).

Our village, Barbara, is also mentioned in the original history books, and the name is Aramaic, meaning Bedouin, and it has been standing since 1400 BC, and contains Roman ruins.

After I arrived in Rafah, my wife also arrived a week later through Lod Airport, and I received her there, and we returned to Rafah to meet the family, and I immediately immersed myself with my mother, sisters, and relatives in daily affairs, while they communicated with each other through gestures and a little English, translated by the new generation who attended school, where students learned English from the age of thirteen, i.e., from the first preparatory grade.

Of course, I visited the main cities of Palestine and Jerusalem with her. A few days before our departure, I heard through the officer, a son of our country, that the intelligence service intended to summon me for investigation into various matters and to obtain information about my activities in Germany, and that they were aware of my visit to Beirut the previous year... So I left the next morning through the bridge to Jordan, before they sent me the summons.

For subsequent reasons and accumulations, opportunities to visit Palestine ended for me, and later my wife and daughters visited the country through the Rafah crossing, which is also monitored by Israeli security... I made sure that they could participate in the weddings of my brothers and sisters while I was waiting for them on the Egyptian side of the border, in Sinai, where I was familiar with the villages, locations, and some of the people of Arish, as many of the people of Barbara lived on the Egyptian side in what was known as Canada Camp... Then things developed after the intifada, and I became wanted in Egypt as well, as I mentioned earlier.

As a good citizen, I don't care about the gossip and what might be said about the visions, ideas, and solutions I present in this book; they are derived from

experience, knowledge, follow-up, and insight into the future in light of the events of the past and present, and require literary courage to present outside the box and against the current that has been prevailing for more than a century and leads only to destruction and backwardness.

The idea of criticizing the armed struggle is not for me a principled or permanent one; I participated in it personally, but it turned out to be a struggle without political control that has led to catastrophic negative results... Perhaps the mistake is that the armed struggle was alone, without supporting plans and back-up: At least two lines could have been followed, one of which preserved the right to resistance through well-planned and qualitative operations, with the second line focused on science and general and specialized human development.

The revolution - indeed - is a school, but it is not a science that we memorize and repeat, that's why we see the enemy and its supporters including educated people in their forces, and no one can become an officer or general according to the length of service alone or knowledge and nepotism, but through scientific knowledge, certificates, good performance, and experience, and no permanent positions are ensured to the close circle.

After the 1967 setback and the beginning of the open guerrilla action from Jordan, specifically after the Battle of Karama, the liberation movements, especially Fatah, faced a flood of volunteers, difficult to absorb. Palestinians and Arabs came from universities and jobs around the world to join the revolution, but the volume and impact of random and opportunistic volunteering was greater, and the leadership did not do a good job of sifting through the volunteers, and chaos and opportunism prevailed over science and the educated, who became aware of this and after a short experience, most of them left and returned to their jobs and universities, and the leadership remained without development and self-improvement, and relied only on physical and fighting forces, and therefore they were easily defeated in all battles, whether against undeveloped Arab armies or Arab gangs and militias, and of course against the Zionist enemy... Here it must be said that temporary resilience and heroism here and there are not a victory, victory is the liberation of an area, or pushing the enemy to political retreat, and this is what the first intifada achieved after the crushing defeat of the revolution in Beirut in 1982 and its dispersal in the Arab deserts... The Madrid Peace Conference came in response to

the intifada, but the negotiations were aborted by the PLO leadership that went to secret talks in Oslo, and then Oslo was aborted by the jihadist organizations and the Israeli right... This is the reality.

In the next chapter, I will tell you about my experience as a good Palestinian citizen in London, then I will perhaps discuss my role and vision in the first intifada in December 1987, and after that my contribution as an observer to the Madrid Peace Conference on October 30, 1991, and my microscopic vision from close up of what happened in Washington within the first main talks led by Dr. Haidar Abdel Shafi and Faisal Husseini, and the other multiple negotiations in several capitals, and then the secret Oslo talks... But now I would like to discuss one of the intellectual reasons that led to the Gaza Strip catastrophe.

The reasons for the catastrophe are multiple, and I have already touched on many of them, whether specifically, such as division, or moving away from democracy, or bravado and ignorance, or other reasons that appear from what I have written in general. But there is a direct reason for the current catastrophe in the Gaza Strip after the October 7 incursion.

The leadership of the national movement in general was pragmatic, recognizing logic and reason, and when necessary, acknowledging the balance of power, and this was not a defect, but a proof of its humanity. For example, the Fatah movement hesitated to declare an armed struggle in 1965, but it made its decision in full knowledge of its own shortcomings and the disparity in armament with the enemy... The first goal was to establish Palestinian representation away from Arab regimes, and perhaps to involve the Arabs in a war with Israel as they had had long to recover since the catastrophe.

When the September 1970 events occurred in Jordan, the leadership acknowledged the reality of the situation and the imbalance, and determined to give up the battle as it would lead to self-suicide; so they went to Lebanon and joined forces with the national forces there... And after the 1982 Israeli invasion and the siege of Beirut had been ongoing for three months, the Palestinian national leadership had to make a decision: either to continue fighting and expose Lebanon, Beirut, and its people to destruction, especially after confirming that Sharon and Begin would not retreat and there would be no support from the Arabs, or to withdraw with some

international guarantees that the aggression would stop and civilians would not be subjected to revenge... The Palestinians consulted their Lebanese brothers and then decided to withdraw to save Lebanon and its people.

Before and after this event, there were siege operations on Palestinian camps in Lebanon, and the resistance was holding out, but when the Syrian or Lebanese enemy became brutal and it became impossible to protect people, the leadership would retreat... That is, no suicidal fighting to the last drop of blood and the last child, and sending everyone to heaven.

I think the picture is clear now, but I would like to remind you that the Israeli enemy relies on the literature and tactics of the non-suicidal Western world during combat, and the Western world has distinguished between victory and defeat for thousands of years, and when a side is defeated, its leader goes and throws his weapons at the feet of his opponent, and then the victor decides what to do with the defeated leader and fighters according to the circumstances.

This principle and situation have continued in the West until now, and it was manifested in World War II and before that in World War I, where the defeated surrendered and treaties were signed, and life continued for the peoples.

In the case of Islamic resistance in Palestine, there is no recognition of this approach; it is either victory or paradise, and no importance is given to those who are still alive; they can die, certainly they will not be saved by their leadership's recognition of defeat; this it refuses to do, but if the enemy gets tired of killing and war and there is nothing left to destroy; any remaining resistance members will come out and raise the Briton Churchill's sign of victory, and restore their control over the people and exploit what is available for a similar upcoming battle that is doomed to failure because the social, scientific, and humanitarian situation has no importance or appreciation in their eyes.

The resilience of Hamas is not associated with military operations against the enemy, but is recorded in the death of civilians and the destruction of cities until humanity or the enemy's internal developments impose a stop to the massacre; this is where Hamas's victory lies, because it did not declare surrender, and the enemy cannot prove to have eliminated it!!

It is strange that Hamas, which contributed, along with the Israeli right, to the failure of the Oslo Accords through violent suicide bombings in Tel Aviv and Israeli cities, killing dozens of civilians, and leading to the isolation of the West Bank from the Gaza Strip in the Palestinian interior... It is strange that it started its incursion without being prepared for similar operations to deter the occupying authorities!

It did not have a weapon to deter Israel's expected madness as revenge for the incursion, and it had not prepared its old effective suicide weapon although it is well-known that hurting the internal front is the only thing that may deter the Israeli political leadership as it undermines the idea of a country that is the most secure for Jews in the world... When you demand that the destroyed people bear more destruction without clear prospects; you cannot claim victory if the enemy fails to exterminate the people completely and some poor remnants remain....and then you come out wave the sign of victory.

Below, I quote directly from Hamas leaders with no linguistic or verbal modification, on their vision of sacrificing people and their concept of war, and for whom the money and security are designated, and what Palestine means to them as they serve the Brotherhood project in the region:

Yahya Sinwar: "We are ready to sacrifice our lives until the last child among us... We said, say, and repeat that we are ready to be killed all, to be burned as the people of the trench were burned, so that our idea may live."

Ghazi Hamad: "Our main capital is the Palestinian people, even if they kill 20,000 or 100,000... This is a strong card in our hands, brothers."

Osama Hamdan: "No one should imagine that the sacrifices, by God, that the people were martyred, or the women and children were martyred, the sacrifices first must be looked at in the ranks of the fighters and mujahideen and in the ranks of the leadership."

Ismail Haniyeh: "As we said every time, I repeat that the blood of children, women, and elderly... We need this blood to awaken in us the spirit of revolution, to awaken in us defiance, to awaken in us challenge."

Fathi Hamad: "The Palestinian people have a skill that women excel in, everyone in this land excels in it, the elderly excel in it, and children excel in it, human shields of women, children, and elderly."

Mousa Abu Marzouk: "We built the tunnels because we do not have what we need to protect ourselves from being killed and targeted, these tunnels are to protect ourselves from planes, our fighters are in the tunnels, as for the Gaza Strip, you know and everyone knows that 75% are refugees, and the refugees are the responsibility of the United Nations to protect them, the responsibility of the occupation."

Khaled Mashal: "Our losses are tactical and our enemy's losses are strategic, this is a fact."

Khalil al-Hayya: "We, by God, are not Hamas's money, and we are a humble organization that collects donations from our friends and people and those who support us, and what we take from our children's pockets for subscriptions and other things is enough for us."

Ismail Haniyeh: "Supporting resistance movements that weaken this enemy or distract it from engaging in battles against Iran directly, is in the end, an interest."

Mahmoud al-Zahar: "As for Palestine, it is like someone who brings a toothpick and cleans his teeth, our project is bigger than Palestine, Palestine is not on the map..."

This is their view of the people, and I add that Israeli terrorism has reached its crazy peak against civilians in the Gaza Strip, and the Islamic resistance has not retaliated with a single act against Israeli civilians!! Another thing that calls for reflection on the Palestinian and Arab Islamic movements... Why did the Islamic movement in Palestine 1948, which is a large and powerful movement with a large following, remain silent? It remained silent militarily and retaliatorily, and did not take to the streets to demonstrate as happened in all democratic countries, including Israel? They participate in parliamentary elections and hold seats, but they do not exploit the democratic reality to oppose the war against their brothers in Gaza! In general, all Islamic movements around the world have been content with praying for the people of Gaza and waiting for an act from heaven... and then

they have resorted to demonstrating against Egypt, and calling for Jordan to join the battle by abandoning the Wadi Araba agreement! The Islamic resistance that has been involved from outside is Hezbollah and the Houthis from Yemen. As for Hezbollah, it hesitated at first, then intervened gradually with Iranian support to seize the opportunity and gain popularity in the Sunni world. Hezbollah's intervention reached its peak with mutual shelling, and then threatening Israel with bombing Tel Aviv if it bombed Beirut, knowing full well which party has the weapons that qualify it to bomb... But we saw the surprise produced thanks to Israeli science and technology, the party was aborted, its leaders were killed en masse, and southern Lebanon was destroyed and occupied... and most importantly, the long-range missiles were destroyed in their shelters while the party was retreating and did not dare to bomb Israeli civilians or focus bombing on specific targets for fear of wider retaliation against the party's popular base (and this is recorded in favor of the party's leadership)... In short, Hezbollah has ended, and Iran has been curbed after the fall of the Assad regime in Syria, and the victory of pro-Israeli Islam in Damascus. Iran's remaining arm is the Houthis in Yemen, who have the ability to close sea lanes and strike American bases in the Gulf and ignite the global economy if their demands are not met, and we will see in the end that this front will not be immune to Western scientific planning and technological capabilities, and I hope I am wrong.

Before the incursion, Walid Makh Yahya Sonar and some of his comrades from Hezbollah were quietly and persistently planning a sweeping popular attack on the Upper Galilee, with the participation of the Radwan forces and with Palestinian refugees marching to their villages and staying there. Iran was working quickly to complete nuclear enrichment and get closer to building its bomb, and was tolerating all Western, American, and Israeli provocations. Then came the 'flood', and everything went with the wind, and the rest of what is known and unknown will go after it.

It was said that the 'Al-Aqsa Flood' was intended to end Israeli superiority and break the myth of deterrence; but the result was completely the opposite. Hamas was deterred in Gaza, and the Palestinian people in the West Bank were deterred and became spectators, then victims. Hezbollah was deterred, and southern Lebanon was occupied. Syria was ended as an armed state, and its land was occupied. Egypt and Jordan were pushed to cooperate with Israel for security

reasons, to avoid potential chaos from Islamists seeking power. It turned out that global public opinion was bankrupt and deterred by Israel, and even Western countries that stood politically with the call for mercy on Palestinians and the need to stop their extermination, not one of them dared to cut relations with Israel, for example. The United Nations and other organizations were unable to bring water, food, and tents to the surviving civilians in the Gaza Strip. The Security Council, the General Assembly, international courts, and humanitarian organizations are all, in fact, deterred by Israel. Israeli leaders say that they have trained and conditioned the world to what is happening in Gaza, this is the bitter reality.

Is there anyone who can stop the plan to displace and seize Gaza? One of the conclusions, in a useful sentence: Israel is seeking, with Western support and approval, to remove the issue of refugees from the natural borders of Palestine!

Israel, Hamas, Al Jazeera, and its affiliates, for various reasons, have participated in promoting lower numbers of casualties in the sector. Lower by a factor of one to ten; it turned out that the actual number of casualties is ten times what the Hamas Ministry of Health was reporting, and Al Jazeera was picking it up, and Israel was doubting it. They all want to reduce the number. The ministry counts the bodies of the dead that leave hospitals, while the wounded and injured who die outside hospitals, and those buried under the rubble, and others, have not been estimated or referred to.

A study published in the medical journal "The Lancet" in July 2024 estimated that "for every death counted, four indirect war deaths should be added". Relief organizations have warned for months of the possibility of civilians dying in Gaza due to malnutrition and disease, and many have spoken of tens of thousands of indirect war deaths. Therefore, Israel is seeking to displace the population to eliminate the opportunity to count the living population and thus calculate the number of casualties and missing persons, which is estimated to be close to three-quarters of a million civilians, according to the latest international estimates.

This is an estimate by independent organizations and institutes, based on comparisons of area, shell size, and types, and the number of casualties in modern wars, including World War I and II, and civil wars, and the declared and ongoing Israeli war of extermination.

I have some thoughts here, the first is that what is happening in the Gaza Strip is similar to what Hitler did to the Jews, and back then, the world also remained silent, and did not intervene until Hitler's threat to Britain and the Soviet Union increased; then America intervened, supported them, defeated Nazism, and liberated Europe and its peoples, and the world claimed at the time that it did not know about Hitler's brutal actions against the Jews... They know today in detail, with sound, image, and information, but they do not take any purely humanitarian action to deter the aggression.

The second thought is the fact that those who committed the first crimes and massacres against the Palestinian people during the 1948 war were mostly survivors of the Nazi Holocaust, and they arrived as refugees in Palestine and thanked its people by practicing extermination, brutal massacres, and expulsion... It is as if they were biting the hand that fed them... And those who are practicing extermination now, leading it, and justifying it, are the sons and grandsons of the survivors of Hitler's Holocaust, and this is proven by reviewing their origins and statements about their parents and grandparents, as if the lesson that Hitler taught them, and they taught their children and grandchildren, is to exterminate your enemies and ignore humanitarian laws, and what helps them in this path is finding verses in their religions that support extermination, and this is available, by the way, in all religions... The Israelis sit in cafes and in their homes, drinking and watching, while massacres are being committed by their hands and in their name, and then they claim to be civilized and humane!

The third thought that came to my mind is about the Palestinian prisoners in Israeli prisons. The 'flood' had two objectives, the first was to break Israeli deterrence and prestige, and the second was to liberate prisoners, meaning to empty the prisons, and that is why those who were found in the Gaza area on the day of the incursion were captured! All previous prisoner release operations have led to their re-arrest by the occupation as long as they have not left Palestine... However, after the failure of the incursion to liberate the prisoners and Netanyahu and the Israeli right's practical abandonment of the hostages held by Hamas as long as the continuation of the war achieves their demands and goals... The question here is if the Palestinian detainees know what is happening to their families in Gaza throughout these months under the nominal objective of liberating prisoners... Didn't they think of taking a stance? For example, asking Hamas to give up the

demand for their release to ease the burden on them in negotiations and to be content with the demand to stop the war and withdraw, for example, in exchange for the release of Israeli hostages! Or taking any other political stance instead of their silence while Gaza and its people are being exterminated under the slogan of emptying prisons? Just a question.

Now that Palestine has been lost with its cities and villages that have been inhabited by parents and grandparents for thousands of years, half of it was lost by rejecting the 1947 partition plan, an additional quarter was occupied in the 1948 war, and the last quarter was lost as a result of the 1967 war, and fate has decreed that we be crowded as refugees in Gaza since the first Nakba... Gaza, which has evaporated, and I, as a Palestinian citizen, no longer have a geographical location for my memories, even the traces of my memories have been erased, just like my father's memories in Barbara and Jaffa... There is no clear sign of a future, what is clear is the continuation of the same culture, and therefore the continuation of the same path, because changing the mentality, ideas, and beliefs that brought us here is a complex matter... Even if we managed to remove the entity, what would be our future within the current intellectual framework? What model will we follow? Afghanistan, Iran, Lebanon, Sudan, or perhaps Libya? And why didn't we learn from the Jews instead of refusing to coexist since before and after the partition plan, without having any alternatives or seeking to combine armed struggle with another struggle? And why do we hate the democratic path?

The sheikhs rejected the partition plan, which was originally a political division and separation plan, and did not include the deportation of Arabs from the area allocated to Jews or vice versa, but rather recognized the freedom to stay in one's housing and land and the freedom to vote in elections in the section belonging to Arabs or Jews, each party participating politically with their group while living under the rule of the other politically... Then, the sheikhs and feudal lords failed to form a government in the West Bank and Gaza due to their disagreements with each other and the diversity of their loyalty to neighboring countries... Later, with the beginning of the armed struggle, the slogan of the struggle to establish a secular democratic state that includes everyone did not last, and the pursuit of the armed struggle became conjoined with the necessity of postponing democracy and no voice louder than the voice of battle was heard, while the armed struggle organizations were divided and fought each other.

The sheikhs, and those who are imbued with their words and views, and also rejected the idea of a secular democratic state, consider secularism as blasphemy and the enemy of religion, and there are understandable historical reasons for that... Historically, secularism ended the Ottoman caliphate and its Persian sister, and that with Western support; so secularism was allocated a place in the ranks of the enemies because the sheikhs wanted a caliphate where they would continue to occupy their positions and benefits... And the cognitive reason is their ignorance of secularism to the extent that they consider Turkey under Erdogan an Islamic state despite Erdogan's saying and repeating in his visits to Arab countries that he is the Muslim president of a secular country, and despite the fact that the constitution, judiciary, and everything in Turkey is secular; secularism does not fight religions, but rather prevents clerics from ruling in the name of sharia and holy books, and as for religion and piety, that is a matter of personal freedom.

Secular countries like America, Germany, Britain, and France are full of old and new mosques, and there is no one preventing worship... Only you must not infringe on the freedom of others and understand that the rule and laws are worldly and not heavenly. This means cutting off the chances of clerics ruling over people as was the case in the past, in the West and in the East, and as is the case now in Afghanistan and its sisters, Iran and its supporters, and what the Muslim Brotherhood and its armed section want.

Here lies the difference between demanding the establishment of a Muslim Palestinian state or emirate, and struggling for a secular democratic state for everyone that gives us the same rights. The entire Palestinian national movement abandoned the idea of a secular democratic state quickly, and Islamist movements want Islamic rule, and this is what the Hamas movement has implemented in the Gaza Strip, and what the national authority is flirting with as regards its people, and both want to monopolize power and sit on the throne of a state no matter how farcical.

All indications after the second catastrophe point to the end of the idea of establishing two states, one of which is Palestinian, and this brings us back to the idea of a single state, which of course Israel rejects, but the struggle for this is better, easier, and more capable of winning the world, and achieving this goal allows Palestinians a more dignified life and the possibility of social, economic,

and political learning and growth better than would falling under the rule of Hamas or the Authority, according to experience, vision, and analysis.

Unfortunately, the lack of a high percentage of intellectuals in the West Bank and Gaza limits the mass movement towards demanding a secular state; the Palestinian public is generally divided between supporting Fatah and the Authority on the one hand, and supporting Hamas and the religious vision on the other, and both parties, whether the public or the educated elite are linked to one of the two orientations, and this generally deepens ignorance and persistence in one direction... We should not forget that education is confrontational and excluding of the other, and this frightens the public from sharing a state with Jews.

As a good citizen, I have always demanded, for decades now, the need to mobilize ideas and renew them, I have addressed the idea of a secular state publicly during and after the Oslo talks, and even now, whether through repeated press articles, or books I have published, some of which deal with the subject of secularism, and are available in bookshops... I have also called for forms of peaceful mass struggle, such as peaceful mass marches demanding the return of refugees from camps to the lands and villages of Palestine, with acceptance of the existing Israeli political rule, and this was a demand made decades ago, which Hamas turned into an idea of throwing stones and burning balloons across the border with Gaza... My goal was to inform the world of the abandonment of the armed struggle, but with the continuation of demanding the right of peaceful return and coexistence in a secular democratic state... But the fear of renewal, surrender to existing ideas, preservation of religious enmity, and the scarcity of free intellectuals to lead a peaceful societal movement, along with intellectual dependency, social and economic poverty... all these factors hinder renewal and progress; there is no victor except God.

It is easy to launch and support the idea of armed struggle and use of force to recover rights, but this is something that can be said between great powers or those with similar military and economic strength... Arab history confirms this fact, and our Palestinian experience in resorting to intermittent force to face Israel and its supporters has proven to be poor and causes regression, and this certainly does not mean surrendering to the enemy's vision, but rather searching for other ways, whether through social renewal and scientific construction, or preparing deterrent weapons that may one day force the enemy to peaceful coexistence or lead to its

destruction, or at least disperse its society... But to stay in a regressive state for decades, facing a growing power scientifically, militarily, and politically dominant in the world, and having an unlimited reserve of Western industrial and technical support, and then demanding the annihilation of this enemy's entity without offering any middle ground solutions; this is absolutely illogical.

The Palestinian national movement demanded a secular state and then abandoned the idea in favor of a small state to lead and preside over, and this demand and solution did not please the Islamic movement; so it returned to demanding all Palestine from the river to the sea, and thus, getting rid of Israeli Jews, or forcing them to choose between converting to Islam or paying the jizya (tax on non-Muslims)!

It is assumed that the experience of Hezbollah should be a lesson for all those demanding the continuation of the same armed approach... The party was stronger than the state of Lebanon, and a guarantor of the Syrian state of Assad, with a strong striking hand in the region, and it had an organized, ironclad, excellent army with diverse armaments, and it won open support from a strong regional power, Iran... That is, the party and its position represented the desire and goal of any armed liberation movement, and the Palestinian resistance was never in its history in the position and comfort of Hezbollah with clear, proclaimed goals... But the party has evaporated, was destroyed, and its popular base displaced, and it did not take revenge by killing a single Israeli civilian, and its missiles with multiple names, dimensions, and capabilities have melted away... So, are there any prospects for renewal of ideas like this type of resistance? Shouldn't we use our minds a little?! Again and always, as our Andalusian brothers said when their time came: "There is no victor except God".

In London

I return to the memories of the good citizen, specifically the period of work in the media field, starting from the British capital, London, which I reached with my wife and daughter, Lyla, coming overland from Jordan in 1981. Leila was fluent in Arabic in Amman, but in London, she refused to use the Arabic language, and I came to interpret this attitude as stemming from having seen me behind bars and lived through the crisis of rapid deportation from a country where she considered herself at home. I faced this problem by going along with her and contenting myself with using the German language, which we shared, and starting to teach her English... It was difficult for me to explain to her what had happened to us; I did not try.

In London, we immediately faced a mass of problems due to our tight financial situation and lack of family and acquaintances, but we were armed with our scientific qualifications and experiences, and supported by a social system affiliated with the British state, in which my wife and daughter held citizenship, and I had the right to permanent residence. We obtained accommodation and registered ourselves as unemployed, looking for work, and settling our situation for a few weeks, then set out to search for work.

My wife was employed first in a company that checks bulletproof cars for the rich, which later refused to renew her contract after they found out I was Palestinian, but she did not take a single day off work in several companies until she settled with the Libyan Assawiya Petroleum Company office.

In the first week of my wife's employment, an unemployment check arrived by mail, but she went to the employment office and returned it, informing them that she had now found employment, and the state employee was surprised by her honesty.

As for me, I examined the job market and my capabilities and saw many opportunities, but I decided to try journalism. I went to the office of the London-based newspaper, "Al-Arab," and met its editor-in-chief, who was also its owner, Hajj Ahmad Al-Huni, and his deputy, Mr. Muhammad Quburty... Hajj Al-Huni had taken over the newspaper from his cousin and begun to update the team.

Many newspapers published in the Arab world had offices, representatives, and correspondents in London, but Al-Arab was then the only daily newspaper published there and distributed in Britain and shipped to some Arab countries.

At the end of the meeting, Hajj Al-Huni told his deputy that he agreed to my working with them, then asked him, "How much salary do we give the professor?" His deputy replied, "We give him like the others who joined us recently." Hajj Al-Huni said, "No, the professor's face engenders trust, give him double the amount (700 pounds)."

I thanked Hajj Al-Huni and vowed to repay him through doubled effort in quality and quantity. I do not know how the rest of the colleagues discovered my salary, and I do not think Hajj Al-Huni told them, but there was a semi-revolution that Hajj Al-Huni calmed down by saying, "This is what is on offer, whoever likes it, continues, and whoever does not, goodbye..."

I was assigned to write a daily political opinion comment, and I bought German newspapers and magazines, translated suitable materials from them for publication, worked on investigations, and collaborated with the technical team at the end of the day in reviewing, but I did not put my name on anything except on political opinion materials and interviews, of course, and later on a weekly military page that I prepared completely and prepared both topics and images for, and I started visiting arms and aviation exhibitions in Britain and France for follow-up and to get images... I took the photographer, Naser Matarqi, from Arabistan, who became a friend I cherish, with me to the exhibitions and interviews, and I discovered after his death that he was sick and under treatment, but he never told me... He was an angel in morals and honesty; may God have mercy on him.

As soon as we found work, we applied to the housing office to arrange a loan to buy a house instead of wasting the monthly rent, and since we were a family with a child, they gave us priority and we found a modest independent house and a loan to buy it for 16,000 pounds... Within two years, we worked on improvements to the structure of the house with our own labor, then sold it for 30,000 and bought another one for 45,000. This is usually done by combining loans if the monthly income is sufficient for repayment, meaning we made a profit of about 15,000 in the first house and added it to the first loan to take the larger loan... And so,

throughout our stay in Britain for a quarter of a century, we bought houses, renovated them, and sold them, and in the end, we made excellent profits that we live on during retirement, together with a government pension like all taxpayers and a private pension that I paid for and deducted from taxes as I worked as a journalist on my own account.

I record these facts and information to give an idea of the social capitalist, secular, and democratic state that Britain represents for all citizens and residents.

I have some social observations that are worth sharing with readers. In our first house, registered in my name and my wife's, we were blessed with our second daughter, Nora, whose birth I attended as it had become fashionable, although it was not allowed when Lyla was born, for example, in Germany in 1977. (It is said that girls bring their sustenance with them when they are born, and Lyla's birth opened the doors of scientific and social success for us, and Nora's birth in London opened the doors of financial success).

I returned with my wife and baby Lyla from the hospital, but my wife developed a fever that night, so I called an ambulance and they took her back to the hospital, but they refused to take Lyla. I had to take care of a baby less than a week old, and I succeeded for a short time, but I needed to sleep; Leila was bottle-feeding every four hours, and I had to wash and sterilize the bottles and prepare the next meal, so there was no time for sleep that lasted a few hours. I asked friends to take turns so I could sleep until my wife came out of the hospital safely.

The significant thing here is that later, after years and Lyla's independence, I knew when I was sleeping if she needed something or was going through a crisis... And every time we called her, my intuition was right. Lyla and Nora finished university education and were successful in work, life, and marriage, and they have given me grandchildren.

Another social observation that caught my attention in London is the diverse and harmonious human mix that lives in that bustling city... Perhaps people from all races of the earth are present in London, or at least most of them. Arabs, of course, consider London their stronghold; they fill its main streets and live in certain neighborhoods, and there are purely Arab shops, special hospitals, and visitors to Harley Street... Our Arabs walk in their traditional clothes, both men and women,

but some women used to take off their Arab clothes before getting off the plane at Heathrow Airport.

The important thing here is that the British coexist with this flow of diversity, which does not affect their lifestyle or their country's politics; no matter how many Muslims, for example, rise in the country, it will not turn into an Islamic political system, but Muslim politicians turn into secularists, and this is contrary to what US President Trump said, that Britain has become the first Islamic state in Europe... Perhaps he is superficially right considering the number and manifestations of Muslims there, but he is wrong in essence.

In fact, British policy has always been favorable to Islam from a position of benefit to itself. Most of its soldiers in World War I were Indian, Pakistani, Egyptian, and other Muslims, and with them, they invaded Palestine and occupied Jerusalem through Sinai and Gaza. And London was the first to encourage and support the Muslim Brotherhood and has never abandoned this orientation despite Europe's demands that it do so.

From my arrival in London and through my work in the media, I learned public and less well-known facts that prove this. I noticed the absolute freedom accorded to Islamic preaching and terrorist groups in Britain, which remained silent about them as long as they did not blow up its cities.

There was a one-eyed man, with a pirate hook on his hand, who claimed to be a sheikh, and a provocative group followed him. Their preferred place for praying was in public streets in the middle of London, and they were always present in Hyde Park, and members of Egyptian jihadist groups roamed freely in the British capital, and I remember that I conducted an interview with one of them in Hyde Park after the bombing of a European tourist bus in front of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo... I asked him, among other things: Why do you attack tourists in your country, and yet here you are roaming freely in the West? He said after reflection: We thought they were Israeli Jewish tourists.

Decades later, the European Center for Counter-Terrorism issued a report on July 7, 2023, which identifies the history and tools of British relations with and support for the Brotherhood (see appendix) and which was included in the evaluation and future reading section:¹

Frankly, I have always been amazed by the British silence about these manifestations in their country, and I was surprised by the Islamists who want to Islamize the British -and of course- it is legitimate to ask why they do not return to their original Islamic countries? But the question here revolves around the benefits to British policy in supporting Islamic movements and the results of their calculations regarding the balance of losses and profits from this policy.

Despite repeated warnings from British intelligence agencies about the risks resulting from continuing to host the activities of the Muslim Brotherhood, and supporting it officially and unofficially, British confrontation remains weak and indirect, and London remains a safe haven for the organization and a launching pad for its operations within Europe. Therefore, the British government must review its behavior regarding supporting or hosting the Muslim Brotherhood and learn from the experiences of countries that are currently suffering from the growing terrorist activity of the organization.

They had taken control of commercial, social, and religious institutions, and were to be counted among the most extreme of intellectual extremism, and I remember when the poet Nizar Qabbani died at the end of April 1998, a group of them refused to allow his body to enter the Grand Mosque in London for prayer, but we insisted on the matter and there was a clash that ended with the body entering the mosque and being prayed over, and then it was shipped to Damascus to be buried there... I do not know if Nizar had instructed that his body be prayed over, but he wrote a will while he was in the hospital asking to be buried in Damascus.

All Islamic movements were represented and active in London and Britain, issuing their publications and newspapers directed at Britain and abroad, collecting donations, and engaging in commercial activities and banking transactions... Secular Britain accepted them and still does, while they reject British secularism, want states and emirates, and live in purely Islamic neighborhoods and streets, and demand Islamic schools and education as in Pakistan, for example...

I remember a scene from a British comedy drama series broadcast on BBC TV... A Pakistani family, where the wife tries to convince her husband to spend a holiday in Dubai, and the husband tells her that a holiday in the British city of Bradford is

better than Dubai... She asked him why Bradford is better than Dubai; he said: Bradford has more Muslims than Dubai.

Britain -certainly- has an open political system that respects human rights, and it is not just Islamists who have enjoyed freedom of work, but the difference is that Islamists want to Islamize society and abolish its secularism, and some of their groups encourage violence in foreign countries and organize it from Britain, while this has not been proven against other organizations who benefit from the climate of freedom.

Arabs established their free newspapers in Britain, and other newspapers followed the lead of the daily Al-Arab newspaper; new newspapers and different editions of Arab newspapers were issued, and the first Arab satellite television station was established in London, MBC, and it was the first station to allow Israelis to express their opinions and host Israeli politicians from the perspective of opinion and counter-opinion, knowing that Israeli stations did not host Arabs to hear their opinions.

Britain was necessary for Arab democratic breathtaking, and for me personally, in addition to my daily free expression through the Al-Arab newspaper and social and political activities; I can confirm that when we established the branch of the Arab Organization for Human Rights, Britain did not object to our activity at a time when several Arab countries prevented us from holding our conferences on their territory, except for Sudan during the era of Sudqi al-Mahdi, who hosted our general conference... Britain also did not object to the organized media support for the first intifada, due to the nature of the peaceful intifada and the nature of the support and activity that I will address in the next chapter and after the matter of the Arab Organization for Human Rights.

The story of the Arab Organization for Human Rights began when prominent Arab figures agreed to establish this entity on December 12, 1983, a birth that witnessed great difficulties, as the founders of the organization were unable to meet in any Arab country for about seven consecutive years, and a conference to discuss the "Crisis of Democracy in the Arab World" held by the Center for Arab Unity Studies in the town of Limassol, Cyprus, provided the opportunity for the initiators to hold the founding meeting and announce the establishment of the organization.

Following the announcement of the establishment, the French branch was formed, then it became active and gathered Arab figures residing in London, and they announced an open founding meeting for the branch, and I was later elected president for two consecutive terms.

Among the founders of the organization is the Egyptian politician Mohamed Fayek, who served as a minister with Gamal Abdel Nasser, and was later arrested on fabricated charges by Sadat in 1971, where he was sentenced to ten years in prison.

In 1976, he refused a decision by the President of the Republic to release him from prison on condition that he apologize to the President of the Republic, and Mohamed returned to his prison for another five years so as not to apologize for a crime he did not commit, embodying the meaning of human dignity, and he was arrested again a few months after his release from prison with more than 1500 public work leaders in Egypt, and they were not released until the departure of President Sadat.

Whenever I sat with Professor Mohamed, a man born in 1929, I wondered how he had endured ten years of unjust imprisonment, and then came out with no visible scars on his friendly personality and a kindness joined to respectable firmness.

Fathi Radwan, a prominent political leader, fought all the battles of independence and national liberation as a brilliant lawyer and a capable politician, and also fought the battles of freedom in the Arab world, and became the president of the Arab Organization for Human Rights, which he participated in founding and led. He had been associated since his youth with public issues, and participated in political and party activities, headed the new National Party founded by Mustafa Kamel, and issued a newspaper called Al-Lewa Al-Jadid in 1944. He was arrested three times in the royal era and remained in detention until he was released by the July 1952 revolution, and held many ministerial positions after that, until 1958, when he devoted himself to writing and law.

I got to know Professor Fathi Radwan when he came to London for treatment... A dignified and humble human being.

There was also the sociologist Saad Eddin Ibrahim, who is considered one of the most prominent scholars of political sociology in Egypt and the Arab world, and a well-known activist in the fields of democracy, civil society, and human rights, and his research and writings have sparked much controversy within cultural and academic circles.

He participated in the founding of the Arab Organization for Human Rights and was chosen as its executive secretary, and he bore the burden of the first difficulties of establishment and foundation before he resigned in 1986 during the Khartoum meeting.

Saad Eddin founded the Ibn Khaldun Center for Developmental Studies, which focused on issues and studies of civil society, and conducted many studies based on public opinion surveys.

His activities in Egypt led to his official and judicial prosecution on various fabricated and malicious charges related to his vision of reform issues.

During his trial in 2000, the doctor answered the judge's question about the source of his funding, saying, "From countries that ride elephants"; I knew that I had come to his mind at that moment of his crisis, and I was very affected by what was done to this dignified, persevering, and brave man, who refused to compromise until he was acquitted in the spring of 2002.

As for the story of "countries that ride elephants", it is a phrase I said to him in Khartoum. I was returning before sunset from a shopping trip in Khartoum, with a sword I had bought because it was made in Sudan and they call it the Messenger's sword... I arrived at the hotel's outer square, where Sudan was hosting us as members of the Arab Organization for Human Rights, coming from abroad to participate in the General Assembly meeting, and a group of member friends were sitting near him; Saad Eddin looked at me with the sword on my shoulder and said in classical Arabic: Where are you coming from, brother of the Arabs? And then I answered him spontaneously, "From countries that ride elephants"... It seems that he remembered that moment when he answered the judge's question.

Ahmed Sedqi Dajani, a prominent figure in the Arab human rights movement, was preoccupied with its intellectual dilemmas and records, and refrained from

organizational responsibilities until his colleagues pushed him to take on the responsibility of Vice Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the organization... It must be said here that Dr. Ahmed speaks only and exclusively in classical Arabic, whether in public or in his personal life, at home, and with his family, and therefore he forces you unintentionally to address him in the same way, and when you accompany him on a trip to an Arab city and watch him speak to those who do not know him in classical Arabic, you see their confusion and inability to understand at first. I had to translate once in Amman to a shopkeeper that the doctor wanted a razor blade.

Farouk Abu Issa, a prominent lawyer, parliamentarian, and politician, held several ministerial positions in Sudan, and was elected Secretary-General of the Arab Lawyers Union for several consecutive terms, and participated in reconciliation efforts during the Black September days.

From Sudan, there is also Prime Minister Sudqi al-Mahdi, to whom the Arab Organization for Human Rights owes unforgettable positions, as when the Egyptian government prevented its general assembly from convening in 1986, he not only opened the doors of Khartoum to host it, but also expressed readiness to host the organization itself, which the Egyptian authorities had decided to consider illegal in Egypt.

He opened the General Assembly meeting in Khartoum and held an open dialogue with its members. Sudqi al-Mahdi is a unique and humble personality, and he also retains a strong memory and is a man of insight... During a banquet he hosted for us in Khartoum, he would approach members and shake hands with each one by name, and he came to my side and discussed some writings with me... I wished I had a memory as strong and clear as Sudqi's.

Of course, in addition to those mentioned earlier, there were many founding members of the organization, from almost all Arab countries, and I remember among them: Nader Farjani, Yahya al-Ghamal, Haydar Abdel Shafi, Suad al-Sabah, Adib al-Jader, Burhan Ghalioun, head of the French branch, which was close to our branch in London geographically and intellectually, and many others.

During the Khartoum meeting, and at the beginning of the nomination of new representatives for the Executive Committee, I demanded, with the support of

some members of the French branch, that the committee include young personalities... It seems that this public position of mine did not please some of the older members, and they told Burhan Ghalioun about it, and he came to me for information.

The organization's working method was to receive complaints and then inform the relevant authorities and demand a response and take a position, and when they delayed in responding, we would announce the case to the public, because the regimes always claimed that the complaints against them were false and that they had not arrested or tortured, etc.

We faced a problem with the Libyan regime in London, as its supporters tried to take over the organization's branch; one of them came carrying a list of names of Libyan students studying in London and a bundle of money, and I noticed the sequence of the numbers, but he said that he had collected membership fees from them and wanted to register them as members.

I consulted with the branch's executive committee and we were sure that the source of the money was the same, and therefore, these members would be subject to central instructions, and their goal was to nominate and elect a committee from among themselves... I contacted the intermediary and told him that one of the conditions for joining the branch was the participation of the nominated member in several sessions and meetings until he was familiar with the issues before accepting his membership; they left and did not return, but they launched a campaign against me in the media affiliated with them and accused me of dictatorship.

We used to hold periodic meetings and organize large public seminars attended by hundreds of Arabs in London. I remember in the spring of 1987, we held a seminar in a large hall, and I had agreed with my friend Naji al-Ali to display the originals of his drawings on the walls of the hall; he handed me dozens of original drawings and I displayed them, and it was a successful seminar that continued with activities over several days.

On May 22 of that year, an unknown person shot Naji in the middle of the street in broad daylight. The police did not announce any information or identify the perpetrator, and we began to guess and analyze to find out who the perpetrator

was... As a journalist, I concluded that the killer was either motivated by a request from the Palestinian president, or from Israeli intelligence, which knew of Arafat's discomfort with some of Naji's drawings; it hinted at his assassination to blame Arafat... It also quickly became clear that one of the security officials at the Palestinian embassy in London had disappeared, and Scotland Yard did not charge anyone.

At the beginning of the investigation, representatives from Scotland Yard came to where I work at Al-Arab newspaper, where I was to be found every Wednesday, and they asked me if I was afraid of something happening and wanted protection; I thanked them and refused. This was almost evidence to me that the killer was from Arafat's side and the police knew it and offered protection because I was clearly a critic of the president and the PLO, or maybe because I had displayed a wide range of Naji's drawings in the seminar shortly before, including the drawing that angered Arafat.

There was a cartoon drawing that revolved around the name Rashida Mehbran, and this drawing, when published, led to Arafat or some of those around him being furious, and the news reached Abu Iyad, so he contacted the editor-in-chief of Al-Qabas newspaper to reprimand him and then inform him of the need for Naji to disappear for some time.

The editor-in-chief was in Switzerland at the time; he went to London, as he says, and met Naji and agreed that he should travel for a few days in northern Britain, with a doctor friend of the editor's, who accompanied Naji to the train station and bid him farewell... but Naji got off at the next station and returned to his home in Wimbledon, London.

Naji had joined the editorial team of Al-Qabas newspaper in Kuwait in early 1983, following the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, but the Kuwaiti government decided to deport him after two years, and he sought refuge in London in October 1985, where he worked for Al-Qabas International, near which he was assassinated.

To this day, the British authorities have not announced the solution to Naji's murder, despite being able to solve almost any case.

The cases that occurred in London during my stay there, where the police were unable to identify the perpetrators, are numerous, and I mention two cases that I know of, and which the police claim to have solved.

The first is the case known as the Hindawi case, and the second is the bombing of the Israeli embassy.

I met Nizar Hindawi in the early days of my work at Al-Arab newspaper, he was one of the editors who received news agency bulletins and rephrased them for publication, calm and quiet, sitting between Mohamed Qubartay and his colleague Elias.

On April 17, 1986, I heard on the news about the failure of an attempt to place explosives on an El Al plane, and it was later revealed that Nizar had booked a ticket for his pregnant Irish wife to Tel Aviv to visit his parents in the West Bank and get their blessing for the marriage.

He handed her a closed box as a gift for his parents and asked her not to open it, and it turned out to contain powerful Semtex explosives, and the authorities said after investigation that the source of the explosives, according to confessions, was a Syrian intelligence officer.

The wife denied knowledge of the matter, and Nizar was arrested, and in another account, he went to the Syrian embassy after the news of his wife's arrest spread, and they changed his appearance and asked him to hide, but he handed himself over to the authorities the next day... This is likely, because the case immediately took on a very negative image, as apparently he intended to sacrifice his wife and unborn child.

The investigation was concluded, and Nizar Hindawi was referred to court, where the surprise was his retraction of his confessions, saying he was a victim of a conspiracy organized by Israeli agents and that he was tortured by the British police, which made him sign papers he did not read, especially since he was threatened with being handed over to the Israeli Mossad and his parents had been arrested.

Hindawi's lawyer presented a new view of events, saying he was a victim of an Israeli conspiracy to embarrass the Syrian government and harm relations between

Syria and Britain, but the court did not accept Hindawi's theory and sentenced him to 45 years in prison.

After the verdict, Britain cut off its diplomatic relations with Syria. On November 10, 1986, French Prime Minister Jacques Chirac told the Washington Times that the German Chancellor and Foreign Minister believed that the Nizar Hindawi case was designed to embarrass Syria and Hafez al-Assad, and that Israeli agents were behind it, and that he was personally convinced of this... but a few days later, Chirac changed his statements and said that Israel was innocent.

Syrian President Hafez al-Assad had said in an interview with Time magazine on October 20, 1986, that Israel was behind the Hindawi operation.

British writer Patrick Seale said that a source in Syrian intelligence told him that Syrian intelligence had fallen into a trap set by Israel, where the Israeli Mossad had infiltrated Syrian intelligence and manipulated it to blame Syria for terrorism.

Colonel Mufid Akour, a Syrian intelligence officer whose name was mentioned by Nizar Hindawi in his confessions, was arrested in Damascus on charges of cooperating with Israel.

Nizar applied for release every ten years, and the judicial body had concluded in 2009 that Hindawi should be released, saying that he "regrets what he did, and is very unlikely" to repeat the offense.

However, Jack Straw, the then Justice Minister, and his successor Ken Clarke, sought to prevent Hindawi's release, claiming that he had not renounced terrorism entirely... Nizar died in prison on November 5, 2022.

The second case in which Israel was said to be involved and the police claimed to have solved is the 1994 bombing of the Israeli embassy in London.

In fact, the embassy was not damaged at all, and 20 British civilians were injured.

On July 26, a car packed with 10-15 kilograms of locally manufactured explosives exploded near the embassy, minutes after the driver had left it.

The blast was heard a kilometer away, and the embassy was not damaged, but windows of nearby shops were shattered.

The incident occurred a day after King Hussein's meeting with Rabin in Washington to discuss the signing of a peace treaty.

The Israeli ambassador and British intelligence experts immediately blamed Iranian-backed extremists, allegedly linked to Hezbollah, and 13 hours later, a car bomb exploded outside Balfour House, which was then the headquarters of one of the largest Jewish charities, the United Jewish Israel Appeal.

In January 1995, five Palestinians were arrested on charges related to the case, who had previously been released. In December 1996, two of them, Jawad Botma and Samar Alami, were convicted of "conspiring to cause explosions".

They were sentenced to 20 years in prison and lost their appeal in 2001 and again later.

I want to point out that these cases confirm the presence of Israeli intelligence involvement in any operation where the perpetrators are caught and the accusations are directed at Palestinians, or later at Hezbollah and Iran, which was the first accusation made by the Israeli embassy, and then they took advantage of the time to fabricate the accusation against Jawad and Samar Alami.

My knowledge of Samar and my friendship with her confirm that she was in no way affiliated to Iran and Hezbollah... During the trial, it was established that most members of the Israeli embassy were on leave on the day of the explosion, and the embassy was not harmed, meaning they took precautions in advance... Then the embassy refused to provide surveillance footage, saying that the cameras were out of order that day! This alone is enough to declare Jawad and Samar's innocence, and it was also later revealed that a warning had reached British intelligence about a possible bombing... This warning was ignored and hidden, and it was not mentioned in the trial, and then a British dissident agent said that a senior intelligence officer had written at the time that he believed the Israelis were responsible for the bombing, because they wanted Britain to provide greater protection for their embassy... This content was not presented in court and the information was ignored when Jawad and Samar applied for a pardon before the end of their sentence, and it was always the Home Secretary who rejected the request, not the court.

Samar Alami and her sister Randa were involved in the Palestinian community in all social activities, and they were very kind and socially active.

Samar is a masters graduate from Imperial College in chemical engineering, and Jawad is a bachelor graduate in electronic engineering from the University of Leicester.

During the trial, Samar and Jawad were accused of being part of a team that planned the bombing, but they were not accused of planting the bomb themselves or being present at the crime scene, and there was no direct evidence linking them to the bombing, but they admitted to conducting experiments on using explosives to transfer information to resistance fighters in Palestine, and it seems that this fact reached British intelligence in the long period between the operation and the arrest, and perhaps Israeli intelligence had a hand in pushing for those experiments to end with a direct accusation.

Samar served her sentence and was released and deported to Beirut on April 24, 2009, as she holds Lebanese citizenship but is of Palestinian origin, and Jawad was released a year earlier but remained in Britain.

They both insisted on their innocence, and international organizations and members of parliament from various British parties, numbering 71 members, supported their request for early release, including Labour MPs Jeremy Corbyn and John McDonnell, Conservative MPs Peter Bottomley and Robert Jackson, and Liberal Democrats Tom Brake and Colin Breed... All supported the request to review the conviction of Samar and Jawad, and Baroness Gillmore and Harry Cohen from the House of Lords joined this request.

I worked as a journalist in Britain for nearly a quarter of a century, and I can confirm that I witnessed news of dozens of terrorist operations in Britain, most of which were not attributed to anyone, some of which were attributed to the Northern Irish resistance, or to Islamic or Arab and Palestinian nationalist tendencies, but without identifying or catching the perpetrators.

The operations in which people were accused were those that turned out to be linked to Israeli intelligence, and many operations were carried out by Israelis to tarnish the reputation of Arabs and Palestinians and gain sympathy, and there were

some operations that occurred and harmed the Israeli economy and tourism without catching the perpetrators.

To recall, Israel attacked and occupied Lebanon on June 6, 1982, under the pretext that the PLO had attempted to assassinate Israeli ambassador Shlomo Argov in London, who was not even injured.

I mention this and I almost assert that the British authorities know the identity and background of the person who assassinated Naji al-Ali, and they know that the Hindawi case was a deception, as well as the case of the bombing of the Israeli embassy, or the attempt to assassinate the ambassador before that, and compensation should have been demanded and the intelligence officials who planned or colluded in this put on trial.

The Intifada

Events in our region are repeating themselves with increasing similarity but with growing catastrophe as time passes. I will not go back to comparisons and the accumulated occurrences of a century, but will limit myself to the view through the time I lived in Britain. I spoke in the previous chapter about some of my work as a good citizen, and here I will add some insights and comparisons.

The first national shock after the beginning of my work in the media was following the Sabra and Shatila massacres, and before that, of course, tracking and analyzing the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, which reached Beirut and besieged it for a long time without any Arab regime intervening to provide real support, until Washington achieved Israel's desire to remove the PLO factions from Lebanon and the borders with occupied Palestine and exile the fighters to the deserts of distant countries like Sudan, Algeria, and Libya, and the transfer of the political leadership to Tunisia... Washington had guaranteed the protection of Palestinian civilians in Lebanon after the withdrawal, but the infamous massacres did not wait long.

That happened in 1982, and it marked the end of the Palestinian armed presence on the borders of the homeland, and was considered a severe decline in the idea of armed struggle and its usefulness, especially with the almost complete failure to respond to the Israeli attack and the flight of the Palestinian military leadership from the south to Beirut, with some few exceptions like the ERP children team, and the student battalion led by my friend Yezid Sayigh, which fought back and most of the members of which were martyred; an epic recorded in the castle of Shaqif.

The Palestinian revolution suffered outside Palestine for years from financial siege, political exclusion, and counter-media war, until the first Palestinian intifada

erupted in late 1987 - specifically on December 8 - in Jabaliya, Gaza Strip, and then spread throughout Palestine and changed the balance and views completely.

My wife and children continued to visit the Gaza Strip, and I would accompany them to the border at Rafah and stay on the Egyptian side until their vacation was over. My wife told me after her visit in the summer of 1987 that the situation was explosive inside, and that Israeli pressure was at its peak. She said that she had clashed with soldiers at the border during her departure and told them that all this would soon explode in their faces... She told me about my daughter Nora's insistence not to open her bag for inspection... There was nothing prohibited in her small bag, but she refused to be searched by an Israeli soldier. A female soldier came to persuade her, but Nora refused with determination, and they did not dare to use violence against a five-year-old foreign girl, so she passed with what she was carrying through the metal detector. It seems that the girl had absorbed the spirit of rebellion that prevailed before the popular explosion in the Gaza Strip.

It quickly became clear that the formula for the intifada was viable, i.e., a comprehensive and unarmed popular uprising with slogans, demonstrations, and stones thrown by children, youth, and women at the soldiers, thus depriving the enemy of the pretext to use heavy weapons against the public; there were no armed men, no gunfire from among the crowds of demonstrators, and no attacks on the Israeli civilian public. Indeed, without going into the details of the intifada, the peaceful mass struggle achieved its goal in less than four years when the Madrid Peace Conference was held on October 30, 1991, as recognition by the world, including the West, America, and Israel, of the legitimacy of peace for the Palestinian people and the establishment of their independent state. This is what the revolution and armed struggle had failed to achieve previously, and its declared goal was a state on any liberated land, then a state on the territories occupied in 1967. However, the armed struggle hid for decades until the peaceful intifada ignited and accomplished the task... or so it seemed, as elements and organizations of the armed struggle returned to control the peaceful march, and then the Islamic resistance was born, and a campaign of violence and strong bombings began to foil the peaceful solution, and the rest of the story's developments are known until we reached January 26, 2025, when the newly elected and installed American president announced that the solution to the problem of the Gaza Strip and the

armed Islamic resistance there is to deport a million to Jordan and a million to Egypt and turn the Strip into an Israeli tourist resort.

I would like to insert a note here, regarding Trump's plan, before returning to the subject of the intifada

Before the start of the October War, years ago, I, like others, knew of the existence of a complete city built between Egyptian Rafah and the city of Arish since the era of President Hosni Mubarak, which is completely empty and ready to receive residents, and has not been announced or mentioned by anyone publicly. There are similar cities in Jordan... This is for information and free inference accordingly and according to the development and progression of events to come.

As a good citizen who does what he can, without much consideration for personal consequences, I had a plan at the beginning of 1988 to support the popular uprising once I was convinced that it was a continuous phenomenon and would continue to its goals.

I thought that my work should be multifaceted: media support, financial support, and organizational support by delivering weapons to the Gaza Strip to be held in reserve, and this last aspect was the least successful, as I mentioned previously when I wrote about my arrest for a few days in Egypt.

The first steps on the media front were to buy two fax machines and connect them to the phone lines at home, then form a media team in the Gaza Strip whose job was to transfer news to me as soon as it happened, and I communicated through friends in London with journalists in the West Bank and with people in the 1948 area, Israeli Arabs.

They would send news reports as soon as possible, and conduct investigations or work interviews according to my request or according to their vision. For my part, I would rephrase the events in the form of news or reports and send them to newspapers I had contracted with in London and the Gulf, or send some of them for free to expand the circulation.

The next step came quickly when I heard about a radio station broadcasting national songs with clear reception in the occupied territories, calling itself Radio Al-Quds... I searched and found out that it belonged to the Popular Front - General

Command and broadcast from Damascus, where I went and agreed with them to provide the station with ready-made news for broadcasting without censorship, and I got partial confirmation that they would continue to hide the identity of the station to ensure its spread, and to promote it as a mobile station broadcasting from inside Palestine... To generalize this vision, I arranged a live broadcast of the Friday prayer and sermon from Al-Aqsa Mosque, which was a difficult task. The broadcast was not actually live, but we took advantage of the time difference and the speed of the process... My envoy went to Al-Aqsa with a small recorder in his shirt pocket and sat near the loudspeaker with instructions to quickly leave to broadcast the content of the sermon to me... Meanwhile, the radio was saying that it would broadcast the sermon and prayer live, and while I was receiving the recording on the phone, I was transferring it to the radio on another phone and it was broadcast, then they followed it with a previous Friday prayer that I had sent them. The radio succeeded in gathering people around its news and credibility, and everyone in the occupied territories called it "our radio", and it mobilized crowds to support demonstrations in places near them... This work continued until Ahmed Jibril spoke on the radio to the people, and was followed after days by a speech by Leader Muammar Gaddafi; so "our radio" was no longer as pure, and I was content to provide them with press news like any other platform and stopped allocating the materials and calls that I used to prepare for them.

In addition, I worked from the first months to train media personnel from the occupied territories by bringing them to Britain and giving them lectures and focused guidance in my office, then sending them to practice with Arab newspapers in London that I had agreements with for this purpose, or sending them to film in the streets of London and then discussing the filming from an artistic point of view... They would come from the West Bank, Gaza, and Israeli Arabs, and return after completing the training course to practice their activities with and through the "Media Services Center", and I would put their names on the reports and more outstanding news. Some of them later became famous and became correspondents for global foreign stations, and some of them took prominent positions in Arab television stations in London and the United Arab Emirates.

I benefited greatly from a friend from among the Israeli Arabs who was active in the Sons of the Country movement, who came to London, and I explained to him my desire to issue a special bulletin on the intifada to be distributed in the West

Bank and Gaza Strip. We agreed on all the details; I would print the original copy in London and send it via fax to Samih to reprint on green paper and deliver to those who would distribute it in the cities and camps of the West Bank, and I would send a copy to the Gaza Strip to be photocopied on ordinary paper and distributed there... The bulletin was 16 pages long and issued weekly, containing an editorial, opinions, and guidelines for the home economy and ways to boycott Israeli products, and of course political positions to encourage the unification of the popular non-partisan vision and also publish statements from the unified leadership.

The correspondence and communications were done through my home phone, and I quickly realized that home phones have an estimated monthly usage limit, and therefore, I noticed that the months with more work and communications had lower phone bills, sometimes not exceeding 50 pounds sterling, and the highest bill was 3000 pounds. This was due to the analogue meter, and digital counting was not used, so when it reached three thousand, the meter would reset to zero and start again.

In this regard, I note that during my stay in Britain, I witnessed revolutionary developments in the field of media work. For example, in the early 1980s, I would send reports to a magazine in Cyprus by reading the report over the phone to a recording device on the other end, and it would be transcribed by an editor manually or printed. Then came the fax, which made it easier to send texts and sometimes images when necessary, and then the computer developed and started dealing with Arabic through Windows 95, and I was one of the first to use it in Britain and communicated with their headquarters in the Emirates to fix the technical problems I faced with the Arabic version. The computer was previously a large device with a screen similar to a TV box, and its printer produced a single small font, and it would bang loudly while printing. Then came the internet and email, and sending an email also took a long time, allowing you to go to the kitchen and make a cup of tea and return to the device which would have sent the email in the meantime.

In the field of media work, I also worked hard with my friend Ahmed Khaldi to get close to global media correspondents during the convening of national councils, during and after the intifada, where global interest in the Palestinian issue

increased due to the reactions of the intifada and the move towards peaceful solutions. Ahmed focused on British and American media, and I did the same with German-speaking media, and we had a Palestinian colleague working with Reuters... We would meet and agree on the daily direction and start providing the media with news, predictions, and visions with indirect guidance on specific issues, it was not an easy task, but we succeeded every time, and the three of us would influence two-thirds of the global media for a few days, without coordination with any organization or any faction... In addition, I was a companion and advisor to the British Channel 4 TV, both during conferences and all the time in London.

I had started publishing a weekly opinion piece every Friday in the Saudi newspaper "Al-Sharq Al-Awsat" issued in London, focusing on Palestinian affairs and the Iraqi-Iranian war. When the intifada broke out, I focused on Palestinian affairs in those articles, which did not stop weekly until the martyrdom of Yasser Arafat on November 11, 2004, and my last article in "Al-Sharq Al-Awsat" was an eulogy for the Palestinian president. By that time, I had then moved from Britain to live in Andalusia.

This newspaper was printed daily in 14 cities located on four continents, and I would write similar content for an article in English and publish it weekly in the Lebanese newspaper "Daily Star"... Due to the importance of recording those positions that represented a future vision of what we are going through now, I published most of the articles later in a book entitled "A People of Giants", published by "Dar Al-Farabi" in Lebanon.

I published three books about the intifada: "The Sheep's Fangs", "The Martyrs", and the third book was entitled "The Price of Independence", and I made sure to publish and distribute these books in the occupied territories, as well as editions in Egypt and London. The first book included an appendix with statements from the unified leadership that was formed in Palestine, and it was published nine months after the start of the intifada. The title came from a song that spread during the intifada, which says in its verses:

The legend of the Molotov Cubs has been written

The world woke up to a people who know no fear

We flew in storms across the streets...
In every place, we came out in rows
O people of dignity, of mighty arms...
Cubs of stones, of familiar stance
Children who are not afraid, if they throw, they hit...
If the wolf shows its fangs, what can the sheep do?
We will not accept humiliation, it's all about morale...
To achieve freedom, our people are eager
This land is ours, and we will liberate it...
The moon knows that we cause it to eclipse
A futile gesture from wicked America...
An old song, with a familiar melody
We want freedom, a state with identity...
Solutions for liquidation fill the shelves

The song, like the content of the book, conveys the impression as if time is standing still in the Palestinian issue, if not going backwards. The second book was published in March 1989 and included tables with the names of the martyrs, excerpts about them, and some photos: "It is the second book in the series of the intifada on the path to Palestinian independence and comes to contribute to preventing the martyrs from becoming mere numbers circulated in international forums and media..." The book "The Price of Independence" is the third, and its goal was to clarify the price paid by the Palestinian people on the path to independence and liberation. "The book includes detailed information about the Palestinian human and material losses, and thus explains the forms of Israeli terrorism, and then reviews the situation of 50 villages, cities, and camps in occupied Palestine during the intifada... How they resist, stand firm, attack, and implant themselves on the path to independence... The book also published the names of all cities, villages, and camps, with an explanation of their population in

1967, 1981, and an estimate for 1990, and published a list of the names of all national institutions inside Palestine, including a brief about them".

Of course, I conducted TV interviews with several stations, such as the BBC, MBC, Channel 4, and later with Al Jazeera through its office in the British capital... I also had a team that filmed and produced short documentaries for MBC, and the "Media Services Center" that I worked through and under the auspices of which I provided media services to several newspapers and magazines in Britain, France, Cyprus, and the Gulf Arab countries.

I am proud of my contribution to the publication of the "Strategic Bulletin" issued every two weeks, headed by Ahmed Khaldi and Hussein Jaafar Agha, and distributed by mail to subscribers every two weeks, focusing on strategic issues, whether in the political or military field... For example, the sixth issue of the eighth volume, issued on April 16, 1987, included: an editorial entitled: "The Real Tasks of the Palestinian National Council", and the article discussed the necessity of democracy and that the PLO should become a shield that protects the people, not the other way around, and not split due to the diversity of political and military methods of resistance, and of course, the necessity of unity that has not been achieved even in 2025 and may never be achieved. Other titles include: "On Syrian-Iranian Relations" and "Information on Libya's External Military Relations", "France's Refusal to Provide Syria with Advanced Armor", "Decline in Western Military Exports", and articles on China and its relations with Israel, and other issues not discussed in daily and traditional media.

It is difficult to go into extensive details about an experience of more than two decades of work and life in Britain, but I will briefly touch on some of what interests the public and concerns this good citizen. As a media professional and a specialist in military and strategic affairs, which was of course known to all Arab embassies in London as they follow the media, and sometimes social or professional meetings took place between me and some embassy members... Thus, some of them would contact me and ask me to do a study on a specific academic military topic in Arabic or English. I knew immediately that they wanted the graduation study required by the famous British military college "Sandhurst", which teaches the leaders of armies, princes, and officers... Without providing a good study on a specific topic agreed between the teacher and the student, the

student is considered failed and does not receive a graduation certificate... -In short- some embassy workers would turn to me, and I would complete the required task, and thus, the student who did not write the research would have to read and understand the content in order to answer the exam committee's inquiries.

For my part, it was not difficult to know who the student was without asking anyone, but I will not add to that what I know. Some Arab princes and wealthy individuals had a relationship with media institutions; some of them would provide support voluntarily, from devotion, and in hope of praise, while others would pay money to avoid scandals that newspapers had picked up about their practices in Britain, a country which guarantees in its laws freedom of publication by any member of the British Journalists' Union as long as the information is true, and I belonged to the union like any other accredited media professional.

Sometimes we were surprised by an increase in the monthly salary, and when we asked, we were told that so-and-so had donated to the newspaper and asked that the workers get a share... I accepted that because my work and writings had no relation to them or their countries, and therefore, their donation would not affect my writings.

The practice was not confined to princes and sheikhs, but also republican countries like Iraq under Saddam Hussein, Libya under Muammar Gaddafi, Yasser Arafat, and many others who paid newspapers to support them through subscriptions to issues that did not even reach their countries. There were also princes who distributed money in pouches, like the days of the caliphs who scattered pouches on poets after praise... And the editor-in-chief told me that he attended a party given by an Arab prince who put a gold pound at the bottom of each champagne glass, and told the guests that whoever drinks the glass gets the pound... Of course, they all drink, even without the gold temptation.

The other thing I would like to touch on about my experience and observations in London, as it still carries lessons that the Arab citizen in general and the Palestinian in particular have not yet grasped, is the invasion of Kuwait. The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait began on August 2, 1990, and was the beginning of the second Gulf War, which ended with the destruction of the Iraqi regime, the devastation of the country, and the displacement of its people. After the defeat of Kuwait on

August 4, 1990, Iraq occupied the country militarily for the next six months. The invasion was internationally condemned, and the UN Security Council adopted several resolutions urging Iraq to withdraw from Kuwaiti territory...

I was at the peak of my media work and dedicating my efforts to support the first intifada, which had been ongoing since the beginning of 1988, and I immediately condemned President Saddam's move -especially- since he claimed and confirmed his support for the Palestinian cause; invading an Arab country by another Arab country justifies the invasion and occupation of any militarily strong neighbor of a weak one... Also, any war in the region near oil will draw global and media attention away from the intifada to the new event. Add to that the hope we had in Iraq, its army, and its scientists as a supporter of the Arab nation and the Palestinian cause.

Personally, I had supported Saddam in the war against Iran, then I objected and criticized the Ba'ath regime and Saddam's clique after the end of the war for their actions against Iraqi opponents, and for fabricating democracy and elections in the style of the other Ba'ath regime in Damascus. I could not accept Saddam's regime's approach -theoretically- and also as a result of what I heard and saw... I will tell you a farce that occurred in the first and second Iraqi elections: In the penultimate referendum for the presidency, which took place on October 15, 1995, the president was allocated 99.66% of the votes... The number of those who did not vote for Saddam was determined, and an official statement was issued, threatening that the names of the opponents would be known and they would be punished for their act!! Imagine this mentality, and why they even hold elections, and what donkey in the world would consider them a democratic state? The most ridiculous and stupid thing is that in the second elections in the country's modern history, on October 16, 2002, according to official statistics, the turnout was 100% of the total voters. About 11,445,638 voters had registered to vote on election day, and all of them voted for Saddam!! The number represents the total number of registered eligible voters... And all of them went out to the polling stations, no sick, disabled, or insane person was absent from the vote!

The media and Arab journalists in London were divided into supporters and opponents of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, and I had no doubt in opposing the invasion, and I even boycotted those I considered friends and colleagues and

separated from them socially... They fell in my eyes when they supported the invasion of Kuwait, and I remember that during an attempt to coordinate a unified Palestinian media stance, I heard one of them say: "... sister of the West Bank" when I told him that the invasion of Kuwait would harm our people -especially- in the West Bank... As a result, I was convinced that some are slaves to money, not principle. In general, what I expected happened, as 400,000 Palestinian employees and workers were expelled from the Gulf countries, and the economy of the West Bank, which relied on the salaries of those expelled, was harmed.

The division was also on the popular level, and when the war to liberate Kuwait began on January 17, 1991, with Arab political and military participation and American-British military momentum, the Arab popular support for Saddam tipped, -especially- since he began launching missiles at Israel, 37 in total... Here, the Palestinian people sided with the loser, (the position was repeated on October 7) and then we saw with the rest of the world how the Iraqi army collapsed during the unorganized withdrawal, and how Iraqi missiles rained gold and benefits on Israel for its silence and for leaving the matter to the Western-Arab coalition.

At that time, as now, there were those who believed that chaos and dependency could liberate Palestine... It would have been better if the masses had been aware, and we had stood against the principle of invasion and occupation by force, and also if we had stood at a distance from regimes and organizations that do not follow a proper democratic approach.

In general, Arab officials realized the importance of benefiting from their agreement to participate in the war against the Iraqi regime; they set conditions that Washington had to accept to win the Arabs to their side... The first condition was the liberation of Kuwait and not occupying Iraq or destroying its armies, the second condition was a promise from President Bush Sr. to achieve peace and solve the Palestinian issue, and the third condition was that Israel would not intervene in the military operation against Iraq.

Bush was inaugurated on January 20, 1989, as Ronald Reagan's successor. He entered the White House during a period of change in the world; the fall of the Berlin Wall came early in his presidency, followed by the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, and the president ordered military operations in Panama and the

Persian Gulf, and at one point, he broke the record with a high approval rating from the American people, reaching 89%.

President Bush set four immediate goals for the war: "Iraq must withdraw from Kuwait completely, immediately, and unconditionally, the legitimate government of Kuwait must be restored, stability in the Persian Gulf must be ensured, and American citizens abroad must be protected". Then the president set a fifth long-term goal to respond to Arab demands; he said during his speech to Congress: "From these turbulent times, we can achieve our fifth goal, a new world order, a new era, freer from the threat of terror, stronger in the pursuit of justice, and more secure in the search for peace, an era in which the nations of the world, in the East and West, North and South, can live in harmony... A world where the rule of law replaces the rule of the jungle, where nations recognize the shared responsibility for freedom and justice, and where the strong respect the strong and the weak".

This was an early signal for the peace process in the Middle East, and the president did not clarify more than that to avoid opposition from the Zionist lobby in Congress and the media.

The forces of the Arab and Western allies breached the Iraqi lines and pushed towards Kuwait City, while the forces on the western side of the country intercepted the retreating Iraqi army. Bush decided to stop the attack after only 100 hours. Critics described this decision as premature, allowing Iraqi forces to escape. Bush responded by saying he wanted to reduce American casualties. Opponents also accused Bush of continuing the attack and pushing Saddam's army to Baghdad and then removing him from power. Bush explained that he did not give an order to overthrow the Iraqi government because "it would have incurred inestimable human and political costs... We would have had to occupy Baghdad and in effect rule Iraq".

Of course, he didn't say that he had agreed with the Arab allies not to destroy the Iraqi army, which happened later in 2003 during the presidency of Bush Jr., 12 years after the Kuwait liberation war. Bush Sr.'s popularity soared after the successful attack and the liberation of Kuwait. In addition, President Bush and Secretary of State Baker felt that the coalition's victory had increased the United States' standing abroad and believed that there was an opportunity to use the

political capital generated by the coalition's victory to revive the Arab-Israeli peace process.

The administration immediately returned to the Arab-Israeli peace process after the end of the second Gulf War. This later led to the Madrid Conference in 1991, and after strong pressure from Bush on Israel which included cutting part of their financial funding, Prime Minister Shamir yielded and went to the Madrid Conference and subsequent meetings across world capitals... Bush fulfilled another promise he had made to the Arabs before the war.

I have spoken before about the Madrid Conference and how Dr. Haidar Abdel-Shafi became the head of the delegation and Faisal Husseini the undeclared 'person of responsibility' for the delegation due to Israel's objection to the participation of any member of the PLO, or from outside the occupied territories, or even from Jerusalem residents, which Israel considered non-occupied territories... But I didn't talk about many other things and I will touch here on only some of them.

The Madrid Conference was followed by two parallel tracks of negotiations. The bilateral track aimed to reach peace treaties between Israel and the three neighboring countries, Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria, as well as with the Palestinians, and the multilateral track dealt with common regional issues such as: water, environment, arms control, refugees, and development, where it was decided to form multiple negotiation committees that meet in various capitals.

I searched in the Gaza Strip for some experts in the topics of these committees, and I nominated some of them for membership through letters to Abu Ammar, who actually decided to appoint some of them, and they stayed in connection with me and contacted me about what was happening in the meetings.

The main thing they agreed on from several committees and informed me about, is that Abu Ala Qurei visited them and informed them of what was happening, but they told me they were surprised that he was urging them to reject the agreement forever, even though the Israelis sometimes agreed to Palestinian requests!!

I was surprised by this behavior from Abu Ala, but I was bound neither to reveal or even publicly question or inform Arafat about what was happening... I had to

deduce at that time what everyone later knew, that Mahmoud Abbas and Abu Ala and others from the PLO were negotiating secretly with the Israelis in Oslo, while our delegation was negotiating with the Israelis in Washington, headed by Dr. Haidar with Faisal's participation, and while other committees were negotiating across the world.

When the news spread and the matter was exposed, Dr. Haidar was angry and resigned from the head of the delegation, but the other members continued their work despite its obvious marginality. The ridiculous thing is that the Israeli delegation in Oslo knew in advance what the Palestinian delegation was planning, and the answers were ready, and they claim that they are smart and know how the Palestinian negotiator thinks... The truth is that before the negotiations, they had delivered to Mahmoud Abbas a chair with transmission devices and placed it in his office in Tunis, and they had also planted listening and transmission devices in the cars of the PLO men, and the matter was discovered after it was too late by the Tunisian authorities during a routine scan of the PLO offices, and of course, those who facilitated this task belonged to Abu Mazen's men and the PLO.

Thus, the members of the Washington delegation and the multiple committees were negotiating with dignity, while Abu Ala was inciting negativism, and Abu Mazen was concluding humiliating, unstudied agreements in Oslo that quickly failed under the pressure of reality, and it was proven that the Paris Economic Agreement, which was supervised by Qurei, was not worth a handful of dirt, and was full of breaches, errors, and harm to the Palestinian side.

The third thing I would like to mention about my time in Britain is that after about a decade of work and life in London, reasons accumulated to move to live in the British county of Kent, on the coast of the channel separating Britain from France, about an hour's drive from the capital. Most of my work was originally done from home, through increasingly advanced communication devices, and it turned out that my daughter Lyla was suffering from asthma due to the poor quality of the air in the capital... Thus, we sold our house in London and bought a farm in Kent, with a large house that was not approved for living in. We bought the farm without a bank loan this time, due to the high price of our house in London, and my wife worked hard to repair the farmhouse, and gradually, we finished repairing it

together with engineers and specialized workers, and it became officially approved as living accommodation.

One day, I met the milk distributor in the morning, and we had a general conversation that ended with him telling me that his wife had bought him, as a birthday gift, a local flight ticket for one hour. This meant he could sit in the pilot's seat with the instructor next to him in a four-seat single-engine plane, and he could put his hands on the controls during takeoff and landing and do some maneuvers in the air under the instructor's guidance.

I took the details from the milkman and went to the local airport to inquire and try myself, and I ended up registering for a flight training course, and later obtaining a private pilot's license, for day and night. The course lasted for several months, and I obtained the pilot's license after 40 hours of flight training, and exams in flight that include a solo flight, landing and takeoff at three airports chosen by the instructor and disclosed to you just half an hour before takeoff, and you have to return to the designated airport... The theoretical exams cover seven subjects, each included in a book of about 300 pages, on flight mechanics, aircraft mechanics, aviation law and the pilot, recognizing weather, clouds, and winds, wireless communications, and air navigation devices, and more...

I flew later in several countries wherever I went for visits and tourism, with a total of a hundred hours of flight, many of which were over Andalusia following the lines and routes of the Muslim conquest and then their withdrawal routes... That was when I decided to move later to Andalusia and started writing books.

The flight course started with thirty people who wanted to learn, but they started dropping out until the number stabilized at eight, and my desire to fly was what kept me going and pushed me to work harder to get the license, so that I could take off whenever I wanted on a trip alone or with a friend or family members for an hour or more.

When I was a young boy, I used to dream in my sleep that I was rising in the air, and that gravity had no effect on me, and sometimes I was unable to land on my feet... I think these dreams started to haunt me after the tripartite aggression on the Gaza Strip, and the dreams started with crocodiles on the wall of our house preventing me from going out, and then I started dreaming of physical flight... In

general, there is a quasi-theory that says that all people dream of their ability to fly during childhood and youth, and that is because human genes are linked to extraterrestrial genes, but that would constitute an unnecessary digression.

On September 11, 2001, I was living on our farm in Kent, where our large house had become beautiful and elegant, with a high valuation after a decade of being lived in and repaired; it seemed no longer consistent with the annual income on which I paid taxes to the British government. The very next day, I received a letter from the government that I was under tax audit... I immediately linked the letter to what had happened in New York, the attacks on the towers by planes the previous day, and of course, as a pilot, I expected surveillance or some call to accountability, especially since accusations were being directed at Arabs within days, and then focused on those of Islamic orientation... I was convinced that the Israelis were the perpetrators in an attempt to involve the Americans in a sweeping war against the Arabs.

The incident was designed to blame the Arabs from the first moments. We have to imagine the unlikelihood of the first evidence, as they found the passports of the accused Arab youths below the destroyed, burned tower, which was in a state of chaos, with people throwing themselves from the upper floors, and a fire that had killed dozens of firefighters, and burnt up millions of office papers in the skyscraper... In the first few hours they found the passports of the accused Arab youths, untouched by fire; they had flown from their pockets, survived the explosion and fire in the plane, and were saved from all the accompanying disasters to land below the building.

This reminds me of the popular saying: If the speaker is crazy, let the listener be wise... But the planning, the location of the incident, a media eager for revenge, the fingers of accusation and evidence, everything was ready, waiting for the moment to launch... No one even commented on the fact that Jews were rare among the victims of the two towers, although New York is full of Jews, especially the offices and financial institutions; there is no power but God.

I reflected deeply on the Manhattan attack, which they accused Al-Qaeda of, and I came to the conviction that the perpetrators had a high degree of knowledge and possessed extraordinary technical equipment and capabilities... I did not accept the

theory that trainees hijacked the four complex passenger planes and piloted them with such precision to hit specific buildings in a city that looks like a forest of skyscrapers.

I reviewed more of the characteristics of the aircraft used for the attack, which were very modern aircraft equipped with autopilot and direct communication devices via satellite... At that time, remote control technology was available, and civil aircraft had the characteristics of flying on automatic throughout the flight and landing without the pilot's intervention... All the perpetrators had to do, was possess technology that cancels the human pilot's ability to intervene, while giving the autopilot the target to head to with extreme precision... It was later proven, as we see now, that Israel has very advanced capabilities in the field of remote guidance and control of aircraft, and as we saw, the Manhattan attack benefited Israel strategically, security-wise, and politically, and led to the destruction of the Iraqi army and Washington's fight against Islamic organizations, and deepened American trust with Israel, which became the biggest beneficiary.

All those events and the chaos that spread, and the throwing of accusations and incitement against Arabs, pushed me to put the farm and house up for sale, even after it became clear that the tax audit was due to an error made by the accountant who reviews and submits our records, and we forced him to bear the result of the error and acknowledge it to the tax authority... We sold the farm for four times the purchase price, and bought a large apartment in the nearby city.

I discussed the matter with my wife, and we saw that Lyla and Nora had entered the arena of life and become independent after graduating from university, and therefore, we decided to move to live in Andalusia, a region that we had visited several times before. And there was another subjective reason for moving from cold Britain, as my wife had begun to suffer from joint pain, and we thought that Andalusia was dry and would be more suitable for her health. After four years, we were obliged to accept that, on the contrary, it is a country with high humidity because it is close to the sea... Thus, we returned to thinking about and making plans to live in Jordan; where we have relatives, an excellent health sector, and a climate which is so dry that there is widespread water scarcity.

Continuing as I have written so far, breaking the chronological sequence of events and jumping to the present and then taking off again to the past, I want to talk about two things, the first is personal, and the second is general. This week, the grandchildren of my sister Andalieb arrived in Amman, they are the children of Mohammad and Asia, the child Salam, five years old, and his sister Salma, three years old. All of them suffered from the massacre in Gaza and they lived there for several months before being able to leave for Egypt where they are now suffering from issues of residency and school enrollment, and therefore, the children had to visit Amman so that they could return after a few days and get a passport stamp that will enable them to complete some administrative procedures during the two week validity of the stamp..

Such concerns have accompanied Gazans for decades; their situation is different from Palestinians from the West Bank who hold Jordanian citizenship. Salam speaks in the Gazan dialect, and Salma speaks in Egyptian, and both of them visit school and kindergarten in Cairo, and this has made me think about the speed of children's adaptation to their surroundings, and the importance of upbringing and guidance from parents if they want their children to hold on to certain values and to their heritage; without coexistence, or at least guidance, children become connected to their immediate environment to a greater or lesser degree..

This is not what I wanted to talk about specifically, but rather my observations about myself after this visit. I took the mother and the two children to visit the Royal Car Museum, and the Children's Museum, both in Al-Hussein Gardens. Salam and Salma were greatly interested and responsive in both museums, and I had to explain, help them, and follow along with their mother, who was taking many spontaneous photos and videos. At the end of the day, after six continuous hours of walking and following them around, I watched the photos and videos. My mind at the time, and my preoccupation with the children were deceiving me with an image of abundant health and activity, which is generally what I feel most of the time... But the photos and videos -specifically- presented me with a different image of what I know, or think I know about myself; I am, according to the confirmation of voice and image, an old man, and I must convince my mind of that and behave accordingly, before my grandchildren arrive in the spring for a visit.

The second issue, which is general, is that my stomach almost turned over more than once as I watched crazy man Trump escalate his statement about the deportation of the Gaza Strip residents, as he floated the idea of occupying the sector militarily because it is "beautiful and can become the Riviera of the East for the world's rich", and this crazy man does not even mention Gazan residents as human beings with rights... What turns my stomach is that the Arab rulers, officials, and influential people, and opinion leaders did not respond quickly to Trump when he demanded that they present alternatives if they refused his demands.

-Of course- Trump has no right to say what he did, but since he did say so; it would only have been right and proper to respond officially and though the people to him by proposing the only acceptable alternative, to return the residents of the Gaza Strip to their villages from which they were displaced in 1948, this being the right of return recognized in UN Resolution 194... True, their return to their villages and cities would put them under Israeli political and security authority, and thus, deprive them of the dream, or nightmare, of establishing a Palestinian state, but that would be acceptable to them, and thus solve several problems at once for Israel, America, and the Palestinians.

The only alternative proposed previously by President Sisi is to deport the residents to the Negev desert until Israel finishes its work eliminating the resistance, and then they could return to the sector, as he said, refusing to receive them in Sinai, and refusing the offer of the German Chancellor to build cities for Gazans in Sinai.

Why then was no proposal to implement Resolution 194 presented by the Arab League, for example... Why stay within the box presented by Trump or Netanyahu; Resolution 194 also solves the problem of the presence of armed men and secures Israel, and prevents the establishment of a Palestinian state in Gaza, and can provide an example for solving the issue in the West Bank... In short, instead of a two-state solution, a one-state democratic, secular solution is implemented!

Thus, the Palestinians lose their resistance, Hamas, their president, Abu Mazen, and the national authority, as the price for living in a democratic state and solving the problem of return.

Among the other solutions that should have been presented as alternatives to Trump's proposals, are the solution of temporarily relocating the sector's residents to an American state with a suitable climate, close to that of Gaza, where they can learn science, politics, and democracy, rather than deporting them to the Sinai desert, Jordan, or Africa... And Washington can bear the costs of the reconstruction, especially since its weapons and bombs caused the destruction, and after rehabilitating the sector physically, and rehabilitating its residents in the United States, they can be returned to their land, empowered with democratic governance and elected local authorities, ensuring the continuation of the election process in due time and in a proper manner.

There is another apposite solution, which is the solution of two migrations, to deport the Jews to the countries of their birth or that of their parents, or to take them to the United States that loves and supports them, and then the Palestinians can return to the places of their birth and the birth of their parents and ancestors, and thus each party returns to their loved ones, with the guarantee of complete touristic freedom for Jews in Palestine, and then the Gaza Strip can be presented as a gift to President Trump and his children and grandchildren to develop and turn into the desired Riviera.

There is also a third solution, since Trump and his administration are impressed with the Gaza Strip; they can propose a UN resolution authorizing Washington to mandate Palestine within the borders of the 1947 partition plan, and the mandate will continue until the Palestinian people are qualified to govern themselves, rely on their economy, and live in peace with their neighbors, knowing that the partition plan allows Arabs and Jews to live in each other's areas with full freedom and rights, but each party participates in the elections of their country even if they live and work in the other country.

If Trump wants to temporarily remove the residents of the sector until reconstruction is done quickly and smoothly; this is something that can be agreed upon, and all those who supported the bombing and destruction with weapons and politics, such as Britain, France, and Germany, can join the effort and bear the cost of reconstruction to ensure that destruction does not happen again... But if the goal is to get rid of the owners of the land and give it to their enemies; this, as history testifies, will be met with souls and lives, and will inevitably be met with

destruction that will escalate and continue for centuries to come... This is a historical certainty.

The Lesson of Andalusia

Truces do not end conflicts; a truce occurs under certain conditions, such as political pressure, exhaustion of both parties to the conflict, or one party's desire to set a trap for the other at an opportune moment; war returns as long as a peace agreement is not reached to end the state of conflict.

In the case of the Gaza Strip, there have been several destructive Israeli attacks, the latest of which was what happened after the Al-Aqsa operation in October 2023... Every previous truce was violated and destruction returned, followed by a new truce and an agreement to rebuild, and then the destruction of what was rebuilt... The important thing here is that those who rebuild are the Arabs and the international community, and those who destroy again and again are the Israelis, without being fined anything because they did not suffer a military defeat to impose fines as part of a peace or surrender agreement, as is customary between warring nations... Instead, Israel destroys and then supervises the reconstruction paid for by others and continues the siege!!

Before addressing the reason for this contradiction, I would like to say that, according to my observations and experiences, we return to a retreating point to start rebuilding again after the truce, and therefore, the money and effort required each time are much greater than before, and we continue the same approach after the truce. Without reaching a guaranteed peaceful solution; we return to the cycle of destruction and suffering, and then return from a lower level with more losses in politics, geography, and society... This is what happened after the wars of 2008, then 2012, followed by 2014, and into 2023, which lasted 15 months until a temporary truce agreement was reached, which includes a clause talking about reconstruction without specifying who will pay the material costs estimated at \$100 billion... How I wished the Hamas negotiator had demanded that Israel be fined the cost of reconstruction... Just trying to ask for that and announcing it to the world would have affected the Israeli position.

These attacks are taking place while the Islamic Resistance Movement is raising the slogan of complete liberation of Palestine, and the Palestinian Authority in the West Bank is raising the slogan of a Palestinian state alongside Israel on the borders of June 4, 1967... And this is what generates the internal Palestinian conflict, and this is what Israel uses to claim that Hamas is seeking to destroy it, and therefore, as it claims, it is responding with the preemptive destruction of Hamas and its surroundings.

This is how the Gaza Strip was destroyed before the latest truce... On Wednesday, January 15, 2025, an announcement was made about the agreement, on the 467th day of the Israeli genocidal war on the sector, with American, British, and German support, which left more than 156,000 Palestinian martyrs and wounded, most of them children and women, and more than 11,000 missing, amidst massive and comprehensive destruction and famine that has killed dozens of children and the elderly, in one of the worst humanitarian disasters in the world.

(The truce did not last and the killing resumed after two months).

I record my thoughts here during the course of events, while also remembering my actions from the past as a good citizen and, for the record, those memories and these contemporary events have the same content and concerns, and since you, dear reader, will read this in due course; I would like to tell you the truth about some matters now.

What led us to this temporary truce is not in-fighting, nor Arab rockets or the like, but the innate justice of our cause, which has always been acknowledged around the world, thanks to the Palestinians' explanation of their cause wherever they go... And then there is the direct factor represented by the harshness of the aggression on the one hand and the people's endurance in Gaza, enforced destruction on one side, and then the factors that contributed to the steadfastness, such as Egypt, whether through the Rafah crossing or secretly through tunnels. Of course, we must include Egypt's rejection of the idea of displacing Gazans to Sinai in any way and at any cost... If Egypt had accepted the temporary displacement, the Gaza Strip would definitely have been annexed by Israel, and if Egypt had opened the borders, people would have left to protect their lives and would not have been able to return.

As for the direct reason for imposing that truce on Israel; it was the position of President Trump even before taking office in the White House... This is a glaring fact, and without that position, the destruction would have continued until the displacement, and this is what Israel was hoping for and betting on, and the Biden administration was delaying it throughout a year of war... The Israelis acknowledged that one negotiating session with Trump's envoy accomplished what Biden failed to do throughout a year... All of this was discussed at the time, but the unknown element is the reason for Trump's position, which surprised everyone at the time, and it was said in interpretations that Trump and his team are more Israeli than the Israelis, and that this act of theirs came to save Netanyahu and get him down from the tree... And there is an observation I would like to address before explaining what I think Trump's position is and the real reason behind it.

When Trump's envoy Steven Witkoff called Netanyahu's office from Doha on a Friday evening to inform them of his arrival and meeting with the Prime Minister on Saturday morning, they tried to postpone the meeting citing the Jewish holiday; Witkoff told them "I shit on Saturday, arrange the meeting", -and indeed- the meeting took place and Netanyahu was forced to accept the truce because Trump had special calculations.

This sentence about Saturday would usually exposes the speaker to media and legal hostility and accusations of anti-Semitism... But Steven is a Jew and is familiar with the Israeli propaganda game, and it seems that the Mossad does not have any sexual blackmail material against him as it does against others and perhaps against Trump himself.

He was born in New York in 1957 and after graduating from law school in 1983, Steven Witkoff worked in the real estate law firm Dreyer & Traub, where Donald Trump was one of his clients, and they became friends in a restaurant in New York City after working together on a business deal, and Trump appointed him in 2024 as a special envoy to the Middle East.

All that was said about the meeting with Netanyahu was that it was difficult and fruitful, and other embellishments, and the Western, American, and Israeli media did not mention Steven's shit, that was swallowed in silence.

Before that, on Wednesday, December 11, Witkoff was visiting Prince Mohammed bin Salman for the first time, and the US-Saudi relations and the war on Gaza were discussed and, of course, the issue of normalization with Israel... Trump and the Prince originally agree on normalization within conditions that Washington would fulfill for Riyadh, including ensuring a solution to the Palestinian issue by establishing a state, and this is what everyone knows and Riyadh has repeatedly confirmed.

Before that, the billionaire Witkoff visited the UAE and participated in a conference on cryptocurrencies, and he is a partner with Trump in adopting a cryptocurrency in the name of the president and they have a company in London that works in the field of real estate in the Gulf countries... Witkoff also met in Abu Dhabi with the UAE National Security Adviser, Sheikh Tahnoun, and they discussed the war on Gaza... Sheikh Tahnoun's position is known for his rejection of the Israeli aggression...

Axios revealed: Currently, the Saudi Crown Prince and his senior advisers have said in secret and public in recent months that they are still interested in reaching such an agreement (normalization), but they have emphasized the only main condition of the kingdom, which is Israel's commitment to an irreversible and time-bound path to establishing a Palestinian state.

(The Saudi position later developed in conjunction with France to hold a two-state solution conference and France's announcement of its intention to recognize a Palestinian state, which prompted many European countries to follow the French position.)

We are thus faced with common financial interests between President Trump and his Middle East adviser, Witkoff, which intersect with existing and future deals in the Gulf Arab countries, and therefore, there is a need to pressure Netanyahu to stop the genocide, thanks to the president's request to satisfy future business partners who want a solution to the Palestinian issue, especially after the weakening of Hamas's military power and the reduction of Iran's role in Lebanon and the end of Iranian presence in Syria... This is the literal truth, and we should not indulge in counter-narratives about the Gulf Arabs abandoning the cause... They are forced to normalize because they believe that Washington protects their

countries and their centers, but Riyadh is seeking to achieve a political solution in exchange for normalization, and the temporary truce between Israel and Hamas was the first fruit... As for a long-term truce and solution, this will not be achieved before Hamas changes its political and liberation goals, or is neutralized militarily even if it continues politically, otherwise, after that truce or any other one, reconstruction will not be achieved, and we will return to destruction and the cycle of violence, until the people of Gaza tire of the situation and act either by leaving the country or seeking to remove Hamas from it.

Israel, Washington, the West, and Arab governments do not want a political or military Hamas presence in Palestine, and therefore, a truce and a real solution will not be achieved before the removal of Hamas... or of course, an Israeli military defeat... This is my conclusion, based on the existing data, and this is what will control the political and military course until the outcome is either the public defeat of Hamas or, of course, an Israeli defeat. I have a negative concern that Hamas's obstruction of the two-state solution may exempt Riyadh from insisting on establishing a Palestinian state, and thus, it will proceed with normalization without meeting that condition; Riyadh cannot be more Palestinian than the Palestinians, and it will not demand a Palestinian state from the river to the sea, and it will not harm its interests while Palestinian factions are quarreling and competing for power and dominance... Perhaps that is why Trump proposed the idea of relocating the people of Gaza and turning the area into a tourist resort, meaning to make Hamas understand the possibility of changing the land and reality by force.

As you know, I have decided to publish this book without corrections to the events and inclusion of subsequent developments, so that the reader can understand the time period that bears witness to event and reactions thereto. I believe that it is impossible to implement Trump's vision, which he announced after taking office, because it is at the very least illogical; he wants to establish a resort in the entire sector, knowing that the cost of removing debris and building infrastructure is estimated at more than \$100 billion, and Washington is already bankrupt, and Trump issued an order on his first day in office to cut internal and external support for everyone, meaning from cutting grants to American students to aid to countries in the American orbit; so how and from where will the reconstruction of the sector be funded? What about public and private ownership of land in the sector, will he

plunder it? And is there any American or international law that allows this? It seems that Netanyahu whispered the idea to him for several reasons, most importantly to restore cohesion to the right-wing government that was happy and jubilant, and Trump's proposal shook the entirety of the region's countries, the Authority, and Hamas, and could possibly push them to agree on a system of governance in Gaza with Arab participation, in addition to that, the Arab protest against the plan makes it easier for Trump to escape from contributing to reconstruction and relieving Washington of the repercussions of participating in the destruction of Gaza. It was striking to see the exchange of silly smiles between Netanyahu and Trump as they hummed and sang this idea and talked about the destruction in Gaza as if it belonged in the realm of extraterrestrial beings. Sometimes I think that Trump is suffering from a non-traditional type of dementia as he jumps between contradictory positions easily. The fact is that he does not care about the Arabs and does not consider protecting any of them, he just wants to push everyone by force or consent to obey Israel. In general, and from observing Trump's words and actions in his first term and the first months of his second term; he appears to have adopted the narrative of the crazy president who must be obeyed in order to avoid his evil, and he is not the only president who has followed this thug-like path as a gang leader who lies to trap countries and individuals.

It is appropriate here to return to the works of the good citizen in Andalusia, where we migrated at the beginning of 2004, and the story of this country is actually the reverse of the Palestinian-Zionist story and a lesson that needs to be learned. The Arabs opened, or rather occupied, Andalusia in 711 AD (93 AH), and were expelled from there by force in 1492. The end of Islamic rule in Andalusia was not the result of a decisive battle, it was a retreat that commenced in the moment that their advance, which included all the Spanish lands and had penetrated deep into southern France, was stopped. The local forces returned to their previous concerns and were then induced by the Papal Church to go on the offensive, then retreat generation after generation, and they called this tactic by a unique term that has taken up permanent residence in the Spanish mentality and is known to young and old as the "Reconquista" which means reconquest. The second factor in the failure was the Arab disputes that spread from the first year in Andalusia, and developed into conspiracies and alliances of the various Arab emirates with the forces of the enemies against each other, until after eight centuries of retreat from the peak

Sultan Abu Abdallah the Small signed the surrender of the Alhambra Palace and departed to Morocco... On the way to his withdrawal, the Sultan turned back and looked at the Alhambra; he cried, and here his mother Aisha responded, saying: "Cry like a woman for a kingdom you did not conserve like a man."

The lesson here is that religious occupation does not last, no matter how long it continues, especially where the geography and demography differ from its original surroundings. In the cases of Andalusia and Palestine, there are common factors that distinguish them from successful occupations, such as the European occupation of the American continent or Australia, where the number of colonizers exceeded the number of indigenous people, and the differences between the two groups were vast, and the time and place were suitable for the success of the occupation in North America and Australia, but all subsequent experiences across Asia, Africa, and Latin America failed, despite the destruction caused by Western colonizers, and even the experience of colonizing Andalusia ended in failure, despite the long centuries and the participation of Arabs in governance with Christians and Jews. Jews considered their era in Islamic Andalusia the golden age of Judaism, which had no precedent, and the tragedies that befell them occurred after the end of that phase and their migration to the Arab Maghreb and Europe. That was the lesson, and the conclusion is that foreign occupation does not last, and it cannot be eliminated except by continuing the struggle and developing new methods until it is overcome... There is also a hypothetical conclusion about Israel's chance of success in the long run, which would have been realizable if they had resorted to kindness, understanding, and cooperation with the Palestinian owners of the land... But their racist, settler, occupation ideology, based on lies and myths, and aimed from the beginning at exterminating the Palestinians and deceiving and dominating the surrounding Arab framework by gradual expansion once they had the human resources... This ideology is what drives the struggle between life and death, and in every battle, it is proven that they rely on the entire West, and they have neither psychological superiority or even stability, without that support which is based on pure racism; only within this vision can the diverse and desperate Western support for Zionism in the Arab world be understood, or the unity between Netanyahu and Trump in proposing the idea of seizing Gaza and dispersing its people in a way that contradicts any custom other than the law of the jungle... And this is what will prolong the duration and class of conflict, but it will

not end in their favor... The conflict imposed on the region may deepen the backwardness and deepen mystical visions, but the result will not be in favor of the West, which, together with Zionism has failed for more than a century to secure the occupation of Palestine alone!

Andalusia is now a region, or province, in southern Spain, bordered to the north by the region of Castile, to the south by the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea and Gibraltar, to the east by the region of Murcia, and to the west by Portugal, which was part of the Islamic West state known as Andalusia, which then included all of Spain and Portugal to form the Iberian Peninsula. Spain now has an area of 505,000 square kilometers and a population of 46.7 million, including 5.7 million immigrants, and the languages in use, according to nationality are: Spanish (Castilian), Catalan, Valencian (one of the Catalan dialects), Galician (related to the Galicia region), and Basque. All these nationalities, along with Arabs, Berbers, Jews, and others, coexisted at times and squabbled at others in this region, which was known as Andalusia, its first capital was Seville, then Cordoba became the capital at the beginning of the reign of the Umayyad prince Abd al-Rahman the Outsider. Spain is considered one of the last European countries to have freed itself from totalitarian rule, after being ruled by General Franco from the end of the Civil War in 1939 until his death in 1975. The country then entered a phase of democratic transformation, becoming a constitutional monarchy, with Juan Carlos as the king of Spain, and the country witnessed radical economic, social, and political changes, thanks to its accession to the European market and receiving aid for construction and catching up with the European pace... Europe had made it a condition for accepting Spain's membership in the union to implement freedom of religion; until that time, Catholicism was the only permitted religion, and it was forbidden to practice any other religion, an edict dating from the end of the Islamic era and the forced Christianization of those who were allowed to stay in the country. A new constitution was adopted in 1978, which stipulates respect for national, cultural, linguistic, and religious diversity within a unified Spain, and Islam returned to the country as a recognized religion, and mosques were built, and the return to use of a few old mosques was allowed.

I was familiar with the situation in Spain, specifically the Andalusian region, which witnessed the longest Arab rule, and where the gradual retreat began from the north to the south, followed by expulsion across the sea to Africa. I visited the

region several times before moving to live there, and I always felt as if I was in an Arab country, but it was clean and open, the people love roses and following order, as well as cleanliness and fragrant scents... And when I focused on listening to Spanish words, I discovered the influence of the Arabic language, and then I discovered that the Andalusian Castilian Spanish language contains five thousand words derived from Arabic.

512 years had passed between the departure of Abu Abdallah the Small's entourage from the Alhambra Palace and my arrival with my wife in Andalusia. We had toured many cities and villages looking for a suitable place to live, and I saw the similarity in faces between the residents and the Arabs, and I was ready to bet that the people's genes are identical to common Arab genes. We settled near the city of Malaga and the beach, but on the eastern side, which is less crowded with tourists who are a major source of income.

We had visited Andalusia at the end of its first decade in the new era, and the province was suffering from neglect, its roads were worn out, where they existed at all, the villages and cities were bleak, and when we visited the tourist attractions, we found them empty... For example, we entered the Alhambra and sat in the gardens, and we barely saw any other people, but dogs were more numerous than humans, and this was the case in the city of Medina Azahara on the outskirts of Cordoba. But after about a decade, Andalusia turned into a paradise on earth, and you had to book a ticket days in advance to visit the Alhambra and stay there only for a few hours during the day to avoid congestion and keep the air pure, and also the city of Medina Azahara had become crowded, with tickets and order, and some of the buildings had been restored, and the Spaniards became expert in restoring Umayyad buildings and cities everywhere. The reason for this transformation was the election of the Socialist Party to govern Spain, and as most of the party's leaders were of Andalusian origin, they completely revived the province by flooding it with support.

I collected what was available from authentic Arabic sources and other German, English, and Spanish sources on the history of Andalusia before, during, and after the conquest... I wanted to delve into the historical and geographical material and harness my literary abilities and the opportunity to overfly the area to explore the country, to produce one or more works to document both past and present. Some of

the old references on the history of Andalusia were: Muruj al-Dhahab by al-Masudi, al-Dhakhira fi Mahasin Ahl al-Jazira by Ibn Bassam, al-Bayan al-Mughrib by Ibn 'Idhari al-Marrakushi, Kitab Surat al-Ard by Ibn Hawqal, Tabaqat al-Umam by Sa'id al-Andalusi, Bughyat al-Multamis fi Tarikh Rijal Ahl al-Andalus by Ahmad ibn Yahya ibn Ahmad ibn 'Umira, al-Ihata fi Akhbar Gharnata by Ibn al-Khatib, Tarikh al-Andalus by Ibn al-Kardabus, Tarikh Iftitah al-Andalus by Abu Bakr Ibn al-Qutiya, Jawdat al-Muqtabis by Abu Abdallah al-Humidi, Tawq al-Hamama by Ibn Hazm with love stories and figures from Andalusia from the era of "Rawi Cordoba"... The four parts of al-Bayan al-Mughrib by Ibn 'Idhari were the most help to me; they were laid out like diaries of events. Some of the things that facilitated my task, in addition to my passion and dedication, was the similarity of names between the past and present, names of cities, villages, provinces, and valleys, and thus, it was easy for me to identify the locations mentioned in the original books from Arabic and Spanish references. The similarity came because the country was not empty when the Arab and Berber Muslims entered it... It was called the land of the Vandals, referring to the people who controlled it previously, and from them the Arabs derived the name Andalusia, and thus they Arabized the names of thriving cities like Cordoba, Seville, and so on as well as other existing places, and what the Arabs built later retained its Arabic name... They founded Madrid as a military post and it remained Madrid, and they founded the city of Valladolid which still bears that name, and the same principle applied to cities, villages, and valleys like Wad al-Hijara, or of course the largest river in Andalusia that passes through Cordoba and Seville, the name of which was and still is Guadalquivir, not to forget Granada, or Gibraltar, and hundreds of names and meanings to be found in the sciences, mathematics, and engineering, like قنطرة (Qantara) and قبة (Qubba), and names of crops like الزيتون (al-Zaytun) and الزيت (al-Zayt) and السكر (al-Sukkar), and flowers like الياسمين (al-Yasmin) and الكافور (al-Kafur). It can easily be established that a quarter of the vocabulary of the Spanish language is of Arabic origin.

I decided to visit all possible sites, and examine from the air the roads that were passable for horses and camels, and I was also interested in the mosques that were converted from the inside to churches, but retained their external Islamic Arabic shape. In fact, the matter of converting mosques to churches in Andalusia was preceded by the conversion of churches to mosques by Muslims in the countries

they conquered, such as the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus, and the Great Mosque of Cordoba, which was built on a church, and this is recorded in the reference works as the Muslims took the church and expanded it and gave the Christians a piece of land instead. The important thing here is that the Spaniards did not demolish the mosques after they regained their country and abolished Islam and Judaism there, but converted them into churches... that is, they put in chairs, images of saints, and statues of the Virgin Mary, for whom Catholics have a special reverence. I studied the history of each mosque before visiting it, and although I am not religious at all, I cried in dozens of these mosques and hugged their pillars, and remembered my visit to Al-Aqsa in the early seventies and seeing the Israelis digging under the courtyard... and sometimes I felt anger inside me at the Arab disputes that led to fighting and treason and then to the fall of Andalusia and the retreat and expulsion almost naked... Is our situation now as Arabs, and as Palestinians, in the second month of 2025 similar to the situation of Andalusia in the second half of the retreat? Yes, definitely. The expulsion of Arabs from cities and regions began in the north; they would head to the neighboring Arab emirates to the south; time would pass and the reconquest would be renewed, then came expulsion, persecution, and seizure of all they owned.

The situation continued to deteriorate for several centuries until the remaining people gathered in the southeast of the Iberian Peninsula, which is the region now known as Andalusia, and the last of the fallen emirates was Granada and the Alhambra Palace... Some Arab residents accepted the Spaniards' conditions to convert to Christianity, but suspicions spread that they were doing so to stay in the country and that they were secretly Muslims; so the Christian neighbor would invite his neighbor, who claimed to be Christian, to a lunch in the month of Ramadan and serve him pork, and the priests invented many ways to test the converts and then, knowing that they had occupied Moroccan ports like Ceuta and Melilla so that the Arabs could not use them in future attempts to cross to the Western continent, it was decided to expel everyone to North Africa, and the situation has remained like this until the present day, as these cities are still part of the Spanish state... As for Gibraltar, it belongs to Britain, which refuses to give it up due to its strategic location on the Mediterranean Sea, specifically the canal that connects the sea to the Atlantic Ocean.

All the implementations and methods that were used in Andalusia to expel the Arabs and end Islam are now being used with some differences... The first difference is the speed of implementation now compared to the past, and the second difference is that the enemy is Judaism and Zionism, supported by Western Christian politics with very little church influence, as the President of the United States has taken on himself the role of the Pope, and therefore orders the rest of the West to support Israel, which is now entering the stage of expelling the residents to neighboring countries, where internal conflicts will arise, allowing Israel to dominate the region and then advance whenever it has the human power... and perhaps we will be surprised by the repetition of Arab alliances with the enemy, against their Arab neighbor, and thus the expulsion from good places and reforming in empty areas. The retreat from the peak to the bottom and the resultant dispersion in the era of Andalusia took seven centuries, and we are now facing pressure after only seven decades, and every day the pressure increases and accelerates, and there is no bottom. After 480 years of Catholic rule, followed by dictatorship and the rule of General Franco, Spain took giant steps as a result of joining the Common Market and then the European Union, and this led to a change in political and social ideas that prevailed previously about Arabs and Muslims... They became neutral towards Arabs and recognized the historical ties, and attributed the monuments in their country to those who had built them and restored all the buildings, and cultural tourism and its ancillaries became an important part of their income...

It is noticeable that modern Spain has become closer to the Arabs and more understanding of their issues and offers sympathy and support for the Palestinian cause, and all this is the effect and interaction of the legal, political, and economic changes imposed by joining the European market, which paved the way and led the country quickly to harmony and tolerance with itself and others and to progress and excellence... We should not forget that Spain suffered from a brutal civil war that lasted from May 18, 1936, to April 1, 1939. The warring parties were the Republicans, loyal to the Second Spanish Republic with leftist tendencies, in alliance with the communists and syndicalists, who were fighting a coup by the nationalists, which consisted of an alliance of monarchists, conservatives, and Catholics, led by a military group in which General Francisco Franco soon achieved a superior role. Due to the international political climate at the time, the

war had multiple aspects, including class and religious conflict, confrontation of opposing national identities, and the struggle between military dictatorship and republican democracy, between revolution and counter-revolution, and between fascism and communism, and there were interventions and support from Hitler and Mussolini on behalf of the fascists, and leftist international brigades also joined the fight and joined the leftists... About two million people were killed in this war, including 175,000 leftist fighters and, 130,000 fascist fighters, while the rest were civilians from the areas controlled by each side. At the end of the war, Francisco Franco declared victory and the establishment of his dictatorship, which lasted until his death on November 20, 1975.

Moving away from the distant past and returning to the recent past, I would mention that I completed my first novel, "The Narrator of Cordoba," during the first two years of my stay in Andalusia. It is a large work, approaching 600 pages, and it revolves around the events of Andalusia from its conquest until its fall. The protagonist of the novel narrates the story as a descendant and heir of a family of narrators who used to record events for princes and caliphs... This narrator is my creation, but all the events he narrates, either from his own experiences or from what he learned from his ancestors, are documented in the main Arabic and foreign sources. The novel, which was published by "Dar Al-Farabi" in Beirut in 2006, received dozens of reviews and critiques in major Arab newspapers, which prompted me to establish a website as a reference for the novel and for Andalusia, including information, images, and videos that were not mentioned elsewhere.

Speaking of photography, I collected a large number of films and photos that I took at the sites and from the air, while flying to examine the geography and old roads, and eventually produced 15 documentary video films about the stages of the story of Andalusia, all of which are available to watch on the website of "The Narrator of Cordoba" on the internet: "(الرابط غير متوفر)". The website also includes all my books, more than twenty, which can be read directly for free. After "The Narrator of Cordoba," came the book "The Owl of Barbara," published by Dar al Farabi, Beirut, which is a detailed account of life in the southern Palestinian village of Barbara, based on explanations and stories I heard daily from the residents who were expelled from their village and became displaced in the Barbara camp in Rafah, Gaza Strip, which was destroyed at the end of 2024, like the rest of Rafah, following the October 2023 'flood'...

In the latest development there (in mid-February 2025), during the truce and the exchange of prisoners, 150 new tents were set up on the western sands of Rafah, called the Barbara camp, and work was underway to expand and complete the camp with a school, a health unit, and other facilities. (Two months later, the site was vandalized, and its contents were looted, and it returned to square one, at the hands of local thieves).

During my residence in Andalusia, I also wrote the philosophical novel "Politics in Paradise," which was banned from publication in some Gulf countries, followed by the historical novel "The Temptation of the Throne." After moving from Andalusia, I continued writing and publishing through the same publishing house, and the trilogy "The Edge of Light," "2017, Prisoners of Time," and "Grandchildren and Ancestors" was published, as well as the book "A People of Giants"... Among the later books are: "Contemporary Andalusian Stories," "Gaza, the Tragedy of Psychological Warfare," and "Between Thought and Takfir... Secularism Faces the Absent," and during the period of closure due to Corona, the novel "Abdullah Argues with Azrael" appeared, followed by the book "The Prince, the President, and Secularism" and "What If?" which is one of the books I published after the October 2023 invasion, and similarly, the short story collection "Stories from Life, Heritage, and Imagination" was published in January 2025. I learned later that it, along with the book "Abdullah Argues with Azrael" and the book "The Prince, the President, and Secularism," were banned from participation in the Qatari and Saudi book fairs.

A clown controls the world

The day after taking office in the White House, Trump began to boast, or perhaps to show off; he announced that the Gulf of Mexico had been renamed the American Gulf! He renewed his desire and determination to turn Canada into the 51st state, said he would occupy Panama to control its canal, and confirmed his determination to seize the island of Greenland by force from Denmark, and he also announced an increase in tariffs on China and Europe. All these countries and others responded to Trump with similar words and actions, and therefore, he began to extend the deadline and allow negotiations, after it became clear to him that his tricks and gambles with no backing had failed. One of the interesting responses was that more than a quarter of a million Danes signed a petition to buy California for a billion dollars and distribute Danish pastries to Hollywood for free for life... a hint which the smart understand. Trump is an empty boaster who cannot wage war and attacks his allies and neighbors, and even European countries are proposing to increase NATO forces in Greenland to protect it from any aggression... This means foiling any decision by force that the fool might think of, and putting forward these responses means expelling America from NATO or canceling its leading role... It is clear that this man, because of his successive and contradictory statements and actions and the way he ignores all convention, will need daily renewed evaluation from observers and politicians; nothing is fixed or coherent. Europe's connection to Washington dates back to World War II and the alliance against Nazism and fascism and their defeat, followed by economic and political dependence on Washington... Moscow was an ally against Nazism and fascism, but its adherence to communism created hostility with capitalism in the West... This hostile reality has continued despite the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Eastern communist bloc. I mention this to clarify how President Putin wasted the opportunity to sever Western European relations with Washington after Trump's return to power and his dominance over his allies... Putin could have drawn closer to Europe and found a solution to the Ukraine issue, thus strengthening relations with his neighbors in the West and turning his back on Washington, but the opposite happened, he opposed the West and drew closer to Trump, and yet Putin is a former KGB intelligence operative.

Once some clarity had been obtained and Trump's style and lack of real demands were exposed, Netanyahu whispered to him to try against the Arabs; he said that the Gazans must be deported to Egypt and Jordan and the Gaza Strip seized to turn it into the Riviera of the East and to prevent the Gazans from returning, and that he should seize Gaza even without financial compensation... This is how it is, and it is up to Egypt and Jordan to receive the deportees, and the Gulf countries to finance the migration and settlement and the reconstruction of Gaza, and then hand it to him, this of course would include the investment of billions for free, funded by Saudi Arabia. For more than a week, no serious or humorous Arab response has been issued, nor has there been an announcement of the need to examine Trump's mental health nor a call for a UN meeting or trial, or the propagation of explanatory opinions, exposing Trump's position and why he yields so easily to Netanyahu!

All I want to clarify in this regard is that Trump's meanderings are not a fait accompli that must be submitted to; those who have attacked him have been attacked in kind; he has remained silent, and those who do not fear him and have ignored him have not been moved against, but those who fear him and think he protects them from their neighbors and cousins are, of course, trembling and may make concessions to him. Trump is a reckless gambler, an international swindler... He has declared personal bankruptcy three times to avoid paying taxes, although he was not bankrupt as it appeared each time, but he is skilled in fraud and evading the law. He is officially an ignoramus devoid of human culture or humanitarian impulses... For the record, his grandfather was also a swindler of German origin who worked in the construction of American railroads and began cooking dead mules for his workers, then opened brothels for them, and rose to gambling houses that he bequeathed to his son, who in turn bequeathed them to Trump... All of Trump's fame for decades, in modern American society, was as a swindler and owner of gambling houses.

The current American President, Trump, will not defend any Arab regime by sending troops to protect it from its neighbors or from an internal revolution, and he will not provide financial support to bolster regimes, but he wants money and land to sell and profit from, and therefore, it is better to look for sources of stability and liberation other than financial or military American support. Trump will not defend any ally by involving American forces in the fight, he will certainly send

weapons and ammunition, and perhaps intelligence information to allies like Israel for free, and to Arab friends for money, but he will not occupy any of his neighbors by force because he does not want to finance a war, and he will not antagonize powerful countries like China or Russia or even Iran and seek to exploit them... He does not mind sucking the blood of the poor, the weak, and the cowards... But when any party says no to him; he will go no further and will disclaim responsibility... He gambles without real backing because he does not want to lose, and therefore, he and his gang make a mountain out of a molehill to frighten the foolish.

Perhaps Netanyahu prompted Trump to put forward this crazy idea of seizing Gaza to distract the world's attention from the developments in the Gaza Strip and the consequences of the tragedy they created with Zionist soldiers, mercenaries, American, German, and British arms, and political support; On his way to Washington, Netanyahu avoided flying over some countries or their airspace and his plane always flew over international waters, and even avoided Canadian airspace, fearing arrest at the request of the international court... When the court's ruling on Israel as a whole and its involvement in the genocide is complete, that will automatically apply to everyone who participated in the war and supported it, including Washington, London, and Berlin, and that is why Trump is making a fuss about seizing Gaza and his desire to annex the West Bank to Israel... that is, shifting issues by creating others.

Trump's support for any of Israel's desires knows no bounds; when Israel wants to do something and has the ability to do it, it will do it because it has Washington's backing, and it is not interested in the international stance as long as it is supported by Washington and some Western countries. But Trump's views and Israel's actions put us in front of other facts, besides distracting from the crime being committed. For example, Israel may resort to non-forced deportation - theoretically - of the population of the Gaza Strip; if it finds countries other than Egypt and Jordan willing to receive them, it may transport them there by ship and plane, and in this event, some may agree to leave, especially those who have lost hope in Hamas's rule in the past, have witnessed the destruction their present and do not see any chance of good in the movement's future rule of the sector... These people may emigrate, if the receiving countries are respectable and provide a dignified life... The question is, will the residents of the sector leave if Hamas remains in

power, and an opportunity for supported and organized emigration abroad is provided as demanded by Zionist right-wing polls? Additionally, in the current atmosphere of Trump's acceptance and love for Netanyahu and the Israeli right, I do not rule out that Israel will strike targets in Cairo or Amman, or the rest of the capitals that are reconciled with it, such as Doha, Manama, Marrakesh, Dubai, and even Riyadh... Tel Aviv can justify pursuing its opponents there, and the goal is to impose displacement on the Arabs and impose places of reception... No American bases or diplomatic assets will be seen to help... Perhaps Washington will condemn the act and voice understanding in the same statement... Israeli planes and intelligence have been roaming in Iran for days without being harmed, and Iran is larger and more militarily prepared than any Arab country. The secret of the almost permanent support from American administrations for Israel is due to the dominance of Zionist Jewish capital on financial markets and on American and Western media, and the fact that every American president aspires to a second term and therefore needs the support of both capital and media. In the case of President Trump, there are suspicions that are being suppressed and exploited about the existence of a relationship between Trump and the sex scandal attributed to the Jew Jeffrey Epstein, when he was grooming young girls, with the support of Ghislaine Maxwell, daughter of the former Jewish media tsar... They groomed girls from the age of 14 to give massages for \$200... This is a real issue, and judgments have been issued, and 80 girls have been identified, the names of leaders and celebrities have been published, and it is said that Trump was one of them... And since the Mossad was possibly running this network; there will be pictures and videos that are used to manage affairs between Netanyahu and Trump. This is a long story, but there are details available on the Internet and via the American courts, and it has been said that Epstein committed suicide in prison in August 2019 during Trump's first presidential term.

Returning to our topic, there is another fact that emerged, once it became clear that Trump's threats were empty, which is Hamas' strength at the time and its ability to maneuver and show strength, accompanied by its growing desire to remain in control of the Gaza Strip, indicating that Washington is seeking to strengthen Hamas's vision and ideology and impose it on all opinions and orientations in the sector and also to negotiate with them directly. It is almost as if they want Hamas to be strong and remain so that they can continue to use it as a justification to

continue the destruction... This work in itself, which Israel has practiced for years, opposes the Arab vision that wants to weaken the Muslim Brotherhood and its offshoots...A Hamas, emerging, victorious, renewed, and defiant of Trump's instructions, together with developments in Syria, could encourage the Brotherhood to move in Egypt and Jordan, and thus, justify wider Israeli occupation, and these are two countries within the geography of 'Greater Israel' that Netanyahu and the Israeli right are openly seeking, and Trump agrees with them that Israel's area is small and needs to be expanded. As a good citizen who has experienced a lot at first hand, I can see the possibility of applying the popular saying: "Let's divide the Arabs into two Arabs"; we would have Arabs closer to secularism in the Gulf countries, and Arabs under Brotherhood regimes in the rest of the Arab world... That is, a reversal of time and geography turned upside down as the countries that created the Brotherhood become secular, and the rest of the Arab world descends into obscurantism.

I can also expect the United States to be very damaged after Trump's four-year term. Even if Trump dies or disappears, his vice president is even more stupid and extreme and will lead to a faster end and deterioration. The United States has lost its reputation since the first days of Trump's second term; the official and popular world looks at the administration as a group of thugs and neighborhood gangs as regards their behavior in American proper and their engagement with the outside world, and the world also wonders about the nature of the American voter that supported Trump's nomination and then elected him in fact, even acknowledging that Biden and his vice president were not much better, and this is what places so much responsibility on American democracy with its methods and flaws that can lead to such ends... Trump's decisions and methods are turning him into a worse dictator than Hitler. In addition to the political and moral damage, the United States will suffer economically from Trump's actions and decisions to impose taxes and tariffs, and thus, the world will respond in kind, leading to American isolationism, and thus, certainly reducing the amount of profit that America makes from the world... The United States is the largest indebted global system, and it pays interest on its debts by printing dollar bills without any gold reserve or economic power, relying solely on military power and threat and the printing of dollars, and this is the origin of the primary factor causing inflation around the world year after year; the total global inflation is the return on the American

economy, which is spent on America. That is why Trump threatened the countries of the world that are thinking of freeing themselves from using paper dollars in their transactions... He threatened a group of countries that plan to replace the dollar with the BRICS currency, for example. These are countries that want to exchange their goods by paying each other in their national currencies instead of dealing in the American dollar, which stands in no relation to any transaction, for example, between Saudi Arabia and India, or between China and South Africa, but currently, these transactions must be made in dollars that are printed at the cost of the paper in America! And when Trump's administration antagonizes the world commercially, and thus politically, there will be no reason to continue using the dollar, the free profits of Americans will evaporate, and they will feel the pain after it's too late. Trump is deluding Americans that he is recovering their money by stopping foreign aid and increasing taxes and tariffs, but they will see the opposite. Trump, without consulting with the elected bodies in the United States, is preventing aid from inside and outside, starting with the poor, students, and charities, and reaching allied countries (except Israel!), and he aims to collect the money of rich Arabs!! He wants to stop a total of three billion dollars to Jordan and Egypt - together - and is demanding 600 billion from Riyadh, "and it's better to leave them a billion" according to him. He is threatening countries, peoples, and governments, undermining international law, norms, and UN institutions, and even imposing punishment on the International Court and its members and their relatives... and destroying the Security Council, the United Nations, and international courts that Washington does not belong to, and which it ignores, but they still impose punishment on the judges... In short, he employs the methods of a crazy thug.

He is deluding the American people, which believes he is bringing benefits, to encourage it to re-elect him, and he is actually harming the middle class and below, as it is now becoming clear to those who elected him. He follows a brutal and crude capitalist system that exempts the rich from taxes and facilitates the increase of their profits, and then things should fall from them to benefit the rest, such as jobs and services! Despite this, he thinks he is building an empire and that he is in fact the emperor, but his actions are destroying the American empire that has existed since the end of World War II, eight decades ago... He is establishing an arrogant American empire in the place of the semi-soft empire, and the most

significant thing is that the world or parts of it won't confront the madness, thereby creating a similar situation to that of Hitler's Germany that led to a world war. The most important sign of the end of an empire is when the authority of the state resides in a person who acts recklessly and foolishly, according to his whims... This is what happened to the Roman Empire and before it the Germanic Goths, and before them the Assyrians, Babylonians, and Pharaohs, and of course, we should not forget the fate of the Umayyad, Abbasid, Ottoman, Hungarian, Austrian, and Russian empires... All these empires imploded due to the stupidity of the actions of the dictator leader... But who is really responsible for the destruction of those societies: only the tyrannical dictator who finds no one to stop him or deter him from his folly, or the people who accepted humiliation, degradation, submission, and slavery?! This is an important issue that every people must discuss, that they may hold themselves accountable for the results of their acceptance of the rule of tyrants, and their willingness to pay the price of humiliation instead of struggling and paying the price of freedom.

The American people may wake up to what they have done to themselves and correct their course after four years through elections, but thinking about this brings me back to the situation of the Arab peoples, such as the Palestinians, Syrians, Sudanese, and Libyans... These people have no opportunity to vote, and they are not active in changing the harmful leadership, on the other hand there are peoples who are ruled without democracy but are full, and therefore, their silence can be understood. The Palestinian people, who are by nature revolutionary, are unable to unite their leaders or give birth to alternative leaders, despite Israel's daily withdrawal of land from under the feet of the people and their unhappy leadership... And in the case of Syria, the liberator came to them in a religious guise, and they accepted him and decline to discuss the future, and the people themselves are voluntarily practicing what was imposed on them by the Assad regime for four decades... They glorify the leader without him asking them to do so, they accept what he offers without discussion, and the people are dividing into sects and factions against the will and speeches of the leader because they are used to what was imposed on them in the past, as the Palestinian is used to deadly differences, and the Sudanese to famine and strife... And periodic democratic elections remain the best way to produce leaders, test them, and of course, change them.

In general, historians identify many recurring manifestations of the collapse of empires and powerful states, including: First: focusing on an ideology or a mixture of religion, economy, and politics, but with a spirit of greed, racism, and chauvinism against others on a religious or ethnic basis. Second: preferring entertainment and destruction, and during the Roman period, this was deemed moral decline, which fell primarily under the expression "bread and circus" for the masses, a tactic that is now manifested in the distraction policies practiced by various media, at the expense of education and training to maintain an active and productive society. Third: government corruption. This can come in many forms, but those who control the government, whatever its type, can be a democracy with a parliament, an autocratic monarchy, or any combination of political and economic union for governance. Regardless of the type of government, the overall impact is that the wealthy and powerful and their partners gain more wealth and power, while the poor and ignorant are trapped in a vicious cycle. When this happens, the deprived will have nothing to lose if they rebel in a literal or figurative sense. Fourth: the decline of public health. This can come in the form of epidemics, diseases, addiction, substance abuse, and unintended societal poisoning. This does not mean that this cannot happen in many different societies, but it is a failure of society to address the problem, as happened in Trump's first term with COVID, where it turned out that America did not fare well in the confrontation. Smoking is the best source of revenue for companies and the state through taxes, and it is the primary element of harm to the health of the people, followed by problems of widespread drug use and addiction to opium that destroyed, for example, the Chinese Empire and caused the Opium Wars, up to the current heroin epidemic in the Western Hemisphere and the failure to confront the drug gangs in Central America.

Excessive expansion, along with chauvinism or even nationalism, forms aspects of the fifth sign of collapse (America First, expelling strangers, forced deportation of foreigners, fining countries under American protection, and attempts to annex Greenland, Canada, the Panama Canal, and seizing Gaza for its beauty... etc.). The system becomes extended and overly involved in the world. In fact, they are striving to dominate their neighbors and instill fear in their enemies. We can look historically at empires from Assyria to Persia to the Ottoman Empire to the former Soviet Union, all of which followed that path. Of course, we should not forget the

American Declaration of Independence and American dominance over Cuba and the establishment of its colonies in the Pacific. This constantly growing empire, whether physically or economically, has negatively affected the local populations and constantly necessitates higher governmental input to control these possessions. When a state gets involved in wars to implement its vision, huge amounts of government wealth go towards controlling land and supporting it militarily, and all this money comes at the expense of infrastructure, hindering research and development, and limiting the improvement and expansion of education, and Trump wants even to close the Ministry of Education!! The last sign of the collapse of empires is the constant feeling of the coming of permanent external war against the "nation-state" or empire. In the case of the Assyrians, the Medes and Chaldeans, mixed with the Hittites, were launching attacks, and for Rome, it was the Germanic and barbarian tribes. Then, for the German Empire, its neighbors, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Russian Empire, and the Ottoman Empire, were clashing with each other; the First World War broke out, and it became the culprit and its existence ended.

Since the end of World War II, the world has been living in a state of jungle warfare and submission to Washington, the capital of the rising empire, deterred by fear, as there is no great power capable of or determined to confront American policy and dominance; even during Trump's phase of madness and his declaration of trade war, we find Russia approaching to achieve their goals by cunning, China remains silent and content with responding in kind, and Europe is divided on how to respond, it does not even have a unified European policy, nor a nuclear umbrella, and is unable to reconcile with Russia, which could secure it from fears and dangers of war and distance it from the American protection that has become costly for Europe... World War II produced international forums to prevent the recurrence of wars, and to restore peace, development, and peaceful cooperation between nations, but in practice, injustice has been prevalent throughout the decades following the war and until now, with some participating and others remaining silent. Conflicts arose between the new powers after the war, namely the Soviet Union and America and their camps, and each side expended effort to win over the others, until the Soviets were defeated and their union collapsed; Since then, American arrogance began to become clearer daily, particularly regarding humanitarian liberation issues such as South Africa, Cuba, Palestine, and others.

The Suez War of 1956 was a milestone in international politics; nearly a decade after the end of World War II, and Europe, even with full American support was not yet standing on its own feet. France and Britain were both trying to regain the prestige of former empires, and this is what the American administration at the time did not like, as it wanted to remain the sole dominant power; so it directed a warning and an order to the two colonial countries to withdraw from Sinai, and Israel, the third ally in the tripartite aggression, became aware of the dwindling importance of France and Britain; so it turned to Washington with all the weight of its lobby, tricks, money, and media to influence US policy. It may seem at first glance that I am deviating from the parameters of this book, but we are actually talking in depth to clarify the historical context - especially as the Israeli-American relationship has not always been good, and therefore the relationship can be subject to change...

Some American presidents have warned of the possibility of Jewish control even before the Nazi pronouncements, and during and after World War II, the United States and Britain refused to receive Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe and Germany... In the early 1950s, McCarthyism appeared in the United States, as media, political, and economic figures were subjected to intimidation and accusations of communism, and they were described as reds, although they were not, but many of them were Jews, and Jewish representatives in Hollywood were forced to change their Jewish names to Christian ones!! This trend is attributed to a member of the US Senate named Joseph McCarthy, who was the chairman of one of the subcommittees of the Senate that accused a number of government employees, especially in the State Department, of being communists working for the Soviet Union. The accusation led to the imprisonment of some of them on charges. It was later found that most of his accusations were unfounded. The Senate issued a decision in 1954 to censure him but this term is still used to express the cultural terrorism directed against intellectuals. McCarthyism began with a list of 205 names said to be communists and spies in the US State Department, and then McCarthyism spread to all sectors of American society, and more than 200 people became victims to it. They were thrown into prison, in addition, more than 10,000 individuals were fired from their jobs and mistreated on fabricated charges, including Martin Luther King, Albert Einstein, and Charlie Chaplin... The Hollywood list also included: Gregory Peck, Humphrey Bogart,

Frank Sinatra, James Stewart, Gene Kelly, Rita Hayworth, Ava Gardner, Danny Kaye, as well as writers such as: Bertolt Brecht, Arthur Miller, and many other scientists, intellectuals, and actors.

This happened more than 70 years ago, when the United States suddenly woke up to a fateful question, which would become the most terrifying for years to come, and it was put to every citizen or resident: "Are you a communist, or were you ever a communist?" At that time, the accusations and terrorism included Jews and others, and this provided a harsh lesson to the Zionist movement, that it needed to perfect its work to dominate and control the leading state in the world, through control of the media and financial centers, so that Washington would not betray them again. Thus, the Arab and then the Muslim mutated into 'the danger', either through direct accusations, or through continuous propaganda in films and the media, until the day of October 7, 2023, when the same McCarthyist scenario was repeated, with a question that seems likely to remain the most terrifying in America and Europe for the coming period: "Do you condemn Hamas?" It doesn't matter that Israel is bombing Gaza blindly, killing tens of thousands of children and innocent people; the important thing is "Do you condemn Hamas?" How can those who claimed to be enemies of Nazism after its defeat support the Zionist Nazism, which is more brutal, public, and predatory against international law... Let us imagine that the Israeli minister Smotrich says publicly that he wants to take Gaza because its owners are not Gazans, but from Haifa, Jaffa, and Acre, and now he wants to expel them again, just like the first time, but now outside the geographical area of Palestine... Such injustice, darkness, and bias can be uttered publicly, and there is no one to reason and demand the implementation of UN Resolution 194, which recognizes the right of Palestinian refugees to return to their homeland and be compensated for the injustice and losses they have suffered... There is no one to listen, but the United Nations has become accused of being anti-Semitic and anti-Israel!! With American support, from October 7, 2023 to the beginning of February 2025, Israel has committed genocide in Gaza, leaving more than 160,000 Palestinian martyrs and wounded, most of them children and women, and more than 14,000 missing... The massacre was renewed after Israel broke the truce, and added to the killing by bombing, to the on-going killing by starvation in front of a world that sees, hears, and still continues its relations with this new Nazism. A cowardly, crazy, submissive, and participating world that has preserved

silence since the first Nakba in 1948 until now... And when Islamic, Arab, African, or Third World conferences are held, a verbal decision is passed to support the right to establish a Palestinian state and a two-state solution, but there is not a single practical step, such as declaring a boycott or withdrawing recognition... And when a country like South Africa goes to the international courts, the procedures of obstruction, threats, and rendering decisions meaningless increase. We, as Palestinians, must not forget this, no matter how much time passes and changes occur.

Cemeteries of Memories

As a good citizen, I say frankly and clearly, as has been proven, that we are fighting Israel and America first, and the West second, and when some Western countries call for a two-state solution, which is acceptable to Arabs and Palestinians, they are throwing dust in the eyes of Arabs and those interested in their countries, because they do not exert any practical pressure, whether diplomatic, economic, or legal, to stop the genocide or impose a peaceful solution, not to mention punishing the perpetrator... There are countries like Britain and Germany (the second country after America to supply arms to Israel) that support a two-state solution and send bombs to Israel, which are used daily and publicly, and without them, Israel's ability to continue the genocide would have stopped... It does not benefit us as Palestinian people to believe in victory slogans while we are in the most severe state of loss... The group supporting Hamas and those who beat the drums with them consider the temporary failure of the enemies' ultimate goals to be equivalent to self-victory... But frankly, our "victory" (the lone truce) was achieved this time because of the lack of opportunities for mass deportations, thanks to Egypt, and came as a result of pressure from Trump, who received assurances from Saudi Arabia and the Gulf countries of the need for a truce and then a ceasefire, and the withdrawal of Hamas from the sector, almost by Arab consensus. Israel is engaged in promoting a false narrative: that it is small and weak and constantly exposed to aggression in a hostile environment, and therefore, it does no harm to make a pretense of defeat and failure to achieve the goals of the fight, which she says is for self-protection; her goal is to continue fighting or to resume it, to undertake every effort to drive out the population from the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, and later to drive out the Arabs of 1948, and she has been advancing on this path since the first Nakba and is now moving rapidly towards her goal, and it does not hurt her to play the role of the defeated, indeed she prefers it. I would like to emphasize that all the killing that has occurred, the starvation, psychological warfare, and temptations, all aim to achieve the Zionist dream of emptying the land of its owners, and I would not be surprised if the entire incursion drama and what followed it, and remains to follow, was agreed upon or planned to achieve the goal of relocation, whether knowingly or unknowingly through Hamas... and the days to come will prove it, if they have not already.

Let us look at the numbers to see who is the winner, we or they: On the eve of the ceasefire agreement that did not end the war on Gaza, the details of this war, which has been described by international human rights organizations as a genocide, have emerged. 1200 Israelis were killed, while 250 were abducted and taken to the Gaza Strip after the attack carried out by Hamas on October 7, 2023. The Israeli military operation that followed until the ceasefire led to the destruction of a large part of the sector completely... In fact, the sector has become uninhabitable... Statistics confirm the killing of more than 46,788 people in the Gaza Strip, a quarter of them children, and more than 110,453 people were injured with varying degrees of severity, and tens of thousands are missing, either under the rubble or kidnapped by Israeli forces during the attack on the sector... More than 1.9 million Gazans were forced to flee multiple times within the Gaza Strip, and they are living now and for the foreseeable future as refugees in several camps, facing a famine crisis, not to mention the consequences of the situation, including health, educational, and psychological disasters.

According to the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, only 50% of hospitals in the sector are "partially functioning", and more than 12,000 patients are in urgent need of leaving Gaza for treatment, as many of them suffer from severe burns and complications from amputations due to Israeli bombing. The Israeli army says it has bombed more than 40,000 targets in Gaza, without specifying them, accusing Hamas of using Gaza's population as human shields. Israel says more than 8,200 rockets were fired at it from inside Gaza, and 12,000 from Lebanon... Of course, there is no mention of Israel's losses due to these rockets! But the number of Gazans facing a "catastrophic famine" has exceeded 345,000, and the percentage of those facing a food crisis in the sector exceeds 96%. The number of relief workers killed has reached 371, according to UN sources, and at least 160 journalists have been killed inside the besieged sector, according to the Committee to Protect Journalists, a non-governmental organization. The number of bombs weighing 2,000 pounds (about a ton) sent by the United States to Israel between October 7, 2023, and June 2024 has exceeded 10,000, in addition to thousands of Hellfire missiles, which are arriving via air and sea bridges, and President Trump has reaffirmed that he will not stop sending them to Israel. The Western world is a direct partner in the ethnic cleansing war and the displacement of Palestinians from their land, first the displacement of the

population of the Gaza Strip, then the displacement of the population of the West Bank camps, then the villages and countryside of the West Bank, followed by the displacement of the population of the cities. The war waged by the West with Israel on the Gaza Strip is far from targeting Hamas members and destroying its infrastructure, it aims to destroy the sector and devastate it, then seize it without its population, and the implementation of this plan will begin after they have blocked any solution and blocked reconstruction, then opened the door to voluntary migration through Israeli facilities to countries that are willing to empty, distribute, and receive the population of the sector... So, have we actually won, as the drummers say? And is it possible or reasonable to rebuild the sector, which needs the support of the West and the Arabs, who we attack day and night because they did not want to get involved with Hamas, and who publicly refuse to finance reconstruction with Hamas present?

I have presented below the extent of Western military support to Israel from which I conclude that this is a Western colonial project, and without this support, together with the economic and diplomatic support, the Israelis would not have been able to withstand or remain in possession whether before or after October 7. Monitoring and analyzing maritime data shows that more than 6,000 military flights have been recorded in the region linked to Western countries - during one single year - of the Israeli war on Gaza, with the establishment of a permanent air bridge with huge Western support to support Israel in bombing the besieged sector with tons of bombs... These countries continue to rush to provide intelligence and logistical support, as well as sending shipments of military aid to support Israel in the genocide it is waging against the population of the sector... Even when Israel directly violates the terms of the truce and prevents the entry of aid into the sector, and returns to the killing; the Western military supply to Israel is not affected. The analysis of maritime data showed that about 1,900 military transport flights, more than 70% of which were directed to military bases in Cyprus, Greece, and Italy, which have been used since October 7, 2023 as advanced support bases for Israel, while the rest were directed directly to Israel. More than 1,600 Western aerial reconnaissance flights were tracked, of which Israel carried out no more than 20%, in addition to the documentation of 1,800 flights to refuel aircraft in the skies of the region. The data shows that Britain is leading all countries with more than 47% of reconnaissance flights. The data revealed that the British Air Force used a

"Shadow R1" aircraft in most of the flights, which has an advanced set of surveillance and sensing devices that enable it to carry out intelligence tasks and impose continuous monitoring of movements on the ground, track vehicles, and carry out target identification tasks. About 645 flights were recorded for this type of aircraft during that period, while it used a "P-8" aircraft in at least 6 reconnaissance flights, all of which were launched mainly from Cyprus, Israel, and Greece. Britain also used its Typhoon fighter jets in at least 135 flights in the skies of Israel, and intercepted several Iranian attack drones.

As for Israel, it also participated using a number of aircraft, the most important of which is the "Oron" aircraft, which, according to the monitoring, carried out 167 air sorties during the year of the war after it entered full service for the first time following the "Al-Aqsa" operation. The "Oron" is one of the largest Israeli aircraft and can detect thousands of targets in seconds over an area extending thousands of kilometers, according to the head of the Israeli military research and development department. Israel also used at least two "Eitam" aircraft for early warning, and the aircraft operated within the same squadron in more than 58 monitored flights, in addition to two "Shavit" aircraft with at least 16 flights. Also used were two "Beech B200 Tzufit 5" aircraft in 45 flights, while the "Beechcraft B200 Tzufit 3" aircraft flew 35 flights. As for the United States, it has used its large aircraft, dedicated to maritime reconnaissance, the "Poseidon P-8A" and "Maritime Patrol Aircraft", in more than 167 reconnaissance flights. It also used "Boeing RC-135" and "Lockheed EP-3" aircraft in more than 90 reconnaissance flights, while the "MQ-4C Triton" drone, operated by the Navy, appeared in more than 73 flights, according to the monitored maritime data. The United States also used the early warning aircraft, the "Boeing E-3 Sentry", equipped with an integrated platform for managing and controlling the battle, in 16 flights. In addition to the reconnaissance aircraft, about 1,800 refueling flights were tracked in the skies of the region, and the analytical data shows that Israel carried out up to 950 flights, followed by the British Air Force with more than 560 air refueling flights. The analysis of the data that was monitored reveals that about 365 military transport flights were directed to Israel directly, in addition to 840 flights to military bases in Cyprus, Greece, and Italy, which are used intensively to support the occupation, with a total of more than 1,200 military cargo flights.

The German Air Force also contributed more than 80 military transport flights, most of which were launched from the "Wunstorf" air base, while about 25% of American military transport flights were launched from the "Ramstein" base, belonging to the US forces located in southwestern Germany. It also appears that at least 11 Israeli military transport flights took off from Germany to Israel. While the British Air Force directed its military transport flights, which exceeded 350, from their "Brize Norton" base in Oxfordshire (northwest of London), while it relied in the case of its reconnaissance and refueling flights mainly on the British "Akrotiri" base in Cyprus. The United States flew mainly from the "Souda" base on the Greek island of Crete, and also used the "Paphos" air base in Cyprus, and the "Sigonella" Italian base, which contains a station belonging to the US Air Force and Navy, and is located east of Sicily, Italy... meaning that the Western countries in the Mediterranean basin and other countries in Central and Northern Europe considered Gaza a war zone and exploited their local and external bases to support Israel, that is, the administrative, military, and intelligence coordination was at its peak, like in a regular military alliance... All this technology contributed to monitoring, supply, and killing, and the participants were aware of the infrastructure, hospitals, and universities, being destroyed and the killing of defenseless people in huge numbers... everything was done with Western support, the vision, their participation, and their utter hypocrisy. In addition to these aircraft, Israel and Western countries use a huge diverse fleet of drones that carry out various missions that are never absent from the skies of Gaza and Lebanon, and cannot be tracked by open-source maritime tracking tools... therefore, the numbers tracked remain under that of the actual reconnaissance flights that occupy the skies of occupied Palestine and Lebanon, but they do give an indication of the scope of those flights, unprecedented in history over a limited geographical area and technically isolated people... so do not be deceived by Western talk about a two-state solution and the need to bring aid to Gaza; the important thing to them is to continue their support and actual participation in the genocide, even though the resistance has only been targeting aggressive intruders on its own land; throughout the months of the war, Hamas and others have not carried out any terrorist acts against Israeli, American, German, British, and other civilians who are destroying the Gaza Strip and killing its inhabitants.

The United States is by far the largest supplier of arms to Israel, accounting for 69% of arms imports, in addition to financial aid and funding for military programs and joint development of various military systems... Germany is the second largest exporter of arms to Israel, representing 30% of the occupation's arms imports, in the form of ammunition, ground vehicles, military technology, development, and maintenance of weapons... Britain is the third largest exporter of arms, followed by France and Italy, which export military helicopters, naval artillery, ammunition, and allow the use of their air bases, in addition to the Mediterranean island countries mentioned earlier... All of these have contributed to turning the Gaza Strip into a cemetery of memories, and have directly contributed to turning the population of the sector from an educated, enlightened, and civilized group into isolated human groups suffering from hunger, thirst, disease, and cold, and to replacing houses and homes with torn tents and complete exposure, turning a region that grows and exports roses, strawberries, and rare fruits into a region where the population cannot even find grass to eat or clean water to drink.

To understand what is happening, we must remember that all the above-mentioned, together with the Israeli army, are apparently fighting the Islamic resistance operatives, but their real goal is to kill the population, displace them, and eliminate them from existence... All Islamic Palestinian resistance factions in occupied Palestine - specifically - in the Gaza Strip, numbered between 15,000 to 40,000 fighters before the start of the war, and Israel says it has killed most of them! As for their armament, as the world has seen over the years and during the ongoing war, it consists of: Kalashnikov rifles, PK machine guns, Golan sniper rifles, wire-guided Kornet missiles, RPG launchers, Yassin shells, a primitive type of drone, and locally-made missiles, and they have not killed any Israelis throughout the confrontation. These are the forces that the Western world is mobilizing its resources to confront.

In the midst of the disagreements between President Trump and his Ukrainian counterpart in early March 2025, over the amount of American support and Trump's demand for repayment of funds via the agreement to exploit rare minerals in Ukraine, it became clear that the volume of American support throughout the two years of the war against Russia has amounted to 77 billion dollars, of which 47 billion is military support, but Trump does not demand that Israel stop the war and genocide, as he has with Ukraine, and he does not try to recover the financial

support from Israel or stop the flow of money to it, despite the UN position and public opinion that confirms both Israel's aggression and that it is not exposed to any real danger.

Researchers said in this regard that, unlike the publicly documented American military aid to Ukraine, it was impossible to obtain full details of what the United States has shipped to Israel since the 'Al-Aqsa Flood', and therefore, the amount of 17.9 billion dollars for this year (2024) is an estimated amount... As for the total amount of support since 1959, it comes to 251 billion dollars, and through bureaucratic maneuvering, the Trump administration actually accused the Biden administration of making efforts to conceal the full amounts of aid and systems involved.

The Biden administration strengthened its military force in the region in order to confront the Houthis by about 5 billion dollars, and thus, increased the financial cost since the start of the war, with the aim of deterring any attacks on Israeli and American forces and enabling response to them... President Trump has not announced any intention to reduce spending on Israel, despite his orders to stop domestic and foreign support and sack federal employees in his country.

The United States had 34,000 soldiers in the Middle East on October 7, 2023, and this number rose to about 50,000 in August 2024, at which point there were two aircraft carriers in the region, with the aim of deterring retaliation after Israel assassinated the head of Hamas's political bureau, Ismail Haniyeh, in Iran. The total number of soldiers in March 2025 was about 43,000.

While direct military support from European countries to Israel is not to be compared with the American support, Europe plays an important role in providing financial, diplomatic, and humanitarian support to the occupying state. Some European countries, such as Germany and France, provide financial and technical assistance to Israel within the framework of bilateral partnerships that include cooperation in the fields of security and technology.

Germany, in particular, is considered one of Israel's most important European allies, having provided significant support in recent years, including advanced submarines and financial aid in developing defense capabilities... The historical German justification for the support is compensation and atonement for the Nazi's

actions against Jews, and they do not care if they are creating a new Nazi and turning the Palestinian into the old German Jew... In addition, European companies contribute to the sale of technological and industrial equipment to Israel, which is used to support the Israeli economy during wars. This economic and financial aid significantly contributes to enhancing Israel's defense capabilities and alleviating the financial burdens of the war. The aid covers a large part of the costs of military operations, including the maintenance of advanced defense systems such as the "Iron Dome". Moreover, the aid contributes to providing financial support to the Israeli economy indirectly, by promoting the military industries, which are considered one of the largest export sectors in Israel. Israeli defense industry companies, such as Elbit Systems and Rafael, are among the most prominent beneficiaries of these aids, as they rely heavily on American funding to develop new systems that are later sold to other countries. Israel lived in its early years with severe financial difficulties, and it was only saved by the reparations agreement with Germany; the agreement solved the financial problem that Israel suffered from, which led to the gradual abolition of the food rationing system, and reduced the rate of financial inflation from 66% in 1952 to between 4-5% annually in the following years. German payments were a large part of Israel's budget resources for 12 consecutive years, and when the reparations payments ended, Israel experienced an economic crisis, but it was less than what it had experienced in its early years, despite the beginning of American and European support in general... Until today and in the foreseeable future, Israel has not achieved economic independence and cannot dispense with Western financial and military support... Despite this, the West claims friendship with the Arabs and a commitment to justice for the Palestinian people, while they are the very ones who could impose their political will on Israel and correct its course if they wanted to... But they are a group of thieves, pirates, bloodsuckers, and hypocrites.

Reports from companies selling arms to Israel indicate that European financial institutions have provided 36.1 billion euros in loans and subscriptions, and own 26 billion euros in shares and bonds in companies selling arms to Israel... Therefore, according to international law, arms producers are at great risk of facilitating serious violations of international humanitarian law, crimes against humanity, or genocide in Gaza. Deliveries from 6 of the largest arms producers (Boeing, General Dynamics, Leonardo, Lockheed Martin, RTX, and Rolls-Royce)

to Israel have not stopped, and the French bank "BNP Paribas" is considered the largest financier of companies that sold arms to the occupying state, having provided 5.7 billion euros in loans and subscriptions since 2021. Among other major investors are Credit Agricole, Deutsche Bank, Barclays, and the Bank of England, in addition to the Norwegian Government Pension Fund and the German insurance company Allianz.

I, like others, was watching what was happening, but I am convinced that talking about victory or defeat is futile; the situation is clear, and waiting will not lead to anything... So I considered and decided to support the education sector for children to the best of my ability... Of course, no one can cover the educational gap and need in a time of war... UN figures say that the number of students who have been deprived of education exceeds 658,000, and that more than 88% of educational institutions - at least - need to be rebuilt... I mean schools only, because universities have been completely destroyed... 18 Palestinian universities and community colleges in Gaza have been destroyed, serving a total of about 87,000 students, most of whom are females. As a good citizen, and to contribute to saving a generation from ignorance and illiteracy, I decided to launch the "Peace Birds Educational Initiative" on a voluntary basis, focusing on opening opportunities for children from the age of six to twelve, i.e., from the first grade to the sixth grade. I did not make many firm plans, as the situation is taking place in a terrible war environment with constant displacement of families and children under inhumane conditions... I posted an announcement on the Facebook page I created for the initiative, calling for volunteers, both men and women, who have the ability, willingness, and stability to organize classes and teach children wherever possible, and mentioned in the announcement that the work would be voluntary with no salary, but I would provide stationery and all necessary materials as available in the local market.

The response was magical indeed, hundreds announced their readiness, but dozens of women, persevered and started working in the face of the circumstances, overcoming the difficulties in their path. The hardest part was finding places for teaching. The beginning was made in Rafah, where about half of the population of the Gaza Strip had taken refuge; the schools were filled with displaced people, and worn-out tents were set up on the sides of the streets, in the sandy areas, and in the gardens of houses. Many people were skeptical: how can we look for a solution to

the problems of education and not care about providing food and tents for the hungry and the naked... Our answer was that we have made this our concern, and others care about other aspects... Practically, we gathered and taught the children in classes close to where their families were, which in itself made life easier for the families and gave them some routine, calmed the children, and focused their attention away from the fear and death surrounding them... Everyone was creative, whether it was the volunteers in finding places, or the students in their commitment to attend and focus on the lessons... We collected what stationery we could find, and prices started to rise crazily due to our constant search and inquiry, and the fact that what is consumed has no replacement in the face of the siege and the focus on bringing in food and medicine, not stationery. We started in March 2024, six months after the start of the war, and the estimate was that the calm would not return soon, and if it did, everything would be destroyed... Of course, we did not solve the problem of education, but we started and laid the foundations and paved the way for voluntary work. We quickly had 25 classes or educational sites, more than 40 volunteers, and more than 2,500 students under the age of twelve... After two months, all the residents of Rafah and those who had taken refuge there were forcibly displaced, in preparation for its invasion; about 1.5 million people moved to Khan Yunis, al-Mawasi on the coast, and the central areas, none of which were safe from bombing, and Rafah was completely destroyed, and it is now in ruins. The volunteers and students moved with their families, and we started again in activating the volunteers and finding others in the new gathering places, and the numbers and activity increased until the beginning of the truce in mid-January 2025, and the opening of the way for the return of the residents of Gaza City and the northern cities, while the residents of Rafah could not return to the ruins of their city, and we are now at the beginning of March and the month of Ramadan, a year from the start, we are preparing to repeat the experience in the northern areas and continue the experience in the central and southern areas.

It should be noted that the Ministry of Education has revived its operations with the January truce and organized the educational process online, but our activity is face-to-face teaching and direct supervision, and we will focus on teaching English, science, and mathematics to give children opportunities to strengthen these subjects while they receive their ministerial education online... The interaction is the master of the situation, the interaction of the volunteers with the

students and their families, and with each other through establishing a WhatsApp group, and the interaction of everyone with the executive director and the coordination manager... These two are men, and the rest of the volunteers are women, and we did not refuse any male volunteer as a teacher, but no one came forward. As I mentioned at the beginning of the book, I sold my house in Jordan and allocated part of the price to fund this initiative, I could have resorted to asking for help and donations, but that wo

Causes of Affliction

Humans often get engrossed in the details of problems and their ramifications, and forget, intentionally or unintentionally, the foundations of the calamity they are in, due to the selfish nature of humans that drives them to blindness and ignorance. I will present my view of the causes of the calamity in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, or even the Arab-Islamic-Zionist conflict... Does this presentation have a direct relation to the subject of this book? Yes; the book is about the good citizen, and among his works is the constant public writing and raising awareness about the causes of the Palestinian-Arab-Islamic conflict and backwardness, and ways to get out into the light... Therefore, here is a summary of some chapters, books, and evidence I have published in this regard, which predicted everything that is happening now, but life does not come to those who call... and certainly, the presentations here will not lead to a change in the near future, because the Arab reader reads half a page a year, compared to the thirty books read by an Israeli, with more than that read by an American or European on average every year, and therefore, if we distributed the half-pages of this book and others, the result would not be of any use, and would not affect the level of general culture... But as a good citizen, I will say what I see as the causes of the Arab-Islamic-Palestinian calamity, specifically in the issue of the conflict with Zionism and Israel and those behind them.

The first cause is the current and previous internal Palestinian conflict, and certainly the subsequent one. This conflict is linked to the upbringing of selfishness, individual and collective, and ignorance, and certainly to the lack of democracy. The second cause is the religious element in general, Jewish, Christian, and Islamic, which is always based in the practical field on fanaticism leading to killing, denying the other, and justifying and legitimizing their extermination in the name of the heavenly books. The third cause is the result of backwardness and intellectual stagnation, and the rejection of the idea of examining the origins of religions, their convergence, and their nullity, and is therefore related to religions and their impact in spreading intellectual schizophrenia that paves the way for racism and hatred.

The fourth cause is the love of money, collecting it, and preserving it, which leads to participation either in submission to protect one's own money from opponents,

or leads to participation in wars and occupation to benefit from their fuel, pricing, results, and spoils. As for the reasons behind the continuation of the massacre in Palestine and the length of the conflict, it is due to the difference in concepts and goals between the Islamic resistance and Israel and the West regarding the definition of victory and defeat! Israel considers the destruction of the sector and making it uninhabitable for humans as a victory for it, while the Islamic resistance considers that the survival of a few hundred survivors with a few bullets is a failure for Israel and therefore a declared victory for the resistance, and here civilians are lost between the legs and under the shells... These views lead to Israeli exploitation of the situation by escalating its goals and evacuating Palestinians from their land, while the Islamic resistance sees in displacement only a new station to continue the struggle, and it is supported by Qatar, the patron of Islam in the region, and Islamic fundamentalism considers all Muslim countries as land for every Muslim and takes the migration of the Prophet as an example to be followed... Perhaps I will return to explanations and interpretations in this regard after detailing the four causes of the calamity mentioned above.

The first cause of the generation and continuation of the calamity is the internal Palestinian conflict, and this factor will not end except by dealing with its causes, and foremost among them is the application of democracy, which paves the way for reducing selfishness and helps to get rid of ignorance. Before the Balfour Declaration in 1917 and the emergence and spread of the Zionist idea, the Palestinian region was under the decaying Ottoman rule, like the rest of what was later known as the Arab homeland. But Palestine was distinguished by the Zionist greed for it, and their reliance on Britain, which defeated the Ottomans and occupied Arab territories, including Palestine. Before the British occupation, there were Ottoman parties, and after the occupation, parties were also formed, but without elections, and the dominant feature was the difference in views between those parties, especially after the 1936 revolution, where the parties' views differed between those who were reassured by what had become a British mandate and those who were skeptical of it.

The British High Commissioner, Herbert Samuel, had issued a new Palestinian currency project in 1924, and a law was passed granting Palestinian citizenship to Jews residing in Palestine. Samuel was succeeded by the Zionist delegate, Lord Herbert Charles Plumer, who continued his project. During the first ten years of the

British mandate, about 76,400 Jewish immigrants entered Palestine, most of them from Eastern European countries, and with the increasing immigration activity to Palestine, the Arabs realized the necessity of resisting Zionism. This awareness of the Zionist danger deepened as a result of the fragmentation imposed on the Arab East, and among the most prominent features of the party and political life that characterized the Palestinian political society at that time was the emergence of organizational frameworks more than political parties, with local, regional, and national orientations, and the emergence of printed newspapers, including Al-Karmel and Palestine. The 1936 revolution had the conditions for a revolution in terms of goal, tool, and method, and it represents a significant milestone in the Palestinian national struggle against Zionism and British colonialism since the late 19th century; it is a qualitative shift in the direction of this struggle after the general weakness that affected the Palestinian national movement in the aftermath of the 1929 Buraq uprising. The Palestinian people, in all their classes, knew for sure what the Zionist movement aimed at, and therefore, ideological movements and parties were formed, which were an extension of regional movements and national organizations in harmony with the popular tide and the escalation of resistance operations, and the failure of the bet on the strategy of appeasing Britain; the nationalists participated in the General Islamic Conference (1931) and issued the National Pact, and the Arab Youth Congress Party (1932) was formed, headed by Rasim Khalidi. As for the Arab Independence Party (1932-1933), it did not last long, and among its leaders were: Awni Abdul Hadi, Rashid Al-Haj, Azza Darwaza, and Akram Zaiter. The Syrian National Party and the Arab Nationalist Bloc had limited popularity in Palestine. The seventh conference of the Palestinian Communist Party in Jerusalem in 1930 marked the beginning of a decisive turning point in the course of the communist movement in Palestine. The important thing is that three representative political bodies were formed before 1948, namely: the first: the Arab Higher Committee, which was formed in April 1936 following the outbreak of the general strike and civil disobedience called for by the national committees, and under great popular pressure on the existing parties at that time. The presidency was entrusted to the Mufti, Haj Amin Al-Husseini, and it was considered by Britain to be an organization outside the law, and in 1937, most of its members were arrested and exiled to the Seychelles Islands. The members of the committee were: Amin Al-Husseini, Ragheb Al-Nashashibi, Jamal Al-Husseini, Yaqub Al-Ghusayn, Abdul Latif Salah, Hussein Al-Khalidi, and Awni

Abdul Hadi... For ten years, there were no organized democratic party frameworks for resistance or political representation, except for the Communist Party.

Second: The Arab Higher Committee, a Palestinian political body that replaced the "Arab Higher Committee" by a decision of the Arab League Conference on June 12, 1946, after the Palestinians failed to agree on forming a general representative body. Some members of the committee resigned in protest against the Mufti's renewed monopoly on decisions. The committee contributed to recruiting volunteers and taking charge of their training and arming, but to a minimum and not comparable in any way to the training and arming of Jewish settlers. Among the names of the committee members are: Jamal Al-Husseini, Tawfiq Al-Husseini, Youssef Sahyoun, Kamil Al-Dajani, Emil Al-Ghoury, Rafiq Al-Tamimi, Anwar Al-Khatib, Dr. Izzat Tannous, Anton Attallah, Ahmad Al-Shuqairi, Sami Taha, Dr. Youssef Heikal, Ragheb Al-Nashashibi, i.e., the same families that were managing Palestinian political life during the mandate, but now they were working under the patronage of the Arab League. On November 29, 1947, this committee announced its categorical rejection of the international partition plan for Palestine, Resolution 181, without offering an alternative solution that takes into account the profound changes that resulted from World War II, which turned the Jewish settlers in Palestine into a large demographic, political, and economic force, and the British occupation government had also begun its operations against the Palestinian people. In 1947, battles took place in several areas, including: the first Battle of Al-Qastal, the second Battle of Al-Qastal, the Battle of Tiberias, the Battle of Haifa, the Battle of Jaffa, the Battle of Qatamon, the Battle of Bisan, and the Battle of Acre.

Third: The third body is the All-Palestine Government, which was formed after the Nakba in Gaza on September 23, 1948, under the leadership of Ahmad Hilmi Abdul Baqi, affirming the natural right to self-determination, as stated in the declaration document. The government was formed in the context of Britain's announcement of its intention to end the mandate and refer the issue to the United Nations. After the partition resolution was issued, the Arab Higher Committee asked the Arab League to approve the establishment of a Palestinian government to take charge of general administration affairs when the mandate ends... This government ended up in an apartment on top of one of Cairo's buildings.

The Palestinian political disagreements initially revolved around believing or disbelieving British promises, then disagreements over who would lead the country, and later the disagreement developed over the partition plan, as everyone, including Arab countries, rejected it, and only the Palestinian Communist Party, which was looking to unite the working class and peasants of Arabs and Jews against British occupation, approved it... It was a good idea, but its implementation and approval by Arabs and Palestinians was impossible... Thus, disagreements emerged and continued, and the Palestinian Arab side did not rise to the level of training, arming, organizing, and thinking of the Western Zionist Jew; so the Nakba, displacement, and loss came, while the nascent Israel grew scientifically, militarily, industrially, and democratically, and spread its narrative and historical vision in the West... Over the subsequent decades, with the difference in technology, science, and political management, and the lack of Arab support, it was inevitable that Palestinian stagnation and regression would continue, as Zionism, with Western support, advanced, and here we see them preparing to take the whole country and gradually expel Palestinians, and expand geographically within their vision of the myth of Greater Israel, which they spread among themselves and in the West and East, and as long as there are those who believe that they are originally from Palestine, they will believe the rest of their vision... Meanwhile, disagreements returned in the same form after the Nakba and after the rejection of local, Arab, and Islamic leaderships to the partition plan, and the failure to develop and take the challenge from religious stubbornness to learning and equality with the enemy... In other words, we did not recognize either then or later their scientific, social, and political superiority, and we continued the struggle while we were unable to unite our forces and vision... Instead, the words, ideas, and meetings of Palestinian unity in the past two decades have become a farce, a mockery, and a shame for Palestinians with its farcical leadership and a people unable to impose a reform vision, or reject the entrenched political barbarism... And since ignorance will continue for existing reasons and there is no on-going effort to get rid of it, disagreements will continue, and the leadership will end up in nothing, as the previous leaderships ended up after the Nakba in an office in an apartment on top of a building in Cairo. The observer of Palestinian struggle history notes the reliance of the masses, elites, and leaderships on the idea of solidarity, cooperation, brotherhood, and connection with Arabs and Muslims, and therefore, expecting and waiting for their support, while they are actually in a

different world, and the Palestinian people in another... As for the Zionist movement, it relied in practice on itself and on creating facts and imposing them, with British and then Western approval and support. Even in this ongoing massacre after the 'Al Aqsa Flood'; the masses and elites were expecting Arab, brotherly, and religious support, while they (the Arabs) were reiterating that they are against the Muslim Brotherhood movement.

The second reason for the continuation of the calamity is the religious element in general, Jewish, Christian, and Islamic, which is always based in practice on fanaticism, leading to killing, denying the other, and justifying and legitimizing their extermination in the name of the heavenly books. The three famous religions in our region are not the only ones in the world, nor are they the first, and they are not even the only monotheistic ones; there is the Zoroastrianism religion parts of which were incorporated into Judaism and Christianity, and before all of these, some ancient Egyptian religions were monotheistic, as is proven and engraved in stone... The important thing and what concerns us here is the reminder of the existence of ancient polytheistic religions, meaning the existence of more than one god specialized in a certain field among a single human group. This prevailed from the earliest times until the Greek and Roman eras, which witnessed the beginning of Zoroastrianism and Judaism. Also, in the past, most gods were female because they were associated with reproduction and fertility, and when the male discovered his important and original role in reproduction, male gods appeared and then multiplied and dominated. The multiple gods coexisted in the human mind due to the distribution of tasks among them, and with the arrival of the god and his sons and daughters, which morphed into the belief in one god, it became natural to deny other gods and excommunicate their followers, and then it was necessary for the followers of monotheistic religions to fight against each other, so that the development of monotheistic religions obligated the denial of the other and formulated the most heinous ways to kill, enslave, and exterminate them, through accusing them of blasphemy and falsification in the teachings... The old says it is the original and must be followed, and the new says it is the latest and best and cancels what preceded it, and whoever does not follow it is an infidel. As evidence of the inevitability of conflict between religions, we can look at the internal conflict within each religion to the point of killing and threats of excommunication as well; this is the nature of monotheistic religions where the supreme lord is

unseen and unheard, and therefore interpretations vary. Since its early days, every monotheistic religion has been used and exploited by beneficiary groups that ignited wars, invasions, and destruction in the name of religion and the one supreme lord, and turned into colonial and settler ideas, or in other words, it was easy to harness religions for conquest, occupation, profit, and domination without mercy... The Crusades in the name of Christianity and the liberation of Jerusalem killed all the inhabitants of Jerusalem, Christians, Jews, and Muslims, to the last person. The Western Christian hostility against Jews as individuals or groups and against Muslims as countries and regions continued until after World War II, which exhausted Europe and made America and the Soviet Union dominant instead... Later, with the liberation of the Arab region and the West's desire to get rid of the Jews, they exploited Zionism to occupy Palestine instead of Britain and ensure influence and domination over the Middle East through their creation, Israel, and therefore, the Palestinians are being exterminated smoothly through Western Christian support and arming... In other words, due to the religious factor, Europe and America are now applying the idea of uniting with Jews against Islam, and draining Jews through fighting with Palestinians... That is why I say that religions are the root of the calamity.

The third reason for the calamity is the result of the backwardness and intellectual stagnation of the Arab, Palestinian, and Islamic world, and the rejection of the idea of examining the origins of religions, their convergence, and their nullity, and it is therefore a cause directly related to beliefs and religions and their impact on spreading intellectual schizophrenia that paves the way for racism and hatred. Sometimes the facts are before our eyes, or they are revealed to us later, but we insist on refusing to look at them and take them into account and build on them to develop ourselves. For example, when the Protestant Reformation began against the Church in Europe in the 16th century, the Church and the class that benefited from it were afraid that the matter would develop to its complete disappearance; so they began thinking about searching for evidence to confirm the truth of their beliefs. Since Christianity relies on the Jewish Torah as its basis, and the Gospels as the content of the stories and heritage of Jesus Christ, they wanted to prove the Torah narratives as they are according to the text in Egypt and Palestine. Thus, in a later period, Napoleon was funded and sent on a campaign to Egypt and Palestine, carrying with him archaeologists and linguists; so they searched, excavated, and

translated the Rosetta Stone, but their research did not prove any Jewish narrative in Egypt, and they failed to occupy Palestine; so the Jews in France turned against Napoleon... The important thing in our field here is that all European expeditions during the Ottoman era and later during the British occupation of Egypt and Palestine were actively searching for evidence for the stories of the Jewish prophets such as Abraham, Joseph, and Moses... The situation continued, and the search failed after the establishment of Israel and its occupation of Jerusalem and Sinai and the search and excavation for decades without finding proof of any story or Torah narrative... They did not find any trace of the great and famous Kingdom of Solomon, but they and others found evidence for all the countries and peoples mentioned in the Torah and others. In Egypt they even found descriptions of several types of cheese that the Pharaohs used to make and eat, which they had written about, engraved together with depictions of all aspects of their lives, wars, victories, and defeats... But nothing related to the Torah narratives was found!!

The search continued without success, and the turning point came when the Assyrian and Babylonian languages were translated, and it was discovered that the stories from those civilizations preceding the emergence of Judaism are the same as the stories of the Torah, with the names of the kings from those eras changed and replaced with the names of those who became the prophets of the Jews... Even the Ten Commandments, which are supposed to have been revealed to Moses in Sinai, were found engraved on the Code of Hammurabi, which is now in the Louvre Museum in Paris... It is just a process of copying from the Code of Hammurabi and claiming that it was revealed to Moses 400 years after Hammurabi's death... This is one example, but all the stories of the ten Babylonian kings became the narratives of Jewish prophets, who appear not to have existed, with distortions in names and dates, and these narratives turned into the holy book of the Jews. The greatest Jewish-Israeli archaeologist, Finkelstein, acknowledged that the prophets Abraham, Moses, and others of the Jewish prophets did not exist, and that the Jews were never in Egypt, and he was not the only one who reached this conclusion through reviewing the archaeological evidence. But of course, we do not want to listen to that, despite it being a scientific matter that denies the entire Jewish narrative of their Palestinian origin... Why do we reject that and join the Jewish religious side? The answer is clear, since their prophets are the prophets of Islam; how can we deny our own prophets? In general, whoever reviews the

Torah and the Bible and compares them with the Quran will find that about half of the Quran's verses come from those books, sometimes literally and sometimes in meaning, and the other half are narratives and stories that happened during the life of Prophet Muhammad, and every scholar or student of comparative religion knows that, but they remain silent out of fear of excommunication and social ostracism, and there are those who speak and clarify, but there is no response to those calls; it is one of the most difficult, if not impossible, things to succeed in changing a religious belief among humans, as it affects everything that concerns them, and their faith has come to control their hormones and minds. I have written about these issues in several chapters in more than one book, and now, in the midst of the genocidal war on Gaza, we see that the religious factor is reinforced among all parties, especially among the Israeli right, which considers the Zionist military progress to be based on and supported by religious ideas, specifically the Torah's commandments regarding the extermination of the other side, as they openly declare that there are no innocent people in Gaza, not children, women, nor the elderly, and this is repeated openly by religious figures and politicians, and religious figures incite soldiers to kill and exterminate... Every religious person, exploiter or fool, respects their religious books and feels a sense of euphoria in applying their verses against their opponents - specifically - against followers of other religions... This is what happened with all monotheistic religions, and what is happening now in Gaza and elsewhere. Any objective scientific analysis of the mentality of religiously fanatical peoples will show a fundamental difference from the modern scientific mentality, where the fanatical mentality relies on "pre-logical" thinking that mixes reality and spiritual beliefs, focusing on prevailing collective perceptions instead of individual reasoning; their thinking relies on the law of collective participation and connection with the deep, unchanging, and unquestionable spiritual and imaginary world... They also link imaginary fantasies, such as dreams, with events that have happened or they see will happen... This, in turn, deepens the ideas of worship and rituals of all kinds without relying on rational reasoning, and therefore they believe in the existence and role of spirits and magic and ways to exploit or protect themselves from them... This mentality, for example, believes that only gods can be victorious, and any defeat is a result of straying from religion, and any sacrifice and humiliation will be rewarded in the hereafter with unimaginable bliss... Therefore, it is necessary to hold on to their religious principles more deeply to ward off disasters, and to avoid imitating the

lives and assimilating the science of the infidels who are of other religions or atheists

In the middle of March 2025, one of my wife's four brothers visited us, the youngest of them, accompanied by his wife... They came from Great Britain, formerly, to visit my wife, who is suffering from cancer that has spread to her lungs. It was their first visit to Jordan; so I took them to some historical places with a standing and written history, such as the Roman Jerash (Gerasa), and its sister, Umm Qais (Gadara), which are among the ten Roman cities of the Decapolis, which was a Roman alliance established by Emperor Pompey the Great in 64 BC. The alliance included ten of the most important cities in the Levant region, now located in Jordan, Palestine, and the city of Damascus, and its purpose was to stand against the influence of the Nabataean Arabs in the south. These cities were located on the eastern borders of the Roman Empire in the southeast of the Levant in the first centuries BC and AD. This is standing history, recorded in books and engraved on rocks, unlike the museum located at Mount Nebo. "Nebo" is the name of the Babylonian god of commerce, and the area was inhabited in the sixth century by a group of Christian Bedouins who built a church, which is the origin of the current place on that mountain overlooking the Dead Sea, Jerusalem, and Palestine, which I visited again with my guests. Everything we mentioned above about that site is true and established, but the museum now claims, through its written and non-archaeological contents, which were established since the British Mandate, that the prophet Moses was taken there, and that he and his group, after leaving Egypt, went to this Mount Nebo and saw the Holy Land, and that Moses died and was buried there... to the end of that completely unproven narrative, which is doubted due to the lack of evidence of Moses and his people in Egypt or anywhere else in the Levant... There is no trace, for example, of a Jewish city, or writing, or engraving, or an ancient Hebrew coin, for example, and such things have been found from the peoples, kings, and states of the region for thousands of years... So why has the promotion of the existence of evidence that confirms the Jewish narrative been going on since the British Mandate until now... and why in the countries of the region? Modern Zionism considers itself victorious now, and relies on the power of arms and Western Christian support to confirm a mythical Torah narrative, and therefore, they declare their intention to establish Greater Israel and announce its Torah borders from the Nile to the Euphrates... They

occupied Palestine and expanded into Syria, without any provocation, towards the Euphrates, and they demand Sinai and even the Nile!! When we recognize their Torah narrative; we are justifying their expansionist demands instead of considering them invaders and denying the relationship between religion and nationalism... We are acknowledging a false heritage for them and opening the way for them to more demands, and it would be better to correct the history of our heritage and rely only on what is proven by archaeology and not on false, illogical narratives.

Religions, when their followers are weak, resort to verses of mercy, justice, and equality, and when their followers are strong, they practice revenge and apply verses of extermination and angry revenge and beheading... But in times of neutrality resulting from a balance of power; they claim to adhere to international laws and conventions governing wars and guaranteeing human rights... Certainly, and according to the study of history and its scrutiny, we will find that religions are the cause and justification for wars and hatred.

The fourth reason for the current calamity is the love of money, collecting it, and preserving it, which leads to participation either in subservience to protect one's own money, as is the case with rich Arab countries that evade support and dodge taking positions, or leads to participation in wars and occupation to benefit from selling them supplies, and from pricing, results, and spoils, as is the case with arms and ammunition manufacturing companies; every shell or missile launched in wars brings profits to the manufacturers as companies or countries. Also, on the financial level; everyone who supports the Israeli war and occupation makes profits as a result of the current geopolitical situation, and if the war led to material or moral losses, they would not have supported it. Within the role of religions in the field of war profits; there is a demand from the heavenly books to plunder and take captives whether at the level of individuals, groups, or countries. For example, a report issued by an Israeli media outlet (Yedioth Ahronoth) revealed that Israeli occupation soldiers looted huge amounts of money, gold, luxury goods, and weapons during their operations in Syria, Lebanon, and the Gaza Strip. The report details the extensive looting operations carried out by specialized military units in addition to individual soldiers. The occupation army's loot included approximately \$28 million in cash, gold bars and luxury jewelry from the Gaza Strip, in addition to bank vaults... along with about 183,000 weapons from Lebanon... Such looted

goods are turned a blind eye to by governments to keep soldiers satisfied, and these acts, unfortunately, are sanctioned as they are adopted by Islamic, Christian, and Jewish religions.

There are, of course, other reasons behind this massacre and its continuation. For example, Arab governments that supported the Muslim Brotherhood movement and exploited Islamic groups in fighting against non-Brotherhood Arab governments and peoples, headed by Saudi Arabia and Qatar, and after Riyadh abandoned support of the Brotherhood and turned to fighting them and erasing their influence in the kingdom and abroad, Doha stood firm and devoted itself to supporting Hamas and its sisters as the last Brotherhood stronghold, hoping to achieve a military and political victory that would restore the Brotherhood's position and Doha's hope of leading Sunni Islam, and Hamas was encouraged to reject the idea of unifying the Palestinian leadership or renewing it through elections... Thus, Doha sacrificed the people of Gaza and then the rest of the people in occupied Palestine and declared the conflict a war, as if it were between balanced forces where patience and prayer could win... Since the 2023 'Flood' Al-Jazeera has turned to the practices of Egyptian broadcaster Ahmed Said during the setback, who led us to Tel Aviv while the Israeli army reached the Suez Canal, the Jordan River, and was approaching Damascus, until he was silenced by Gamal Abdel Nasser on the third day of the setback.

On the other hand, the official Arab position of not supporting the Brotherhood varies; some collaborate with Israel to kill the Brotherhood and the ignorant people who encourage them, and others remain silent about the massacre hoping to get rid of the warlike Islam that destroyed their countries in the Arab Spring, and threatens them if Hamas emerges victorious and creates an example to be followed. Of course, everyone sacrifices innocent civilians and does not care about what may happen to the Palestinian cause. This vision and similar ones are also seen spread among the majority of the peoples of Arab and other Islamic countries; Arab and Islamic demonstrations are fewer in number and less stable than demonstrations of Christian peoples who sympathize with Palestinian civilians and not necessarily with the ideology of religious resistance. The exception here is Iran, which still bets on an achievement for Hamas, and perhaps the return of Hezbollah, and recording a victory for the Houthis in Yemen if possible and if circumstances allow, to draw what is considered a victory. The Iranian goal in the medium and

long term is to distinguish Shia Islam and to humiliate Sunni Islam. So, to remind us of the reasons for this massacre and its continuation, we will see that it is the Jewish, Christian, and Islamic religious factor basically, intertwined with the rest of the elements such as internal Palestinian conflicts, the Jewish settler and Western Christian racist colonial vision, and the desire for Islamic political domination over the region with the methods of ignorant and undeveloped Salafist thought... and there is no victor but God.

Involvement and Lamentation

On the 555th day of the genocidal war in Gaza, events occurred and expectations relating to the Islamic world as in both governments and peoples started to appear, and as a good citizen, I had warned of them and predicted them many years ago, but there is no harm in returning to them in their new context with the aim of taking precautions in thinking and planning rather than relying on prayer or on Islamic countries and organizations. The people of Gaza and Palestine and their supporters have not stopped asking: Where is the nation of two billion people in the support of Gaza? We know originally that the matter is not about numbers, or this should be a given. We also know that the Muslim Brotherhood movement that adopted Islamic resistance in Palestine is not loved by governments or by the majority of Islamic peoples, as evidenced by the lack of real popular and official interaction with the massacre... But there is no harm in clarifying things as a lesson for the future regarding the need for self-reliance and to plan according to our own capabilities, instead of relying on the principle of involvement followed by lamentation. The population of the Arab world is about 431 million, the vast majority of whom are Muslims, and the rest of the Muslims are non-Arabs, including, for example, Muslims in Pakistan, that nuclear state aligned with the American camp, and Turkey, a NATO member that recognized Israel in 1949 and now has trade relations and exports to Israel worth billions of dollars annually, and faces no Brotherhood criticism... Speaking of trade relations; there are Islamic and Arab countries that export to Israel: Turkey, the UAE, Malaysia, Egypt, Jordan, Indonesia, Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia... and Qatar has had trade relations since 1996. What about Iran, the supporter of Islamic resistance in the region? Tehran was the second Islamic country to recognize Israel after 1949 until the Khomeini revolution in 1979, when the Islamic revolution government became hostile to the American administration and policy, the former supporter of the Shah regime that the revolution overthrew, and Iran has borne economic and social losses as a result of Western, American, and Israeli aggression, and its performance is known up to the 555th day of the genocidal war, which witnessed the beginning of talks with

Washington planned to lead to the end of Iranian hostility with the West and the great Satan, and thus, to mandatory Iranian neutrality towards Israel.

We do not know today how the negotiations will be and what their results will be, but it is known that Tehran is offering Washington peace and a peaceful nuclear development agreement under supervision, and in return, a bribe for President Trump to open American investment in Iran in an amount ranging between one to four trillion dollars... investments in oil, gas, minerals, reconstruction, and manufacturing, and thus automatic submission and alignment with Washington culturally, economically, and politically. This amount offered to President Trump is many times the amount that Saudi Arabia promised to invest in the United States, and thus, Tehran will have the first weight in the region, with American support this time... The matter is of course subject to negotiations, but Tehran's options are very limited between acceptance or receiving a blow to its nuclear reactors and forces, and then exchanging blows until the matter is settled after several rounds, and the Iranian investment offer is a clear indication of Tehran's position. (On June 13, 2025, Israel launched a massive attack on Iran and Washington participated in the following days with an air strike on Iranian nuclear sites, but the nuclear project has not officially ended, and talks with the West about continuing negotiations are ongoing).

On the 555th day of Gaza's destruction and the genocide in preparation for the completion of the extermination of its people, the Jordanian security authorities announced the arrest of an Islamist cell planning to manufacture short-range missiles, presumably intended to operate in the Jordanian interior and not against neighboring countries, and it was said that the security authorities seized a Katyusha missile on the outskirts of the capital Amman, which is within range of vital Jordanian areas, including the Dabuq area, which contains some royal palaces. Some of the perpetrators confessed that they belonged to cells of the Muslim Brotherhood movement, represented in parliament by thirty deputies, and the party distributed leaflets calling for freedom for the detainees, including some members of the missile cell, and Brotherhood deputies also called for pardon for those arrested, meaning an acknowledgment of the relationship despite the party's official statement that it was an individual act!! But they did not condemn the act and the idea, which indicates or aims at the existence of a parallel armed militia to the army of the regime in Jordan. This incident reflects the concept of the

Brotherhood party's work, as despite their parliamentary representation, they do not hesitate to prepare for resorting to violence and coups; democracy is for them a means to achieve their goal... They also rely on the esoteric approach, meaning declaring commitment to the regime, state, and democracy on the one hand, and planning for coup, sabotage, and chaos in the state that allowed them freedom of social and political work on the other hand. Also, the majority of the Brotherhood's members and voters have a psychological frame that is hostile to the state and any existing system, and they do not have national education, but rather consider every country as a field that serves their aspirations to establish an Islamic entity regardless of its size...

All the world's parties educate their cadres and supporters on love of the homeland, but the Brotherhood educates its members to harbor hostility to the homeland as long as it is outside their management, and in this way and with that vision, the Arab countries were destroyed by the Brotherhood and their financiers. As a reminder; parliamentary elections were held in Jordan in September 2024, and the king had recommended ensuring integrity, and it was possible, as happens in Arab countries, to rig the results of these elections, but the king, the state, and the government have worked for years to form parties to participate in political life officially, -and indeed- the elections saw 1623 candidates competing in 197 local and general lists for the 138 seats in the House of Representatives. The Independent Election Commission announced that the turnout rate reached 32.25% of those eligible to vote, recording a slight increase over the 2020 elections, and that the turnout rate exceeded the rate in the previous elections, while the participation rate of women in these elections saw a "decline" compared to the previous elections, where it reached 48% while the turnout rate for males was 52%... The Islamic Action Front and the Islamic National Party won slightly more than 552,000 votes out of 1,638,351 voters, knowing that the number of those eligible to vote is 4 million and 600,000 citizens, and thus, the percentage of Jordanians who exercised their right to vote did not exceed 36%, and as it is clear, the Islamic mobilization led to good results for Islamic parties and orientations, and state agencies did not rig the results... But the Brotherhood's thinking is its own enemy, hasty, and with no belief in democracy at all, but rather it seeks power in order to monopolize it, and they know it is impossible to implement their vision in Jordan constitutionally as the authority is in the hands of the king and he can

dissolve parliament. Instead of seeing the support of about half a million voters for them, and the possibility of increasing that through good work, they saw that four million voters did not support them, and thus, there is no harm in preparing coup plans to resort to when needed, and that is why they worked on manufacturing missiles.

It also became clear in this context that the Brotherhood refused to participate in the 2013 elections as a result of the Arab Spring, and the Brotherhood moved in the streets of Syria, Egypt, Tunisia, and others... At that time, they set a condition for participating in the democratic process, which is to change the constitution and remove the king's powers! Of course, so that if they were able to form a government, they would stick to it and the king would not be able to dissolve it... The Brotherhood failed everywhere and in every country; so they accepted participation in the Jordanian elections. In these days, it has also become clear that Turkey, the beloved of the Brotherhood, paved the way for them to take over Syria at the expense of dividing it with Israel... A neighboring Syrian region came under Turkish domination, and the other part under Israeli domination, with Turkish-Israeli disagreements over Israeli air domination over all of Syria. There is no room here to repeat what the Islamic factions that branched out, prepared by the Brotherhood's thinking and upbringing, have done throughout the Arab world over the past years, -and of course- what their policy has done in Gaza and what the situation is leading to, thanks to them, in the Palestinian West Bank. The opportunism of the Brotherhood movement, represented in their methods and justifications, is unparalleled; they claim to rely on religion and the fundamentalist approach, and then they accept support from Britain from their founding until now, as if Mecca is located in London... With the beginning of the Jordan cell crisis and the country's implementation of a previous ruling to dissolve the group, their global organization moved and attacked Jordan and called on the group not to compromise and for the cowards to retreat in favor of the jihadists in confrontations. These statements were issued from London and Turkey, where their top leaders are calling for escalation!! They claim to be liberals, independent, and anti-colonial, and then they ally with reactionary forces, and even become megaphones, tools, and claws for them against national liberation forces and systems that are actually and verbally anti-colonial, and they even mobilized with America openly in Afghanistan against the Soviets, and here we are seeing the

result of their success there and its impact on the Afghan people... and we ask God that the result will not be repeated in Gaza.

In fact, the incident in Jordan needs further contemplation; it has been proven by the confessions of the cell that they received funding from Iran through Lebanon, and from Hamas members in Lebanon!! Iran, which is striving for reconciliation and alignment behind America, wants to disrupt the situation in Jordan through a Brotherhood action!! And the Brotherhood leadership is calling for escalation and, just as a reminder, Iran is Shia and the Brotherhood says they are Sunni, knowing that Sunnis excommunicate Shiites and Shiites curse Sunni symbols... In other words, how is reconciliation achieved in the name of religion between two originally hostile parties? It is the Brotherhood's opportunism. Then, what is the hidden goal of the Brotherhood in Jordan in light of the arrest and confession of party members of plotting to manufacture missiles? Do they want, for example, to clash with security forces and society and create a civil war, or at least move security to suppress freedoms and stir up strife? Or do they want to bomb Israel with missiles weaker than the level of Hamas missiles in Gaza, and not equal in type, size, and number to the Hezbollah missiles that have been hidden... and thus, involve Jordan in a war and destruction like Lebanon, Syria, and Yemen? Why don't they think to benefit from the country as a peaceful oasis and strive to strengthen democracy and attachment to the homeland, and develop their sciences and fruitful inventions? I mean, if their cell succeeds and manufactures missiles and uses them internally or against Israel; will it lead to any good? Or will the situation of Lebanon and Gaza be repeated... and thus, who are the parties benefiting from the Brotherhood's actions, and who are the victims? Israel wants and prepares for Greater Israel, and thus seeks justifications for aggression and expansion... The Brotherhood's actions, wherever they are, according to experience, are not in the interest of Islam and Muslims, but serve the enemies at all times. The ignorant Brotherhood's confusion and chaos in Jordan have made them approach and seek refuge in Palestine, and thus, attach a new accusation to the Palestinians in Jordan that they are Brotherhood members and hostile to the regime, and many criticize and confuse between the Brotherhood and the origins of Palestinians in Jordan... Any excuse to prepare for a civil war that nobody needs, but which they prefer and think they are good at. It is worth noting that the countries geographically included within the borders of Greater Israel are suffering

from civil wars, or there are plans to induce this suffering, and that the Brotherhood movement is a main tool in creating those conditions that pave the way for Israeli expansion.

During the 555 days of the Gaza massacre, we discovered that Tehran is not the only Islamic country that exploits belief to serve its interests, or the only country ready and demanding to join the American side and follow in its footsteps. In all Arab countries, the embassy is consulted and its approval is obtained, and in many Arab countries, there are American military bases established with goodwill, and sometimes at the request and insistence of the Arab regime, as in the cases of Qatar and Bahrain... Qatar, which adopted the Brotherhood movement and supported them in the hope that they would rule through them where they succeed, is also the country that established the largest American base in the region, and even before Washington agreed to the request, the base was ready to be handed over!! Can we just assume that the Brotherhood movement and its ideology are actually opposed to American politics, or are they being exploited and their street being manipulated? And does Doha really believe that the base will protect it or protect the Gulf countries? Israel's technical superiority, regardless of American administration approval or denial... Israeli technology has been able to control American and Western radar and planes from a distance for a long time... Qataris may be able to see Israeli planes in the skies with their eyes, but the Al Udeid base's warning systems will not be triggered, and Western planes in Qatar and elsewhere will not fly to intercept... We tried them when they failed to protect Saudi oil sites from Iranian-made missiles launched from Yemen on September 18, 2019, during Trump's first term. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia was the first adopter of the Brotherhood's ideology and exploited the organization against the Nasserite regime and against Arab liberation regimes... Decades passed after Riyadh adopted and funded the movement throughout the Arab world and beyond until the movement grew in Saudi Arabia, and the young prince turned against it and other visions, and Saudi Arabia became a fierce opponent of the movement, and for several years, an opponent of its funder, Qatar... The important thing is that Hamas and the rest of the Brotherhood in the world spread that Riyadh wants to normalize with Israel, and that October 7 came to prevent this normalization!! This Brotherhood narrative is totally fabricated and exploits the principle of promoting and repeating lies despite their contradiction with the truth, but the Muslim who

relies on the unseen, believes the lies when they are repeated instead of using his mind to analyze. Riyadh - actually - announced that it is ready to normalize, but within conditions, including the establishment of a Palestinian state on the 1967 occupied land, and this is an agreed-upon Arab and Palestinian position, and sometimes Hamas agrees to it, and sometimes rejects it. The important thing is that October 7 happened, and Saudi Arabia did not normalize before or after it, and the Arab world, Hamas, and the Brotherhood are now wishing that Saudi Arabia would insist on its declared position, and they wish that Riyadh would exchange normalization with ending the war on Gaza and perhaps establishing a Palestinian state!! In other words, they want to push Saudi Arabia into Tel Aviv's arms in exchange for saving Hamas and the Brotherhood!! Saudi Arabia, of course, says it is with stopping the aggression, but it will not pay a single riyal to rebuild if Hamas continues to rule the Gaza Strip, and Riyadh says so far that it is ready to normalize when Washington meets its conditions, including the establishment of a Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital... So, among the many questions arising from this situation, why do the Brotherhood, with all their devices and entities, attack Saudi Arabia and not attack Qatar, the first normalizer, or Turkey, the first Muslim country to recognize the entity and the largest exporter of food to Tel Aviv while Gaza is being starved, or Britain, their loving mother and the origin of the plague? And when Tehran and Washington reconcile and the Iranian-Israeli hostility is extinguished, will the Brotherhood attack Tehran or remain silent if financial support continues to be leaked to them? And will Iran, in its negotiations with Washington, demand a stop to the genocide in Gaza, or will it abandon the issue and remember that it is a non-Arab, non-Sunni country, and a non-member of the Arab League? It makes me think of the song "They got us stuck in the well and cut the rope on us!"

Whoever opposes the Muslim Brotherhood movement becomes their enemy, and they do not hesitate to conspire against him even after his death and the end of his time, and whoever shelters and feeds them, they praise falsely, even if he is one of the best friends of their enemy, and there are many examples of this... President Nasser was a Brotherhood member, and when he led the revolution and the country, they met with him and demanded that he Islamize Egypt, and the Sheikh of Al-Azhar asked him on their behalf to order the wearing of the hijab! Nasser knew that the Sheikh's daughter was studying medicine and did not wear the hijab;

so he said to the Sheikh: Everyone should veil their own daughters, I cannot impose the dress on so many millions of women...

They tried to assassinate him, and he defeated them, and the enmity and incitement against him continued even after his death, and there was not more than 600 pounds found in his house or bank account, but they accused him of theft and all the vices!! Nasser, who expanded Al-Azhar and made it a prestigious university, who founded the Quran Radio to broadcast verses 24 hours a day, who nationalized the Suez Canal from the West, nationalized feudalism, and distributed land to farmers, and many other things, did not intercede for them, and, accordingly, they made him a kafir (heathen) and the target of their eternal hatred. On the other hand, we have Erdogan, who they adopted as the Sheikh of the pious and declared Turkey an Islamic state to be emulated... Erdogan, who does not spare any opponent, and is a friend of all the leaders of the entity... and most importantly, who says repeatedly that Turkey is a democratic, secular state and not an Islamic system, but they insist that Turkey is an Islamic republic, despite the Turkish constitution and the country's history and practices.

We also have the example of the Jordanian monarchy, with which they allied against the Nasserite and nationalist forces, then, after the setback, they formed a fedayeen organization for the sheikhs to cooperate with the regime, and refused to participate in the fighting on the side of the revolution... And now, they are conspiring against the regime and society, and claiming to seek to support Hamas, By manufacturing missiles in Jordan, after they changed their allegiance to Palestine and its revolution, they are working to destroy the homes of Jordanians of Palestinian origin and split the country that hosted and protected them for decades.

Even in Egypt, their enmity continued against all regimes after the British and the monarchy, except for the regime of Muhammad Morsi, the only pure one... The Brotherhood glorifies British colonialism and its days, and openly wishes for the return of the Egyptian monarchy... Days when Farouk rode - literally - on the backs of farmers to cross a dirty or muddy area... As for their arch-enemy now, that is President Abdel Fattah al-Sisi, to whom they refuse to allocate any positive points, and here I need to stop and record some facts and positions, and a little fairness to President al-Sisi, after recording that I am still unable to enter Egypt, and that I

have been deprived of the opportunity to visit the Gaza Strip through Egypt since the days of President Mubarak.

I claim and record that President Sisi has done great favors to the Palestinian cause, especially since the October 2023 'flood', in which Egypt was not consulted. If the Egyptian regime had accepted the idea of displacing the sector's population and accepted the financial reward offered to it... If it had accepted that and had not withstood the temptation and threats, the Palestinian issue would have ended, and the sector's population would have been scattered outside Palestine, followed by the West Bank population... The high dam that stood firm is the Sisi regime. Also, when the world became aware of President Trump's aggressiveness in his meetings with his guests, Sisi refused the invitation to go to the White House and ignored all public pressure and blackmail about cutting aid if he refused displacement, but he refused and silenced them, and this is what no other Arab or world leader has done, whether of a rich or poor country! There are other matters recorded in favor of Sisi and Egypt... For example, the issue of diversifying weapons, militarizing Sinai, and improving the air force in attack and defense. It has become known that advanced American weapons, specifically the planes offered or sold to Arab countries or others, are subject to American interference, meaning - in short - Washington can keep Egyptian planes in their airports with the press of a button, if their goal is to launch against targets that contradict the American vision. It is also known to every observer and follower that Washington does not provide the Arabs with advanced air defense systems so that Israeli planes can roam the Arab skies, and this dilemma has accompanied the Arabs for decades and opened the door to Israeli air superiority that decides all wars. It suddenly became clear to us that President Sisi jumped over this reality, equipped the air force with advanced French planes, mobile air defense systems, and the latest Chinese air defense systems, and most importantly, Egyptian pilots are training on Chinese planes that surpass the capabilities of the famous American F-35 stealth... Meaning Egypt is dealing with China militarily despite American warnings and threats... For me, these things erase all the accusations and filth that the Brotherhood spreads everywhere about President Sisi... And these evil people may one day find that Egypt is the national support and the striking hand that will stand and defend the nation in all its categories... They are destroying the internal fronts, conspiring with the goals of

the West and Israel, and wailing about victimhood, and they are ready to destroy countries in order to rule them with an apelike mentality.

In July 2025, the Brotherhood leadership in London ordered all cells to attack Egyptian embassies and accuse them of starving Gaza by closing the crossing!! The crossing is closed by the occupation from the Palestinian side, and it is intended for travellers, not goods... The funny thing is that the Brotherhood of Palestine 1948, represented in the Knesset, carried Israeli flags and demonstrated in front of the Egyptian embassy in Tel Aviv, and they had never demonstrated before against the massacre and did not even participate with or like the Jews who demonstrated against their own government for killing and starvation... Suddenly, they raised Israeli flags and demonstrated against the Egyptian embassy in Tel Aviv; what a farce and shame! What next? As a good citizen, I have said and written for decades and until now, that it is necessary to separate religion from politics; because where religion dominates politics and society, it is the beginning of collapse, destruction, wars, hatred, looting, and plundering... It is natural that the ignorant and charlatans control the leadership of religion, and any military leadership that is chaotic for society leads to destruction due to the necessary stupidity of its leaders, and it is not a secret or magic that countries and systems that apply democracy and electoral control are at the forefront of development, prosperity, and citizen care, while religious and military systems bring poverty, war, and more ignorance, and here is the world in front of us confirming this conclusion. The problem with these backward countries and societies is that they are necessarily dependent due to their connection with religions, and therefore do not believe in the possibility of self-development and community development, and do not dare to think outside the box, and the bravest individuals leave the country and emigrate, and this gradually turns the country into a refuge for the intellectually disabled and the least able to think and develop the community... Also, the wise who do not emigrate educate their children in private schools with rational, secular curricula and in foreign languages; so that they graduate to take lucrative positions and jobs and detach themselves from the comprehensiveness of society instead of developing it... Therefore, you find in officially backward countries, small societies that seem to be imported in form and content.

Memories of youth come to mind, and reading the works of Mao Tse-tung, which traditionalists used to mock... Today, after just a few decades, China has

transformed from a country under colonialism, suffering from opium consumption, extreme poverty for the majority of the people, and immersed in superstitions and sorcery, into the first country in the world... Yes, and objectively, China has become, after getting rid of religions and their sedatives, the number one country in the world in industry, art, economy, and innovation, and there is no house on earth that does not have a few Chinese products... Peace be upon you. Free advice for God: If you do not manufacture your own high-tech weapons, Eastern weapons will not benefit you because they will be from an older generation, while Western weapons are expensive and dedicated to Israel's interests and ensuring its superiority; so invent and develop for yourself. You cannot manufacture and use technology without building successive generations with democracy, social freedom, and fighting against superstition to ensure rapid ascent and skip stages. External protection is of a certainty pro forma. and seeks to make money by selling technical waste, while foreign military bases do not work for your benefit and protection but to control your country. The curse that has hit us as Arabs is the presence of a strong, technologically advanced, and Western-backed racist entity in our midst, seeking to occupy and dominate the entire region while waiting for control, and instead of this being a stimulus for our unity and progress, our governments and peoples wait for surprise blows, one after another, and we practice the art of guessing and analyzing what will happen and then bury our heads in the sand waiting for the kick in the back... May God curse us.

With Qaddafi

I don't know if we, as Palestinians specifically, and Arabs in general, wasted an opportunity to understand cooperation with the leader Muammar Qaddafi and benefit from it, or if we followed the counter-propaganda and marginalized the opportunities? I will talk here about my experience and vision in this regard. In the summer of 1987, I participated on behalf of Al-Arab newspaper in a conference for Arab journalists held in Tripoli, and it seems that some officials and members of the leadership were reading what I wrote, so some of them would welcome me on the sidelines of the meetings and start discussions... Frankly, I didn't recognize most of them, and they thought they were famous and well-known to the extent that they didn't introduce themselves. Following one of the discussions in Tripoli, I met the editor-in-chief of a magazine published from Cyprus (Libyan), that I sometimes wrote for... I extended my hand to greet him; he said he doesn't shake hands with those who flatter the head of intelligence... I was surprised and asked him sharply what he meant; he said that the person I was talking to was a responsible member of the Libyan government, a member of the Revolutionary Council, and one of the free officers. I answered the man in a way appropriate to his degree of stupidity and left him. One of officers from the national office approached me later and entered into a dialogue with me indicating that they were looking for Arab scientific talents to contribute to building a non-conventional armament structure, and he pointed to the head of the national office; and it was the same person who the Libyan-Cyprus journalist didn't like. I concluded that they were following my military writings and had confidence to the extent of opening discussion on the matter... But, I didn't have anything to offer in this field. Needless to say, this approach was repeated with others, and it seems that they found ways and established chemical and nuclear military industries capable of military enrichment, but the matter was quickly exposed, perhaps from the beginning, and Tripoli voluntarily renounced these military programs. It became clear later that it all began when Qaddafi demanded in 1975 that Moscow help with enrichment, knowing that Libya had collected a quantity of yellow matter that is ground and then enriched to produce uranium... (yellow cake), but Moscow refused and proposed an alternative by providing a small reactor for medical and peaceful purposes. Qaddafi accepted this and benefited from Soviet training for Libyan experts, but that didn't match his military ambitions, It would have been better for

the colonel to go and buy ready-made bombs, especially when the Soviet Union collapsed... The important thing is that Qaddafi resorted to nuclear smuggling networks and broke into the black market to secretly obtain nuclear technology... It seems that the opportunity arose in 1984 when Libyan officials held a secret meeting with the Pakistani scientist Abdul Qadeer Khan, the main engineer of the Pakistani nuclear program, who provided Libya with blueprints for centrifuges and other sensitive equipment through his international network extending from Malaysia to South Africa.

In October 2003, a secret shipment of components for advanced centrifuges destined for Libya was seized on board a German cargo ship, in a joint intelligence operation led by the United States at the Italian port of Taranto. Investigations revealed that this equipment, designed to enrich uranium in Libya, was part of a secret deal with the network of Pakistani scientist Abdul Qadeer Khan, and was shipped through a Malaysian company, and this intelligence interception lifted the veil on one of the world's nuclear technology smuggling operations, and later led to intense international pressure that led to Libya's renunciation of its nuclear program just two months later. Qaddafi announced his voluntary renunciation of the project on December 19, 2003, and Tripoli handed over all nuclear equipment and documents to Washington directly afterwards in January 2004 under the supervision of the International Atomic Energy Agency... A step that some considered at the time an attempt by Qaddafi to avoid the fate of the late Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, who was overthrown a few months earlier following the American invasion of Iraq, and this event marked the end of three decades of secret attempts to develop a nuclear weapon in Libya. The dismantling of Libya's nuclear program has become a model that Israel demands be applied to Iran since 2024 and beyond, -and of course- Tehran is preparing for a nuclear deal with Washington that guarantees preventing the manufacture of nuclear weapons but with continued enrichment at low levels for peaceful purposes. I don't know if we should thank the gods for the failure and halt of the Libyan program, what would happen if Qaddafi had succeeded in acquiring nuclear weapons? Would he have used it against the counter-revolution that overthrew him? Would he have used it against Israel and borne the subsequent consequences? In March 2023, it was announced that ten barrels, containing about 2.5 tons of natural uranium (yellow cake), had been lost from an inadequately secured warehouse in southern Libya, in

an area close to the Chadian border. The International Energy Agency was supposed to monitor this warehouse, but it was unable to visit it due to security instability, and when the visit took place, the theft was discovered, and the barrels were announced to have been found the next day!! Nuclear enrichment is a right for all countries, but it requires strong governments and countries to assert themselves and confront objectors and threats... All great powers enriched and produced bombs, regional countries like Pakistan and India made bombs and put everyone before a fait accompli, and so did North Korea, and this is what Iran is trying to do, but Israel is watching it. As we have seen for decades; when you manufacture and test and it becomes clear that you have the bomb, they will be silent and avoid disturbing your country, and when they sense your attempts, they will resist with multiple excuses. Of course, there are solutions and ways for countries seeking to protect themselves from the nuclear threat in the hands of their enemies, and it would have been better to resort to them in the case of Libya or later now for any Arab country.

For example, Libya could have, theoretically, turned to Egypt and agreed to provide it with money to produce an Arab bomb, and Egypt is scientifically and militarily qualified... But Egypt became ostracized by the Arabs after the October 1973 war and Sadat's move towards appeasement and peace and his visit to occupied Jerusalem, and the Libyan-Egyptian relations, after Sadat, did not improve during Mubarak's presidency. In general, the Arabs had succeeded in agreeing on permanent disagreement with each other, and therefore, there was no chance for agreement on producing an Arab bomb to deter Israel or Iran or others that may arise. The other practical option was and still is, relying on a national intelligence agency to monitor the locations of storage of dangerous materials and lethal weapons among enemies, and developing or buying bombs and missiles capable of reaching those targets, and thus striking them pre-emptively; causing the desired losses as if you bomb them with that weapon you store. The third easy option, which can be kept secret, is producing "dirty nuclear bombs" which are relatively easy, or developing other weapons, but the important thing is to provide ways to deliver them... And this is a glaring Arab dilemma! Since the invention of the plane and its military use by Western colonialism in World War I, the Arabs were running under it and waving swords while it was raining down bullets on them... The technical gap continued until now, almost, that is, after more than a

century, we have not succeeded in bridging the gap, and we have not succeeded in deterring enemy aviation, or ensuring roaming in regional or national airspace! Of course, dirty nuclear bombs or their sisters can be delivered in other ways, depending on the targeted location, but again it requires the existence of a decision, and of course getting rid of domination and thinking outside the box.

The fourth and easiest option is to build a generation of scientists through the development of science and the encouragement of sciences and the selection of the best... No matter how much such an approach costs, it is much cheaper than the options of enrichment, armament, and wars, and technicians and developers can paralyze the economy and nerve of any country without wars, and it is the fastest practical way. I talk about this matter and that experience to indicate and warn that it is a correct and inevitable approach so that we do not fall prey to hyenas; there must be an effective deterrent... Muammar Qaddafi's approach was correct, but his way was not well-studied, and he and his companions should have known that Washington and Tel Aviv would not leave them to acquire advanced weapons easily. In my trip to the Jamahiriya, it became clear to me, for example, that the Libyans know about Washington's interest in them and that they were waging a psychological war against them. Every night, for example, an American submarine would launch a boat with soldiers who would land on one of Libya's beaches and leave traces indicating their presence and suggesting that they were meeting with people and then leaving, with the aim of making the Libyan leadership doubt the existence of local spies and counter-plans. The Libyan coast is very long, 1822 kilometers, and the state does not have the means of control to enable it to arrest infiltrators who stay only a few minutes, while the submarine in the sea chooses safe areas for landing. I remember in this regard that Israel itself did not have coastal warning methods; it used to patrol the Gaza Strip beach in the evening and return to inspect it in the morning to see if anyone had entered or left the sea at night. In later years, I was able to visit some poor African countries, and I found that Qaddafi had built many mosques in those countries, and I was surprised by this approach, and I later and still criticize the Muslim Brotherhood's attack on a leader like this, who wants and seeks to get rid of colonialism and domination and create deterrence and at the same time encourages the spread of Islam in Africa... This reminded me of the past when the Brotherhood attacked and still distorts the image of President Abdel Nasser, and they also attack Prince Mohammed bin

Salman with ferocity, who is practically seeking the goal of deterrence and development but through American cooperation... He receives President Trump and signs peaceful nuclear agreements and modern armament contracts and builds technology, and the prince also modernizes education, but he is considered by the Brotherhood to be a renegade because he freed society from the shackles of sheikhs who interfered in people's private lives... The Brotherhood wants someone to impose the traditions of backwardness so that they are pleased... As for bin Salman, who lifted the blockade on Muslims and the Islamic system in Syria, and who seeks to stop the bloodshed in Gaza, he is considered by them to be an American agent.

Qaddafi and bin Salman have both had the idea of confronting the US dollar and creating an alternative to it... Qaddafi pursued the idea of the golden dinar as an alternative, but he did not have the money to implement such an idea and found no allies except for a few in Africa; so, the idea failed. As for Prince Mohammed, he joined economically strong countries like India, South Africa, Brazil, China, Russia, and some Arab countries, in a gathering to create the BRICS currency for internal trade exchange among member countries instead of using the dollar, and this is an idea with some potential, while the golden dinar idea was doomed to fail. If we quickly return to talking about Qaddafi; it can be said that several factors led to the failure of his attempts and ultimately led to a fate that they wanted to be humiliating, but it turned out that the people came to miss his time and they commemorate him on the anniversary of the first of September. In my visit to the Jamahiriya, Qaddafi held a meeting with Arab journalists, and I arrived after the chairs had been arranged around the table, so they placed a chair for me in the corner next to the leader... They had banned audio recording and allowed writing, but I placed my recorder in front of Qaddafi and asked him directly if I could record; he said: "Record as you want". I recorded what could not be published, no one prevented me, but I decided not to publish because Qaddafi exaggerated in his insults to President Mubarak, and whenever an Egyptian journalist tried to protest, the insults increased, and he started cursing and insulting the people who tolerate a leader like Mubarak... In the end, I told him I had a question; he said in front of his companions: Why do you ask, you have the recording of everything. I told him it was a question for my newspaper... The important thing is I asked, and he answered, and I decided then not to leave the recording tape in the hotel room...

The next day, my belongings had disappeared from the room, and I asked at reception, where they pretended to be ignorant of the matter and said maybe it was a mistake by the cleaning team, and after two hours, they informed me that they had found my belongings in another room that I was transferred to... Of course, they didn't find the recording, and no one asked me to get it or not publish it, as I recorded with direct permission from the leader.

One of the factors that led to Qaddafi's end was his sharp tongue against everyone. In Arab summit conferences, he criticized and mocked Arab leaders, and I am almost sure that his mockery of Sheikh Hamad, the Emir of Qatar, at a summit conference reinforced the hidden enmity and Qatari readiness for revenge; so, the constant attack from Al-Jazeera began, and then in the Arab Spring, Al-Jazeera had prepared a plan to march on Qaddafi... They brought a British special forces team that was dropped from the air on the Libyan-Egyptian border, and Al-Jazeera advanced with the protection of special forces, broadcasting news, fabricating events, and encouraging the people of Benghazi, and continued the march to the Aziziyah Palace in Tripoli and pursued Qaddafi until they were sure that NATO aircraft had attacked his convoy and then signaled to the mob to kill him, and the Islamist groups funded by Qatar, paved the way, and carried on until they brought Libya to its end. Qaddafi's tongue was also sharp against his people, he wanted them to jump forward with the revolution and respond to his vision, but they were in one valley and he was in another... He wanted them to produce what they eat and ban imports; so only tomato sauce cans and tuna cans were available in the markets... He made the Great Man-Made River for them and brought water from the heart of the desert to the population areas, but agriculture did not flourish, he started telling them that they are the leaders and he is an ordinary citizen, but they didn't believe him... In one of the meetings of the General People's Congress, which includes 2700 delegates, he called on them for courage and steadfastness, and then asked them if they were men, or if they wanted him to bring men from (...) to their women so they could give birth to real men... They didn't answer him, but they hated him... They wanted the oil money and a life similar to the people of the Gulf and not to spend on revolutions and weapons, and therefore they didn't move to support him when Al-Jazeera, Islamist groups, and the Western system attacked his regime. Muammar Qaddafi suffered from the small number of the Libyan people and their human capabilities, and he was hasty in demanding Arab

unity as he considered himself a potential leader and heir to Gamal Abdel Nasser; so he didn't object to any Arab unity project, but none succeeded.

Before the Sirte summit in Libya in March 2010, Qaddafi planned and tried to convince Amr Moussa, the Secretary-General of the Arab League, to announce the summit's Arab unity and declare Qaddafi the president of the Arab countries and Amr Moussa their foreign minister, and a proposal was submitted to that effect alongside a proposal from the Yemeni president, Abdullah Saleh, to unify the Arabs, and a five-member committee was formed to discuss these proposals, but nothing happened, of course; everyone considered Qaddafi and his proposals too chaotic, and they followed him to avoid his tongue.

In addition to his desire and haste to unite the Arabs, Qaddafi believed in the Arabs' ability to fight Israel and the West behind it, and it happened that he listened to the Palestinian militants who convinced him to reject Abdel Nasser's intent to accept the Rogers Plan 1970 and the necessity of war against Israel; so Qaddafi called Nasser, who explained to him the facts and realities of the difficulty of war at that time, but as Muammar continued to insist, Nasser said to him "whoever wants to fight, let him fight, and whoever wants to struggle, let him struggle", and he knew that the Palestinian factions opposed the Rogers Plan and incited Muammar against it... In early May 2025, Al-Arabiya channel noticed this recording, available with others in the Nasser Archive Museum, and the channel promoted that Nasser was not as we imagined him to be and that he was against war... etc. This recording is in favor of Nasser and not against him, as it proves that he was a realistic and patriotic person who wanted time to prepare before returning to the fight... In short, the secret of Nasser's acceptance of the Rogers Plan at that time was to gain a three-month truce for indirect negotiations to implement UN Security Council Resolution 242, and Nasser knew that Israel would not withdraw through negotiations, but Egypt was seeking to establish a missile wall on the canal, and brought Soviet pilots to protect Egyptian airspace after the setback and the destruction of the Egyptian Air Force... Nasser wanted the truce to be negotiated formally in order to finish establishing the missile wall that Israel was attacking with daily artillery shelling, but he could not announce this goal to the people or anyone at that time; so he told Qaddafi whoever wants war, let him fight, I am not ready now, and I am not able to face Israel and behind it America and the West... This stance indicates a broad understanding and not seeking destruction,

and may God have mercy on a man who knew his own worth. Muammar Qaddafi was a case that could have been benefited from on the Arab level and national construction if he had surrounded himself with a group of thinkers to advise him and commit to their vision to achieve a specific goal, but he remained individual and moody... Despite that, it can be confirmed that he supported all liberation and revolution issues around the world and supported Palestinian factions with weapons and some money and conditioned them to work in the field, and I can confirm that he supported the first Palestinian intifada... It is recorded for Qaddafi that despite his differences with Saddam Hussein, he sought to save him from prison; he consulted with several Palestinian organizations to plan for rescue, and announced an open budget of billions for whoever saves Saddam from detention... Then he cried for him after the execution and closed his office and disabled his phones for a whole month, while others who fought Saddam were happy to please the Americans. Qaddafi's dilemma and his murder occurred because he and his people never arrived at a consensus, and despite the long period of his rule, he did not succeed in injecting his ideas into their minds... They generally followed him, but they harbored evil against him and then betrayed him and turned away from him... Even his armed forces left him alone to face Al-Jazeera and the Islamist militants it had mobilized; so they killed him, and killed Libya after him.

European Betrayal

The magnitude of the disaster that has befallen the inhabitants of the Gaza Strip does not morally allow for the search for any benefits from what happened from October 7 to today (May 15, 2025) There is no sane person who does not wish to return to the day before that... Any benefit that may be inferred in the coming years and days could have been achieved better without these catastrophic losses and their consequences on all levels. On the political level, we touch on some cases and possibilities of hope; Despite European and Western shame in not adopting effective positions to stop the genocide, we see signs of the spread of Western public awareness of the reality of Zionism as a racist colonial project, and these signs among Western peoples are pushing politicians in their countries to take clearer positions after 19 months since the beginning of the massacre, and return Israel to its rightful place. Western governments could have deferred to the position of the International Court of Justice, and before that, the positions and decisions of the United Nations, or the declarations of human rights groups and organizations to redress the Palestinian people, but previously, they hid behind the necessity of Israeli-Palestinian agreement on a solution, and then they hid behind the horror of the October 7 attack and its result when more than a thousand Israelis were killed.. They were certainly always following the official American position as well. The fluctuating change in President Trump's position towards the inhabitants of the Gaza Strip and the need to rescue them humanely from famine coincided with Western political positions: Leaders of France, Britain, and Canada threatened on Monday, May 19, in a joint statement, to take measures against Israel if it does not stop the genocidal war it is waging on the Gaza Strip, and the leaders said in their statement "We will take measures if Israel does not stop its attack on Gaza and lift restrictions on aid", and they said clearly "We strongly oppose the expansion of Israeli military operations in Gaza, the level of human suffering in Gaza is intolerable" Their statement stated that "if Israel does not stop its new military attack and lift the restrictions it imposes on humanitarian aid, we will take other tangible steps in response to that". The statement included a strong condemnation of "the hateful language of some members of the Israeli government and the threat of forced deportation"... British, French, and Canadian leaders mentioned that forced deportation is a violation of international humanitarian law. They said they will not stand idly by "while Netanyahu's government continues its

outrageous actions". The statement emphasized that the two-state solution is the only way to achieve lasting peace and security that Israelis and Palestinians deserve and ensure long-term stability in the region. The three leaders pledged to work with the Palestinian Authority, regional partners, Israel, and the United States "to reach a consensus on arrangements regarding the future of Gaza, based on the Arab plan". The leaders said "We are committed to recognizing the Palestinian state as a contribution to achieving the two-state solution, and we are ready to work with others to achieve this goal".

On the other hand, in addition to the tripartite position, leaders of 7 European countries demanded that the occupation stop its aggression on the Gaza Strip, emphasizing their refusal to remain silent in the face of a humanitarian disaster, and to lift the blockade on the sector, This came in a joint statement by the leaders of Spain, Norway, Iceland, Ireland, Luxembourg, Malta, and Slovenia, during which they announced their rejection of any plans for forced displacement from the sector or demographic change. The leaders said in the statement: "We will not remain silent in the face of the humanitarian disaster made by human hands, which is taking place before our eyes in Gaza". They pointed out that "more than 50,000 men, women, and children have lost their lives in Gaza". The European leaders warned that "many others may die of hunger in the coming days and weeks unless immediate action is taken". In this regard, they called on the occupation government to immediately reverse its current policies, and to refrain from carrying out additional military operations in Gaza. They also called on it to "completely lift the blockade on Gaza, to ensure the safe, rapid, and unhindered delivery of humanitarian aid to all parts of the sector by international humanitarian agencies and in accordance with humanitarian principles". The leaders also called on "all parties to engage immediately and in good faith in negotiations aimed at a ceasefire and the release of all prisoners". French President Emmanuel Macron later confirmed that he feels that the humanitarian crisis in the Gaza Strip is unacceptable, and added that he hopes to discuss the matter soon with the head of the occupation government, and US President Donald Trump. He said during his attendance at a meeting of European leaders in Albania "the humanitarian situation in Gaza is intolerable"... Netanyahu had attacked Macron and described him as a supporter of Hamas. Spanish Prime Minister Pedro Sanchez had described the occupation state as a "genocidal state". This came during a questioning session in

the parliament in the capital Madrid, in response to criticisms made by Catalan MP Gabriel Rufian, who accused the socialist leader of maintaining trade relations with the occupation despite the ongoing genocidal war in Gaza. Sanchez said, confirming: "I want to make one thing clear here, Mr. Rufian: we do not trade with a state that commits genocide, we do not do that". He added: "I think I made it clear a few days ago, from this podium, what we were talking about specifically when some issues were raised that do not conform to reality". According to Spanish media reports, this is the first time Sanchez has publicly used the term "genocidal state", an expression constantly used by his partner in the ruling coalition, the left-wing Sumar party. In general, EU countries have begun reviewing the partnership agreement with Israel as a tool which they can threaten to suspend it if Israel does not respond to European demands, and this is a good and humanitarian position, but it is not applicable as it requires the unanimous approval of all EU countries, including countries that strongly support Netanyahu, such as Hungary, and Austria, Hitler's original homeland, which will not agree, and thus consensus will not be achieved. Article 2 of the EU-Israel Association Agreement states that "relations between the parties... must be based on respect for human rights and democratic principles", which Israel is violating. If Netanyahu feels that there is a possibility of suspending the agreement, he will immediately yield to the European vision of allowing aid, and this will be the beginning of saving the situation and applying political solutions without any role for Hamas, of course... Europe is Israel's largest supplier and importer, and no Israeli leader can resist and challenge them; Will Europe succeed in accomplishing a political and humanitarian task of this magnitude? The talk here is about Europe as a group of united countries that take their decisions unanimously... but there is nothing preventing individual countries from doing their duty if the collective decision is hindered because every day of internal discussions in Europe deepens the massacre in Palestine.

The European position is historically biased towards Israel, and the constant support for Washington complicates any European political, diplomatic, or economic pressure on Israel... But the truth is also that European countries consider Hamas a terrorist organization, and they know that it caused this catastrophe, and that it rejects the two-state solution, and that it is affiliated with Iran, which openly vows to end the Zionist entity... This certainly complicates European support for

the developments, added to that the Palestinian Authority is corrupt in European eyes, and therefore solutions require reforming the authority and its democracy, and a clear willingness to end the Hamas movement in Gaza if the massacre stops... That is why Netanyahu accuses every European leader who joins the call to stop the war of being a supporter of Hamas... The solution was, is, and will remain based on the end of the Hamas era, either through its withdrawal and self-dissolution or its declaration of defeat and handing over the administration temporarily to others until the Palestinian Authority is qualified... All solutions will return to this point.

I am reminded of the European move by a meeting with Bruno Kreisky, and another meeting with the Luxembourg Foreign Minister. The former Austrian Chancellor, Bruno Kreisky, attended the National Council meeting in Algeria, where President Arafat declared the Palestinian state in November 1988, but the declaration of independence and statehood did not define the borders based on international resolutions, for example, like the Partition Plan, and I will return to the importance of that then and now. While I was in the corridor outside the hall discussing with some journalist colleagues, the old man passed by with his hand in Kreisky's hand, and they were heading to the external gate to bid farewell to the Austrian guest, who was Chancellor of Austria from 1970 to 1983, and had caused reactions when he met with President Arafat in 1973, and was one of the leaders of the European Socialist Movement, which governed most European countries and had positive positions towards the Palestinian cause. They were walking alone, and my eyes met the old man's; he nodded his head; I followed them, greeted them, and welcomed the Chancellor in his native German language, and since they were not talking while walking, I thanked Kreisky for his visit to us and his support for our cause, and Arafat's face lit up, as he knew of my proficiency in German, and thus, I presented a civilized image to the guest... Then the President intervened, talking to Kreisky in Arabic in generalities, and I translated between them until we reached the gate, I lagged behind them, and I wished to meet the Chancellor in Vienna soon.

In the spring of the following year, I contacted the former Austrian Chancellor and asked to meet him, and I did not tell him that I had welcomed him in Algeria... He agreed to the meeting for the benefit of Al-Arab newspaper, and my friend, photographer Nasser Mataragi, accompanied me. I mention this visit because it

amazed me; the man was very famous, and he had friends and enemies during his presidency of the Austrian government, and he was in conflict with Zionism and one of the most important supporters of the peace process. We arrived at his address in a suburb of the Austrian capital, and the house was surrounded by a slightly neglected garden. We were received by a guard or attendant, with an old German Shepherd dog that needed care. The former Chancellor received us at the door and we entered the living room, which looked like it was from an earlier era... books were scattered, the sofa was outdated, and dog hair was everywhere, and there were no other humans or animals in the house... We talked about generalities, and I began to ask him some questions, and Nasser was taking pictures; it became clear to us that the meeting would not last long due to the general fatigue that was evident on his features. Any retired European official would have looked better than Bruno Kreisky, and I will not compare here his life after the end of his service with the life of his Arab counterparts. I later learned that his wife, Vera, had died the previous year, and despite having a son and grandchild, he continued to live in his house alone with his attendant and dog until he passed away in 1990.

The meeting with Bruno Kreisky amazed me in terms of the man's loyalty to his principles; he had a falling out with Zionism, being a Jew himself, and he lived true to his principles and honesty, showing no signs of wealth or extravagance after his political career ended... meaning he did not embezzle money to live luxuriously after retirement, but rather it seems he did not save money at all. Bruno Kreisky was a righteous Jewish man.

The other meeting with a European politician that amazed me in its content was with the Foreign Minister of Luxembourg and Deputy Prime Minister from 1984 to 1995 from the Socialist Workers' Party, Mr. Jacques Poos. I contacted him and asked for a meeting; he agreed, and I went with my wife, who took a video of the meeting. He received us in his office in the city center, and he was kind and patient when I asked my questions: whether international law allows Luxembourg to recognize Israel within the 1967 borders and does not allow the duchy to recognize Palestine? The answer of this European socialist leader surprised me and made me ashamed of my ignorance of the positions of this duchy, which is politically active regarding my country's issue (Luxembourg later joined France and other European countries in recognizing the Palestinian state). He said clearly that his country has recognized Israel and Palestine since the 1947 partition resolution, within the

borders declared in that resolution, and not within the current borders after the 1967 war... The reason for this is that the recognition of one state by another must be within the conditions of having an organized government, a homogeneous people, within clear borders, and this last element has not been declared by Israel since its establishment to this day, and therefore, within international law, any recognition of it is incomplete.

How did Arab countries recognize Israel and sign peace agreements with it, being a state with no declared borders, knowing that the first country to recognize it was a neighbor of the entity, followed by a Palestinian recognition from the sole representative of the Palestinian people without mentioning the borders of the entity we recognize... and the repeated declaration of the establishment of the Palestinian state has not mentioned those borders, but rather referred to resolutions 242 and 338 and the 1967 borders.

When I asked Mr. Jacques Poos to clarify the position of European countries, he said that most European countries recognize Israel within the same context... This means that we were cheering and shouting and cursing Europe, while it had not officially recognized more than the partition borders for both sides, while we are demanding fewer borders for the desired state, and we do not even declare any borders.

Luxembourg is one of the first supporters of UNRWA, and condemns settlements, and despite its recent intention to recognize the Palestinian state (with unclear borders); it has voted several times in favor of resolutions related to the Palestinian issue, but the subsequent Foreign Minister announced his intention to recognize Palestine as soon as a larger European force takes the lead and urges EU member states to do so. In June 2020, Luxembourg called for recognition of Palestine if Israel annexes parts of the West Bank, and in August 2020, the Luxembourg Foreign Minister criticized the UAE-Israel normalization agreement, describing it as abandoning the Palestinians by the UAE. He added that peace in the Middle East cannot be achieved without resolving the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

The lesson we have not learned and therefore not applied is that we declared a state without borders pending the outcome of negotiations... It would have been and still

is better to declare the borders of Palestine within the 1947 partition resolution, as it is the resolution under which most countries recognized Israel within its borders.

These days, Germany, Austria, and Italy are noticeably absent from joining other European countries in verbal pressure on the Israeli government, despite being formerly Nazi and fascist countries that contributed more than others to the extermination of European Jews, and later contributed to supporting the establishment of Israel and arming it to create the Palestinian catastrophe leading to this massacre... As for the rest of the European Union countries, they can take independent political, diplomatic, and economic decisions if the collective decision is hindered, while each country seeks to hide behind the team and group and is content with directing blame at the Israeli government! Britain, Germany, and other countries that arm Israel and support it with ammunition, reconnaissance aircraft, and information can, if they truly want, declare a halt to this cooperation... Then, any European country can stop direct exports and imports with a state guilty of genocide, and then stop tourism cooperation and other escalations, leading to freezing and stopping diplomatic exchanges.

Any European country can also declare recognition of the Palestinian state within the borders of the UN resolution that decided on the establishment of a Jewish state and a Palestinian state... i.e., recognition of both states, or freezing recognition and cooperation with them until they agree on their borders... All European countries that armed and helped Israel in the past 600 days and in the ongoing massacre are practically participating in genocide and violating their legal obligations and signed international humanitarian treaties... With respect and appreciation for the positions of governments that have condemned Israel and expressed sympathy with the Palestinian people, in the absence of diplomatic or economic action to deter Israeli policy, this can only be understood as throwing dust in our eyes, and tricks to appease their peoples.

Angelina Jolie has summarized the situation after referring to a series of statements issued by official institutions regarding the famine in Gaza and children at risk of death, which she commented on saying: "This kind of statement and serious warning is supposed to carry weight and lead to action." She added: "It is sad to see this huge number of innocent lives - and the principles that many of us hold dear and believe in - being mocked in this way." She emphasized that the current

situation is the result of decades of selectivity in defending human rights, not a sudden loss of moral compass, adding: "What is happening is the result of considering some lives valuable and others disposable. It is an extension of the shameful way in which Security Council countries pick and choose who to criticize and who to support." The well-informed humanitarian Jolie stressed that what we are witnessing is "not happening by accident, but is deliberate." She mentioned that the number of people forcibly displaced due to conflicts has doubled in the past decade, pointing to the suffering of Sudanese, Syrians, Afghans, Ukrainians, and Palestinians, among other peoples, as stark evidence of this international failure. She added: "Whether due to hunger or attacks on hospitals and schools, new and shocking standards are being set, making civilians in the future more vulnerable than they are today." Angelina Jolie summarized the situation and warned leaders of countries and the international community: "Those who have the power to protect international humanitarian law, but do nothing, bear part of the responsibility. The things we tolerate are what define who we are."

In general, if the snowball starts rolling in Europe and the West and then globally, for any reason, Israel will find itself in the position of the South African racist government that eventually succumbed to establishing a democratic state that guarantees the rights of blacks and whites by law and through education. Israel cannot openly defy the world and accuse everyone who hesitates to support it of supporting terrorism and anti-Semitism, while it applies the worst laws and practices that the Nazi regime applied against Jews. I do not want to indulge in optimism about the possibility of a European shift, but I have two questions: The first is about the position of Arab countries that have normalized relations with Israel... We do not blame or criticize you for normalizing without any political conditions related to the Palestinian issue, but hasn't the time come to follow the example of European countries and threaten the Israeli government, even verbally, to stop trade and cultural cooperation, etc., if it continues to violate international laws and conventions? We do not discuss or oppose your desire to eliminate jihadist political Islam, or even your approval of Israel's destruction of Hamas, but the massacre is not against Hamas, but against innocent people, as the daily reality proves, and the goal of the massacre is to liquidate the Palestinian people, not to get rid of Hamas, and this conviction is what is driving the peoples and governments of the West! The second and most important question is about the

role of Palestinian leaders who consider themselves leaders of the people, whether factions of the PLO or Hamas and Islamic Jihad... Hasn't the time come to announce a unified government that represents the people and is linked to the PLO and its national charter, not to you? All political achievements will stop at the state they are in on the day after the war, so will that day be a continuation of the conflict and in-fighting and clear identification of your betrayal of the Palestinian people... or will that day not come as long as you remain in office?

The first and second questions are also related to Islamic countries, is the Catholic Pope better than Muslim imams; the Pope spoke and the imams remained silent! Are Western Christian governments more humane, diplomatic, and politically better than Muslim governments? On Monday, Easter Day, April 21, 2025, a friend of the Palestinians and an opponent of the war on Gaza, Pope Francis, passed away at the age of 88. The papacy no longer has any real political influence in the Catholic world, except for the moral stance that is not binding on politicians, but undoubtedly, Pope Francis's stance had an impact on Catholics who are the majority in countries like Spain, Ireland, and Italy... Catholics make up about 52% of all Christians, and they are the majority population in 67 countries. The largest Catholic country is Brazil, followed by Mexico, the Philippines, and the United States, which has had only one Catholic president out of 46... Despite being the largest Christian denomination in America, John Kennedy remains the only Catholic president in the United States. After his assassination in 1963, John Kerry was the only Catholic to run for president and failed, while other presidents are Protestant with English origins and are now turning to Zionist ideas. The Catholic Pope had repeatedly called for a ceasefire in Gaza before his death, and appeared the day before his death during Easter celebrations, denouncing the "shameful and tragic situation" in Gaza, warning of the "growing anti-Semitism spreading around the world", meaning he was warning of the possibility of the world returning to hatred of Jews due to their actions, and Israel had considered the Pope anti-Semitic and the former Israeli ambassador to the Vatican had attacked the Pope's record for recognizing Palestine and raising its flag in the Vatican... The Pope had been calling Christians in Gaza every day since October 7 to check on them and comfort them... The important thing here is that the new Pope repeated the same positions in his first public speech after taking office... It goes without saying that Islamic religious leaders have not risen to that humanitarian stance towards their co-

religionists... There is no power but God's! Isn't that right? I can only ask myself and the Palestinian people - specifically - the people of Gaza: Couldn't we have avoided this massacre altogether? Why didn't we see the difference in power between us and them? Why did we support, at least initially, the October 7 attack and rejoice at the harm caused to any of them? And why did we accept Hamas's rule after the coup and its continuation without elections? Why did we swallow the injustice of their practices for 17 years of looting, cheating, discrimination, and collecting money and taxes without even providing services? Why did we swallow their extreme religious principles; we wore their clothes and veils and pretended to be pious to escape their evil or profit from them? Why did protest movements not exceed a few fingers and participants did not exceed dozens? Are we now happy with the results with our people turning to begging, nomadism, tents, collecting firewood, and rifting through garbage? Didn't we used to be the best Arab nation in terms of education until Hamas took over the schools and the education system and spread ignorance to the point of lacking any respectable intellectuals, which leads to the current situation of failure and social-political paralysis? And above all, will you accept the continuation of the situation and Hamas's return to ride on your backs, or will you insist on immediate elections and maintain democratic elections with all your might?

I observe from following social media and listening to wide segments of Arab societies, I notice the reliance on religion and waiting for relief after patience, and whoever dies before relief, will end in paradise... This upbringing is generally hypnotic, spread by the Muslim Brotherhood and sultans' sheikhs to tighten control over people and submit to what they consider divine orders, so the number and style of prayers for Gaza and its inhabitants have increased, and whoever prays for them, God will take care of them, and he will be disappointed. The prayers are also directed against infidels - especially Jews - without distinction, even those who are considered by the Brotherhood to be cowardly leaders are called "son of a Jewess", and we have at least four Arab leaders who have been accused of being sons of Jewesses, they all oppose the Muslim Brotherhood... It does not occur to the accusers that the Prophet married a Jewess, Safiya, and had a Jewish concubine or slave, Rayhana, and he had a son, Ibrahim, from a Christian slave; what if Ibrahim had lived and had offspring, or if Safiya and Rayhana had had children from the Prophet? Would the Brotherhood deny the Prophet's lineage and fight it? The talk

about the spread of the term "son of a Jewess" reminds me of what happened on March 25, 1975... King Faisal bin Saud was receiving the Kuwaiti oil minister, Abdul Muttalib Al-Kazemi, who shook hands with the king, and heard a gunshot and the king fell to the ground; Abdul Muttalib looked back and heard someone say "catch the son of a Jewess", and they wrapped the perpetrator in the council's curtain to restrain him. It turned out that the perpetrator described as the son of a Jewess was Prince Faisal bin Musaid bin Abdul Aziz, the nephew of the murdered king, and it was rumored that he was paid by Washington as revenge on the Saudi king who cut off oil to the West in the October 1973 war, and raised prices to the sky, and later helped Egypt and Syria to rearm. Generalization is a characteristic of the ignorant, and we have (infidel) Christians and Jews who fight for the rights of the Palestinian people more than any Hamas, Brotherhood, or Fatah leader! On the 600th day of the genocide war on Gaza, 52% of Israelis answered yes to the question: Do you support continuing to starve the population of Gaza... and this is a high percentage - especially since only 34% answered no to starvation... Whatever the percentage of Jews who reject starvation; it is a respectable and brave percentage in light of the deception and intimidation practiced by Netanyahu and his apparatus, and we do not forget the daily anti-war demonstrations, as well as Jewish personalities around the world who protest the war. The bitter truth is that right-wing Jewish religious people, and the Brotherhood's sheikhs and leaders, bear responsibility for the totalitarian upbringing that is anti-other religions to the point of supporting genocide... Yes, if the Brotherhood had military power over the Jews like the Jews have over the Palestinians, they would also work to exterminate them, and they pray to God every minute to exterminate the Jews. Jews and Muslims need to separate religion from politics officially, like Western Christianity... and every Palestinian is required to think and consider religion as a psychological and moral state only, and to eliminate all signs of dependency, and this explanation is long and will take generations to understand, but we must start so we do not sink to the bottom.

Extremist Jewish religious people in Israel and around the world have begun to wake up to their exposure around the world, which guarantees their lives and continuity... They have become isolated and ostracized, and their government's positions and support for it have led to the spread of hatred towards Jews in general... They have seen that their narrative is not sustainable in all circumstances

- especially when they practice killing civilians, which was practiced against them by the Nazis, some Israeli opposition leaders acknowledge that soldiers are having fun killing children, and official religious and political leaders confirm that there is no innocent person in Gaza! And this position is widespread among the Israeli people. I visited Geneva again in late April 2025, and as usual, I talked to taxi drivers, and the driver who took me from the airport was a Swiss man whose grandfather was Jewish... We started talking without introduction at first; he said to me: "Israelis are the new Nazis, and Jews control Washington with money." Such a shift in positions has become evident in opinion polls in Western countries, and is not limited to friends and supporters of Palestine, and it is certainly not in the interest of Israel, Zionism, and Jews in general, now or later... This is what wise Jews realize. - For example - Israeli opposition leader Yair Lapid attacked the government on August 20, saying it had lost the support of its most prominent allies in the wake of the deadliest attack in the country's history, at a time when a number of hostages are still being held in Gaza, describing it as a "resounding failure". Lapid's comment came after a Reuters-Ipsos poll showed that a majority of 58% of Americans believe that all UN member states should recognize a Palestinian state, and a large majority of 65% of respondents said the United States should take action in Gaza to help the population facing hunger, while 28% opposed it. The poll also showed that 59% of Americans believe that Israel's military response to Gaza is excessive. While 33% of respondents disagreed with this view.

Two days after the opposition leader's comment, Netanyahu stated the need to focus on the youth around the world and win them over to Israel's side, and the reason for this statement is a study published by the American "Gallup" Institute in late July 2025, which showed that only 6% of Americans between 18 and 34 years old have a positive view of him (Netanyahu), while only 9% of them supported the Israeli military campaign in Gaza... This suggests that in the near future, Israel will face Western and global rejection and dissatisfaction. What next, and why has no internal Palestinian support or rejection movement for Hamas emerged, and how long will the popular wait for a self-decision continue... It is true that today's generations are tired, ignorant, and dependent, being the product of Hamas's upbringing, unlike the first intifada generation, which witnessed the defeat of the armed struggle and its failure after the withdrawal from Jordan and then Beirut,

and resorted to peaceful resistance, and almost took control of the situation if it weren't for the failed Fatah fighters jumping to lead the peaceful negotiations, then the return of Hamas's comprehensive liberation ideas to win an audience that is delighted by the sound of bullets; thus came the sounds of the heaviest aircraft and shells in the world... Will the Palestinian people, after 23 months of being on the receiving end of destruction, continue to despair and leave everyone to ride on their backs?? If you do not declare your position collectively and clearly, you will not achieve results... No one will save you seriously and finally if you remain in a state of despair... This is a lesson that must be learned for the future so that we do not perish due to the ignorance of the ignorant. This rescue issue occupies me greatly, and I am certainly pessimistic, I was like that before the sin of the 'flood', and I have become more pessimistic after it, as our people have been pushed to the bottom, and after we were poor and simple, demanding our national rights with some operational frowning, we have become crushed and begging, asking the world to respect our right to food, and hoping that any party will pressure our Zionist enemy to accept the entry of flour, tents, and some medicine... We have started dying of hunger, and the elderly are crying from hunger, and no one remembers Barbara, Jaffa, and Haifa, and people are longing for the days of Rafah after a year of being expelled from it, but it has been completely erased from the ground. All this is due to the ignorance of Hamas and its leaders and their approach, and the generalization of their vision through schools and the distribution of benefits to those who comply with them!! So far, (i.e., after more than 23 months) of the massacre, the camps and gatherings that shelter the movement's supporters receive a better and greater quantity of food than those that are not affiliated with them!!

Hamas has torn apart Palestinian society and Arab societies between supporters and opponents, and it may seem strange to Gazans to see Arab supporters of Hamas, but from an academic perspective, the issue has social and psychological explanations, and is not just a passing difference of opinion... There is an explanation in the theory of political symbolism, i.e., the views of Hamas's audience versus the views of Gaza's residents; Arabs outside Gaza see Hamas as a symbol of resistance against occupation, part of Arab and Islamic identity, and a voice of defiance, and therefore, they willingly swallow what is said and spread about its strength, resilience, and field successes. As for the people of Gaza, they

live with it daily as a ruling authority that was responsible for the decisions of war and peace. They are not concerned with the symbolism of resistance that does not feed the hungry, light a house, or provide food, medicine, and tents at least. Of course, there is a role for the distance of place from some, and the presence in the place for others to understand the sympathy and resentment towards Hamas; from afar, the picture looks different... Those who do not live in Gaza and follow the events through the media, and see images of resilience and fabricated battles, are different from the people of Gaza who see a completely different daily scene, a scene based on the ruins of a destroyed lifetime home, children with torn limbs, and a journey and migration of miles to search for food for empty stomachs and empty pockets, and fear of meeting death every moment, whether from the enemy, thieves, or reality. The situation is exacerbated by the role of the media supporting Hamas and marginalizing the reality of the people and denying the reporting of any internal criticism of the movement; thus, the masses appear to be steadfast and waging a war. Of course, not all Gazans are of one heart, and there are supporters of Hamas, whether its children, its supporters, or those who are aligned with its ideology, or of course, those who have benefited from it in the past and present, and who fear the societal backlash against them if the movement ends. On the Arab and Islamic level, which is internally frustrated on many levels, people are looking for psychological compensation, symbolism, and external victories for their views, religion, and dignity, and of course, Palestine is a symbol and goal for everyone; thus, their self-failures are projected onto Hamas's verbal victories, and it is easy to believe the euphoric channels because their governments or owners are on the same path; thus, it is easy to create a completely illusory situation and imagine Hamas as strong and steadfast, and this exempts them from confrontation and even real support, and deepens their faith; for them, Hamas is strong, capable, and will crush Israel sooner or later... One of them says to himself: It's okay if I'm lacking in supporting my brothers, or if I'm indulging in food and drink while Gaza is hungry... Resistance is strong, and its people are mighty, and God is with them. In general, when this war calms down, we will discover that the Arab-Islamic psychological state has reached rock bottom, and every deluded person will feel the deception and inferiority instead of victory and dignity. It is not hidden from anyone who has read this far that I hated Hamas even before the 'flood', and I hate the sheikhs and the religious people in general because they are a pile of ignorant tyrants who believe they are sent to implement the vision of the hadiths and have

bizarre interpretations of some verses... I hated them before, during, and after they collected all my books from school libraries in Gaza and sent an official letter to the publisher who distributed them, which stated that they are only interested in spreading their own vision, they wrote: "Subject: Withdrawal of donated books. The General Directorate of Educational Technologies sends you best regards and wishes you good health and well-being, and regarding the above subject, and based on reports received from the directorates, it was found that the donated books contradict the Islamic principles and values that the ministry is working to instill in the souls of our students, therefore; We ask you to withdraw the books from the educational technology departments, and the books have been collected in the education directorates... Please accept our highest respect and appreciation. Signature: Mazen Ismail Al-Khatib, Director General of Educational Technologies", with the seal of the State of Palestine, Ministry of Education and Higher Education, dated April 3, 2023.

These books, which they consider to be contrary to the values they want to instill in people's minds, have not been banned in any Arab country, and are distributed in all Arab countries, and at book fairs, including book fairs in Ramallah. Most of the books are about the Palestinian issue and the militant heritage, such as " A People of Giants", "The Owl of Barbara", "The Edge of Light" which talks about Canaanite history, "Gaza..The Tragedy of Psychological Warfare", "The Temptation of the Throne", and of course the novel "The Storyteller of Cordoba", the most famous book that talks from documents about the conquest of North Africa and Andalusia until the end of Arab-Islamic rule, and other known publications... All of these were banned from school libraries... The publisher had also distributed books to teach English, and stories for children, and all of them were banned and collected from all school libraries, although the librarians themselves had rejoiced at receiving this gift... But a busy-body bird informed the censor who banned and collected the books without reading them... In general, they differ from other Muslims on the interpretation of verses and the biography of Islam; they issued a fatwa to capture non-Hamas women after the bloody coup against the authority in Gaza; so, it's no surprise from people who entertain such positions, and therefore - frankly - I wish they could be blocked and restricted from influencing the intellect and dominating society with ignorance, - especially - as

we see the results of their thoughts and actions: Gaza Strip wiped off the map, and a black future awaiting the people and the cause.

I want to record here for history some of their actions during the massacre. It was known that the siege was in place and there are no banks to disburse money, so Hamas-affiliated offices and individuals became active in receiving money sent from abroad to residents, and they have quickly increased the commission until they are taking more than a third of the transfer amount, whereby they in any case set a 'special' exchange rate and they only disburse money in Israeli shekels. For example, a hundred dollars is equivalent to 360 shekels in Israel, and a hundred Jordanian dinars is equivalent to 500 shekels, but they gave 330 shekels for every 100 dinars, and any money changer not affiliated with them has to pay them the difference to be allowed to continue in the profession and continue his livelihood. (The return on a hundred dinars dropped to 280 shekels in early July 2025 and to 220 in August) The same system applies to merchants who have stock and sell at crazy prices, and to local farmers; vegetables in the markets are not imported, and all are locally produced, Hamas control the sale and take the price difference through extortion, and thus deprive the citizen of a reasonable buying opportunity, this crushed, displaced, bankrupt, and hungry citizen, has to beg from his relatives abroad or from charities; they take half in cash, and he buys food with the rest at crazy prices to finance them... All the accusations and reactionary insults are directed at the "corrupt" merchants, as if any merchant can control the price under the shadow of their weapons and willingness to kill any opponent... Even theft and looting are carried out with their knowledge, whether stealing from individuals or international charity warehouses, or kidnapping trucks carrying aid to sell their cargo and distribute it to their group and supporters.

The Gazan citizen is walking like a skeleton, while their group still flaunt their bellies, and in general, every fat person in Gaza Strip is a supporter of Hamas. Did you see during the prisoner exchange the appearance of Hamas members and the appearance of the spectators from the general public? Even after the failure of the January truce and the intensification of the famine, the gatherings of the population affiliated with them continued to receive free food from the charities, better in type and quantity than the other gatherings and charities, so practically there is no famine among their supporters like the one spread among the general public... Support them and gain, or die of hunger slowly. In their camps where the families

of supporters and sheikhs gather, before Eid al-Adha 2025, and in the midst of famine with the price of a kilo of meat at a hundred dinars, at this time they slaughtered sheep in their camps and distributed a quarter kilo to each family, while the rest of the people can only look at the meat and enjoy seeing the vegetables in the markets... The other camps that are thriving economically are those affiliated with the Salafist groups, the owners of untrimmed beards and three-quarter length robes and Abu Asba sandals, these receive money from their like abroad, which provides them with food supplies no matter how high the price; the closest ones are more entitled to kindness. They planned the 'flood', meaning they discussed how to cut the fence; they brought the curse of hostages and returned... They stored ammunition and shells to repel a ground attack and stored missiles to harass air defense systems, not to cause damage in Tel Aviv... But they did not calculate the possible reactions, did not prepare the home front, and did not rectify their mistakes, but rather resorted to extorting and milking the population to continue shouting slogans of war and resilience!! Is there a sane person who believes what they are spreading after more than 700 hellish days: that victory is at the door, and the liberation of Jaffa and Jerusalem is looming on the near horizon, and from the river to the sea, and give glad tidings to the believers, with the assumption that they themselves are believers, they are at most Muslims by superstition and forgery.

They practiced flip-flopping in demagoguery and deception... They said that the 'flood' is to liberate Al-Aqsa, exchange prisoners, lift the siege on Gaza, and thwart Arab and Saudi normalization - specifically. The result that they do not acknowledge and do not see is: the destruction of the entire Gaza Strip, starting from its mosques and schools and everything, and depriving Muslims of visiting Al-Aqsa and controlling it, and pursuit of the Arab residents of Jerusalem, closure of their schools, and demolition of their neighborhoods... The prisoners' daily torture has increased, and those who were released at the beginning were re-arrested, and tens of thousands of new people were arrested and hidden... As for normalization, every sane person now wishes that Mohammed bin Salman would exchange normalization for his country with food for the population of the sector and an end to the killing, and the population of the sector did not lack food, restaurants, education, and universities before October 7. Hamas leaders envisaged the lifting of the siege on Gaza, its separation from the West Bank and its handover

to them to turn into a recognized Islamic emirate... No declared goal of the 'flood' has been achieved, yet they claim victory!! To be fair, Hamas leaders were not this ignorant and arrogant in the past... Yes, there were fools among them from the beginning, like Al-Zahar, but there were leaders with opinions, logic, and courage, like Sheikh Yassin, and Abdul Aziz Al-Rantisi, who I personally knew through phone contact during the first intifada, and I also knew the founder of Islamic Jihad, Fathi Al-Shqaqi, I knew him in Rafah before the setback and met him in Damascus after the first intifada... In general, the Jihad movement does not engage in political squabbles, does not indulge in lies and deception, and does not seek power, but rather participates in fighting and resistance to the extent of its ability. A colleague of mine in school and class was one of those who became theorist leaders of Jihad, and we met in social work and meetings in London, and when Israel began one of its previous invasions, striking the population violently in the sector and Rafah - specifically - where his people live, this colleague objected to the demands to continue the war and Hamas's rejection of the truce, then resigned and withdrew from theorizing and armed action and retreated academically.

As a good citizen who wants to benefit people by enlightening them and activating their thoughts, I published a summary containing expressions allowed by Facebook under their terms, I posted it as an ad to reach the audience of the residents of the Palestinian Authority area in the West Bank and Gaza Strip:

We know in our region and the world three main religions that have been in bloody conflict throughout their history. While the followers of the middle religion have changed their approach and abolished the role of their religion in managing the politics of their countries; they have made strides in social progress and economic prosperity... The followers of the oldest and first religion, and the followers of the newest and third religion, have remained committed to guiding politics and management with the guidance of their religion, and each side is convinced of the validity of their vision and opposes the other side... The important difference here is that the followers of the first religion have resorted to modern economic, social, military, and industrial sciences for a century, and despite their small number, they have created a new society that they have established at the expense of a group of the third and newest religion, and their new society has become dependent on organization and adherence to the doctrine and the important thing is also the development of all kinds of sciences, and perhaps they suffer from psychological

problems resulting from the incompatibility of the rigid religious vision with the advanced sciences... But they are still successfully following the path of a bloody and backward religion and are developing and adopting the most advanced methods of available sciences. On the other hand, of the third party can be said that the religious vision is dominant in their thinking and practice, but there is no real reliance on modern sciences and adopting them; they do not produce or develop their weapons and ships, but they rely on others among producing infidels, or those with the middle religious vision. The third party in general knows and acknowledges its shortcomings, but it faces difficulties in changing the prevailing ideas... In addition to that, there are groups and factions that are more extreme in religion and ignorant in science, but they have dominance over the thinking and minds of the dependent majority... They see things from the perspective of numbers and fear; they involve themselves and others in battles and do not find anyone to fear for them. The important thing here is that this third party, with its moderates and extremists, has no relation to science and sciences or even general culture; every citizen here reads an average of half a page a year, while their opponents read thirty books... This is an example of the difference between the followers of two backward and conflicting religions, but most of the followers of the first are scientists and organized, following science to create miracles, and most of the followers of the third are simple, chaotic, and dependent, and they have a conviction that a heavenly miracle will happen that will tip the scales in their favor. To continue with the positions, we say that the followers of the first religion have tried wars for thousands of years and have been defeated many times and won a little, as they were fighting against powers greater than them... When they are defeated, they acknowledge defeat and bear the consequences and prepare again, and when they win, they commit atrocities against their enemies, killing, burning, and skinning, relying on the vision of their religion, and their last comprehensive defeat was in the West during World War II, and their story after that is known... As for the followers of the third religion, they do not acknowledge the principle of defeat, and they have in their religion an aid to interpret any defeat as a victory; if they are destroyed and only a few remain, that is a victory because their enemy did not succeed in exterminating them, and they do not care about the lives of non-combatant civilians; they are fuel for the war and whoever is killed is going to a fate a million times better than life; there are women, food, wine, and everything they desire, and that is unlike the belief of the followers of the first religion who

see the end as their domination on earth, killing their opponents, and enslaving the survivors as servants and concubines. Thus, the vision of both religions is compatible with the most horrific violence... The first wants to dominate and enslave those who survive the massacre, and the third does not acknowledge defeat or the fate of the public, as it sends them to a better life after death... And the strangest thing in this story that is happening and being applied now, is that the public here and there supports it, relies on it, surrenders to it, and despairs, and it remains to be reminded that sciences, knowledge, and democracy were the main supporter and the decisive factor in the conflict of religions, and will remain so.

Our disaster with Hamas

I believe there is a fatal mistake in the vision of Hamas since Yahya Sinwar took over its leadership in Gaza Strip. I think that Sinwar, before he was released in the prisoner exchange deal in 2011, which included the release of 1027 Palestinian prisoners in exchange for the Israeli soldier Gilad Shalit, had vowed to the Palestinian prisoners during his time with them to make an effort to release them through exchange deals. Yahya had spent 22 years in prison before his release, which had affected his being, priorities, thinking, and vision. As soon as he was released, he sought the leadership position and succeeded, becoming the head of Hamas's political bureau in Gaza Strip from February 13, 2017. It was not a difficult task for him to reach this position, given his status among the prisoners and having been one of the founders of Hamas's security apparatus, which was called "The Security and Dawah Apparatus (Majd)" in 1985 and was established during Sheikh Ahmed Yassin's leadership of the Dawah movement, a specialized apparatus for pursuing those accused of espionage for the benefit of the Israeli occupation, or those accused of blasphemy according to Sinwar and his associates, all before the intifada and the founding of Hamas... meaning he pursued people from a religious perspective before joining the resistance. In early 2004, the dentist in Beersheba prison, Dr. Betton, diagnosed Sinwar's condition as having a serious problem in the brain, such as inflammation or a stroke, and advised his colleagues to transfer him to the hospital, and he was quickly transferred to Soroka Medical Center, where doctors performed urgent surgery to remove a malignant tumor from his brain, as they said, a lethal tumor if left untreated, according to Dr. Betton, who recounts that he visited Sinwar in the hospital after a few days, accompanied by the prison officer who was sent to check the security arrangements, and they found the prisoner in bed, connected to precise monitoring screens and an intravenous device, but he was awake and thanked the doctor who recognized the seriousness of his condition and sent him for surgery and saved his life, and he returned to prison after recovery until he was released in the Shalit deal in 2011.

Sinwar regained his position as one of the prominent leaders of the movement and a member of its political bureau. He took on the task of coordination between Hamas's political bureau and the leadership of the Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades, and became the representative of the brigades in the movement's political bureau.

On February 13, 2017, Yahya Sinwar was elected by the movement's council as the head of Hamas's political bureau in Gaza Strip, succeeding Ismail Haniyeh, with Khalil al-Hayya chosen as his deputy... In March 2021, Yahya Sinwar was elected for a second term of four years as the head of Hamas's branch in Gaza, in a secret election of the movement. Thus, as the highest-ranking official in the movement in the sector, and despite not being elected by the public, Sinwar was considered the de facto ruler of Gaza, and also the second most powerful member of Hamas inside and outside, after Ismail Haniyeh at that time. On May 15, 2021, an Israeli airstrike targeted Yahya Sinwar's home, without causing injuries or fatalities, despite an attack that was supposed to kill him, Sinwar appeared publicly four times -at least- in the following week. The most notable was in a bold press conference on May 27, 2021, when he announced on air that he would return to his home on foot after the conference, challenging Defense Minister Gantz to decide to assassinate him within the 60 minutes before he reached home. Indeed, Sinwar spent the next hour walking in the streets of Gaza, taking pictures with the public, and was not assassinated or targeted by any drone in his surroundings. In 2023, after weeks of the beginning of the Flood war that he had engineered and prepared, Sinwar proposed releasing all Palestinian prisoners in Israeli prisons in exchange for releasing all hostages taken on October 7, and this was the main declared goal of the October 7 attack. Regardless of the circumstances and probabilities of Yahya Sinwar's brain surgery; it is clear that he was interested in understanding the Israeli mentality and learning Hebrew, and he has pictures of himself sitting and talking with the jailers and drinking tea with them; but he never managed to unlock the truth of their mentality. It seems that he thought that kidnapping Israelis would lead to their exchange against all Palestinian prisoners who were relatively neglected by politicians in Israeli prisons. The previous experience of exchanging Israelis with Palestinian prisoners led to that conclusion, and thus the assumption that the more hostages, the more would be released.

Sinwar was released from prison, took positions, and rose to the top of the movement, and planned to pretend that he wanted peace and demanded the employment of Gazan workers in Israel, and moved the movement's masses to peaceful skirmishes on the border while elite forces of Hamas were training for the Flood operation that no Hamas leaders were informed about, except for the obedient faction in Gaza, narrowly and shortly before the date... As for those who

carried out the assault; they were a trained group and were informed on the morning of the seventh of the goal and were given the choice to participate or not... The operation was not aimed at occupying or liberating any occupied Palestinian territory and staying there (if only they had done that), and all the goals announced later were brought forward to justify the operation politically and respond to the criticism resulting from the signs of Israeli retaliation... Goals, like thwarting normalization, lifting the siege on Gaza, putting the issue on the international political agenda, all this was a manufactured fiction thrown in later to justify the failure to anticipate the reactions and its disastrous consequences; Gaza Strip was portrayed as being on the brink of hell and the 'flood' came to push it to paradise. The whole plan was born and generated from Sinwar's mind, and its preparation and execution, and only later were the movement's leaders and Hezbollah dragged into it, and Iran advanced in an attempt to gain popularity until Israel's destructive reactions affected everyone, including poor Yemen, and Iran and its nuclear program. In the best of circumstances and assumptions, the 'Flood' plan did not take into account the possibilities of Israeli reaction, and did not study Netanyahu's psychology and situation, and the presence of the bloodthirsty religious extremist right in power... Nor did it consider the position of Washington and the West when their creation is subjected to assault, killing, and kidnapping of hundreds of soldiers and civilians, male and female, children and elderly. If Israel had succumbed to a peaceful prisoner exchange process after the 'flood', it would have put an end to itself, and is it reasonable for a nuclear colonial state in a hostile religious and political environment to fall into such a trap and open a door to itself that leads to the permanent kidnapping of its citizens wherever they are? The plan also did not include provisions to control the internal Gazan front and provide necessities... Yes, semi-primitive weapons and ammunition were stored but they did not include any anti-aircraft missiles, and no retaliatory operations were prepared against Israeli civilians... This is what was generated in Yahya Sinwar's mind, and no political or military justifications presented by the Al Jazeera team, which continues to present and explain the war as if it were between two armies with similar armaments and state of preparedness, will change these facts and results... They want to declare victory for the Muslim Brotherhood movement at any cost. Hamas has never acted as a representative committed to the entire people, but rather trusts its group and relies on it alone... It has not previously or subsequently provided training opportunities for hundreds of thousands of young

men and women in Gaza Strip who are under its rule... The war began and continued and continued while the movement's forces are decreasing and hundreds of thousands of young men are running after flour, and they are even unable to organize displacement operations and help the strong physically assist the weak... The movement acted and acts like a gang that has no relation to the people, but hides behind and among them and it did not urge its members not to be present with their phones in the crowds!! The movement acts with absolute selfishness on all levels... or rather, its planners and leaders.

Returning to the goals of the 'Flood'; we should not forget that all the prisoners who were released in the first exchange operations were re-arrested, and tens of thousands of men were arrested from Gaza Strip after the 'Flood', and the treatment of prisoners, which was bad, has become catastrophic in every sense of the word, and cannot be adequately be described within the normal terms of clarification. The Gaza Strip has been subjected to a harsh, starvation, medical, and humanitarian siege which is being tightened, so that it has become a large prison isolated from the world, and the Gazan Palestinian people have returned to the era of Bedouinism, tents, sticks, plundering, and looting, and its social foundations, concepts, and social cohesion have been shattered, meaning it has returned to before the pre-Islamic era by many centuries instead of the 'Flood' improving its situation... and normalization has not stopped, and Israel is expanding as a dominant force in the region, and Palestinian leaders refuse to agree, and Hamas considers itself victorious and dominant... perhaps it is, but the question is: dominant for whose benefit? It may be claimed that the planning for the operation was sound and aimed at clearing the prisons, given the number of hostages planned and in light of previous exchange operations, but this claim is null and void compared to the circumstances and data of the previous exchanges and the 'Flood'.

Palestinian resistance movements have carried out prisoner exchange deals with the Israeli occupation since 1968, and the number reached 10 deals up to 2011, (i.e., until the Shalit operation that freed Sinwar) and previous exchange operations succeeded in releasing thousands of Palestinian prisoners and detainees, including those with life sentences and high sentences, and included prisoners from Palestine occupied in 1948 with Israeli citizenship, as well as Arab and foreign prisoners. Arab states and resistance movements also carried out numerous deals to release Arab prisoners held by the occupation state, in exchange for the release of Israeli

soldiers, and the Palestinian National Authority also carried out a number of agreements after the "Oslo Accord" that resulted in the release of thousands of Palestinian prisoners and detainees from Israeli prisons. The number of prisoner exchange deals between Arabs and Israel reached 38 deals between 1948 and 2011, resulting in the release of thousands of Arabs, most of them Palestinians or from neighboring countries, and in return, Israeli prisoners were released, and the exchange included bodies and remains from both sides, and maps of mines, and the revelation of missing persons... all these operations came as a result of wars, battles, and military clashes, not a raid to kidnap civilians and cause the killing of hundreds of others.

For example, on May 20, 1985, an exchange operation took place between Israel and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine - General Command, according to Palestinian terms, and this operation was called "Operation Galilee", and is considered one of the strongest Arab-Israeli exchange deals, as it forced Israel to keep most of the released prisoners inside the territories occupied in 1967, and most of them were high-ranking prisoners, and according to the exchange agreement, 1155 detainees were released from Israeli prisons, including 118 Palestinian prisoners who were kidnapped during a previous exchange with the "Fatah" movement in 1983 from "Ansar Camp", and 154 prisoners who were transferred from the same camp to "Atlit" prison, during the withdrawal of Israeli forces from southern Lebanon, and 883 detainees who were originally in Israeli prisons in occupied Palestine, and in return, the three Israeli soldiers who were captured in the field were released. Among the released prisoners were 99 prisoners from Arab countries, and 6 from other countries, including the Japanese Kozo Okamoto, the leader of the Lod Airport operation on May 30, 1972, and the deal also included Palestinians from 1948 areas, and prisoners from the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and among the prisoners was Sheikh Ahmed Yassin (the later founder of the " Hamas " movement). There is an appendix in this book about all the exchange operations for those who want to reflect on them and search for the differences between them and the 'Flood' plan to clear the prisons... but I want to reveal to you here a true and interesting piece of information about the operation during which the soldier Shalit was kidnapped, and which led to the release of Sinwar, who planned the 'Flood' operation. On June 25, 2006, the Qassam Brigades, the military wing of Hamas, in cooperation with the "Al-Nasser Salah al-

Din Brigades", the military arm of the "Popular Resistance Committees" in Palestine, and the "Islamic Army", carried out a special military operation that succeeded in infiltrating through an underground tunnel under the border, and surprising an Israeli military support position on the eastern border of Rafah city, and the operation resulted in the killing of a tank commander and his assistant, and the injury of 5 others, and the destruction of a "Merkava" tank and an armored personnel carrier, in addition to damage to the military site... The tunnel had been ready under the border for some time and ended near the military site, and the fighters disguised themselves in Israeli army uniforms to achieve the element of surprise when approaching the site.

They came out of the tunnel, approached the site, opened fire, and used an RPG launcher against the tank... The surprise was complete, and screams rose, and chaos prevailed; soldier Gilad Shalit came out of the hatch of the damaged tank, and saw what he thought were soldiers running west; he followed them, calling out to them... They waited for him and headed west, returning through the fence, and cut the wires, and Shalit helped them in that, according to a later confession by one of the perpetrators, and they took him back with them (as a bonus, as the Gazans say)...and perhaps they considered him a divine gift! Negotiations began with the help of a German mediator, and Israel launched a war on the sector at the end of 2008 and the beginning of 2009, but it failed to reach the location of the captive soldier, then an exchange operation took place in two stages, the first in early October 2009, in which Israel released 20 Palestinian female prisoners from the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and the resistance provided in return a two-minute video showing Shalit in good health, then in October 2011, through the Egyptian mediator, the exchange was completed, and 1027 prisoners were released, including Yahya Sinwar, and Gilad Shalit returned after being held for nearly five years. I would like to point out here that while the Islamic resistance factions were celebrating the success of the kidnapping of soldier Shalit and the rise of hope for the release of Palestinian prisoners, Israeli reaction and opinion were opposed to this deal, and the resistance should have taken note of this... Here is some of what was written in the most important newspapers in the history of the Hebrew state: Yedioth Ahronoth wrote, "The price is exaggerated, the risks are great, and the precedent is not nice, but a state that has not been able to rescue a soldier from captivity for five years by other means can only pay the price". Maariv wrote: "The

question is not whether Israel will release a thousand terrorists or four hundred, even a hundred terrorists are more than necessary. This deal is a prize for terrorism, this deal is a huge victory for Hamas, this is not a deal, this is surrender... The terrorists who were released in previous deals caused the killing of about 200 Israelis. No one knows what will happen this time; the only thing that is certain in the aftermath of this deal is that the appetite for more kidnappings is great, the next surrender is only a matter of time". Ben Caspit wrote in Maariv also: Yesterday was an evening of surrender, an evening in which Israel fell on its knees before Hamas, an evening in which Israeli resilience failed, softness of heart prevailed over the necessary firmness at the time, an evening in which Khaled Mashal, Ahmed Jabari, and Ismail Haniyeh held victory celebrations rightfully, an evening in which the Israeli shield was eroded until it was crushed, exactly as happened in the withdrawal from Lebanon and the unilateral withdrawal from Gaza, an evening that gave birth to the next kidnappings (and please, do not try to sell us the conclusions of the Shamgar Committee that say that next time, things will be different. Try to sell this to Hamas, they will not buy it, they will kidnap).

In Haaretz Amos Harel and Avi Yissacharoff wrote: "Hamas is expected to reap an immediate political gain from the completion of the deal in the coming days, while the head of the Palestinian Authority, Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen), has limited himself to symbolic political steps, such as his visit to the United Nations. Hamas is expected to lead celebrations for the release of 1,027 prisoners, an unprecedented price in the history of prisoner exchanges for Israel. The families of the prisoners will be photographed in all Arab media, and Hamas will hold massive rallies to celebrate its victory".

To recall to our memory the results to contemplate on: Israel withdrew from Gaza Strip in 2005 and evacuated the settlements, and in the following year, Shalit fell into the trap, and a year later, Hamas's bloody coup against the government took place, Israel declared Gaza a "hostile entity" in September 2007, and imposed a comprehensive blockade on it in October of the same year. On December 27, 2008, Israel launched a war on Gaza Strip, which it called "Operation Cast Lead", and the Palestinian resistance in the sector responded with an operation it called "The Battle of the Furqan". The goal that the occupation leadership had set for this war at the time was also "to end Hamas's rule in the sector", and to reach the place where the resistance was hiding the captive Gilad Shalit. That Israeli aggression

lasted 23 days, and the occupation used internationally banned weapons such as white phosphorus and depleted uranium, and dropped more than a thousand tons of explosives. That war resulted in more than 1,430 Palestinian martyrs, including more than 400 children, 240 women, and 134 policemen, in addition to more than 5,400 wounded. And more than 10,000 homes were destroyed, completely or partially... and the occupation admitted to the killing of 13 Israelis, including 10 soldiers, and the injury of 300 others. If the Shalit experience had been studied and scrutinized... such as that he practically surrendered himself and no Israeli civilian died with him, and he was captured from a military site, and then scrutinized the price that was paid with the lives of Gaza people for one soldier; perhaps the decision to mount the 'flood' would not have been taken, or at least the matter would have been rectified quickly instead of involving neighboring countries and destroying Gaza, Yemen, Lebanon, and Iran, and most likely ending the era and phase of Hamas. Israel, according to the previous experience, will not reconcile or tolerate those who it sees as responsible for the October 7 attack, and therefore, the involvement will expand to include any country that hosts them.

There is another experience that Sinwar should have reviewed before embarking on the October 7 adventure, and that experience is almost identical to the circumstances of the 'Flood' aftermath, and I mean here Israel's attack on Hezbollah and Lebanon after the party captured Israeli soldiers in order to gain the release of Lebanese prisoners that Israel had refused to release previously; the result was the destruction of the southern suburbs and huge losses, and the beginning of an official Israeli threat that whoever kidnaps its citizens will meet the fate of the southern suburbs, and this has entered military strategy as "the Dahiya doctrine". This happened despite the difference between the strength of Hezbollah and its circumstances, supply, and support compared to the situation of Hamas, which failed to study and absorb that experience; thus, creating the "Gaza doctrine" as Israel has begun to threaten its opponents with the fate of Gaza as it had previously threatened with the Dahiya doctrine. Before summarizing that experience from 2006 between Hezbollah and Israel, I would like to confirm that I have not deviated from the scope of the topic of this book as it relates to my own memories and vision. I lived the experience of the first Israeli-Lebanese war in 1982 closely, and monitored the second war in 2006 in a professional capacity and published a lot in public, advising and warning... and before that, my master's

thesis (1978) was about the Palestinian revolution, and I met and befriended people who had survived the experience of the siege and massacre of Tel al-Zaatar in 1976 when people died of hunger and asked the sheikhs to authorize them to eat the bodies of the dead to preserve their lives and extend their resistance, but they were betrayed by the ally, friend, and enemy, and women were raped before they were killed along with everyone else. That is why I write to convey my memories to you as long they remain within the framework of what is happening now in 2025 in Gaza, Lebanon, and Yemen, and what should have happened if we had understood and absorbed previous lessons.

The 2006 war was a continuation of previous battles between Hezbollah and Israel, just as happened between Israel and the fedayeen resistance and then the Islamic resistance. Israel was insisting on keeping Lebanese and Arab captives, and Hezbollah was insisting on obtaining their release, especially as about 30 years had passed since the imprisonment of some Lebanese, such as Samir Kuntar. After the failure of indirect negotiations to obtain his release, Hezbollah decided to capture Israeli soldiers to secure the release of Lebanese and other prisoners from Israeli prisons. On July 12, 2006, Hezbollah launched the 'True Promise' operation, which led to the capture of Israeli soldiers; Israeli forces immediately stormed the border fence and entered Lebanese territory; Hezbollah was waiting for the Israelis and bombed the two tanks; killing 8 Israeli soldiers.

Israel responded with a comprehensive and open war, starting with a naval blockade and intense air bombardment, followed by a ground invasion, and the battles lasted for 33 days, killing 121 Israeli soldiers and 44 civilians, and between 300 and 800 Hezbollah fighters, 43 Lebanese soldiers and security forces, and more than a thousand Lebanese civilian casualties, and thousands of wounded on both sides. Israel set goals for the war: the unconditional release of the two captive soldiers, and the disarmament of Hezbollah, in an attempt to end the long-term threat it posed to Israel. What a resemblance between yesterday and today. On the other hand, Hezbollah's goal was to push Israel to indirect negotiations leading to a prisoner exchange, which was done in 2008 in two stages, and later Israel withdrew completely from southern Lebanon except for the Shebaa Farms, in accordance with UN Resolution 1701, which Hezbollah considered a victory... After the 'Flood' war and Hezbollah's support for Gaza, Israel returned and imposed the implementation of the UN resolution and is working to disarm

Hezbollah in southern Lebanon before their withdrawal from there... this of course is after they have destroyed Hezbollah, its forces, and its weapons, and killed its leaders (2025).

The extent of the destruction that Israel inflicted on Lebanon at that time was great, and from it emerged in 2008, as I mentioned before, what was known as the "Dahiya doctrine" as a deterrence strategy inspired by the Israeli air force's destruction of parts of the southern suburbs of Beirut, where Hezbollah's stronghold is. The commander of the Israeli army's northern command, General Gadi Eisenkot, was the one who developed that strategy, which is based on causing the greatest possible destruction, where he says: "What happened in the southern suburbs of Beirut will be repeated in every town from which shots are fired towards Israel... we will use disproportionate force against them, and we will cause immense destruction, for us this is not a proposal but a military rule and a plan that has been approved"... meaning Israel declared openly and loudly that it did not respect their civilian infrastructure, and infrastructure in general... etc.

The threatened destruction has become the fate of Gaza Strip and its inhabitants, to the extent that Israel is seeking to displace them, empty the sector, and settle it, and counter with the open official threat that what happened to Gaza will happen to anyone who fires on Israel or kidnaps its citizens. The destruction after Gaza has hit the southern suburbs again and southern Lebanon, and has dealt a blow to Hezbollah and threatened Iran (which has been struck). The comparisons are many between those wars of 2006 and 2023... there is the Western position that was divided and mostly inclined to support Israel and its right to defend its citizens... and also the Arab position was divided then as later in the 'Flood', especially the official position of Egypt and Saudi Arabia, which described the kidnapping of the two soldiers as "irresponsible adventures" and Saudi Arabia and Egypt had issued a statement attacking what they called "Lebanese elements" because of what they considered a "reckless adventure without consulting the legitimate authority" and without coordination with Arab countries, but despite that, demonstrations in support of Hezbollah broke out in Egypt, carrying Lebanese and Hezbollah flags and pictures of Hassan Nasrallah, the leader of Hezbollah, and demanding military support for Hezbollah against Israel, and the leader of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, Mohammed Mahdi Akef, announced that "the Muslim Brotherhood is ready to send several thousand of its members to fight alongside Hezbollah in Lebanon in

its war with Israel"... the same positions were repeated throughout the 700 days of the 'Flood' massacre until the Arabs and the West finally realized that Israel is not killing Hamas but exterminating the Palestinian people and land. The comparisons between the second Lebanon war and the 'Flood' massacre are many, such as the operations of destruction and displacement of the population and the bombing of cities on both sides, with a difference in the results of the Israeli bombing compared to the bombing of Hamas, Hezbollah, the Houthis, and Iran... and after the war, a great crisis occurred due to the displaced people, who had fled from the Israeli attacks, returning to their homes, to find them leveled to the ground, and for his part, the Secretary-General of Hezbollah, Hassan Nasrallah, said that "the party's fighters have written a historic victory not only for Lebanon but for the entire nation" and they called the victory "the divine victory" because they had won against the strongest army in the Middle East and the strongest air force, and Nasrallah said that he would not enter into a debate about disarming the party, and said that raising this issue at this stage and time served the enemy, and this is what Hamas leaders will say after the truce, and they have already said it all along and throughout the massacre... but Nasrallah said on Lebanese television and to the London-based "Al-Hayat" newspaper in September 2006: "If we had known that the kidnapping operation (of the two Israeli soldiers) would lead to this result, we would not have done it for sure." This is what Sinwar and his companions should have read and reflected on, or planned better.

There is a subjective Israeli difference between 2006 and the 'Flood' massacre; Israel was still respecting its internal democratic foundations, and investigation committees were formed, and those who made mistakes were held accountable militarily and politically, and Prime Minister Olmert resigned, while now the society has turned to fascism and Nazism, and Prime Minister Netanyahu is acting against its democratic foundations and rules, clinging to his position and fearing accountability, and Olmert says that Israel is practicing genocide in Gaza... this difference and pursuit may lead to an additional catastrophe, the consequences of which are unknown, which would be an Israeli air attack against Iran and its nuclear reactors and missile forces to settle the results of the first strike. Such an attack is almost inevitable between two religious entities with extremist ideologies, governed by unilateral decisions, and neither of them can bear a clear defeat, as it would mean its end through internal transformations. It seems that the mullahs in

Tehran know this and are maneuvering with Washington to conclude an agreement that ensures Israel's deterrence, and the matter has become clear to the mullahs from Arab parties and warned them to be conciliatory and avoid confrontation with the Israeli dictator who seeks to save his skin even at the cost of destroying everything... will Tehran think and plan better? Iran thought it had thought and planned well and began talks with Washington about its nuclear project, but Israel launched a surprise war on the morning of Friday, June 13, 2025, and bombed nuclear, military, and political targets, and some Iranian infrastructure...

This war is ongoing now while I am writing these memories, and therefore I will summarize the main reasons for what happened and why the war broke out during the negotiations, and we will see later how it develops and ends.

It became clear from the American-Iranian talks that Tehran is confirming the peaceful and civilian nature of its nuclear program and its lack of intention to build a nuclear bomb, and it became clear that Washington wants to believe that, and therefore it is offering Tehran enriched uranium for civilian purposes, as there are countries that sell this uranium, but Tehran wants to enrich it itself in its laboratories, which are open to international inspection and monitoring. On the other hand, Israel says that Tehran is a finger's breadth away from producing the bomb, and thus becoming a nuclear power, and therefore its reactors were bombed and destroyed... It is known that Tehran has ten tons of enriched uranium, which can be further enriched, and it has 500 kilograms enriched to 60%, which is enough to produce ten bombs... meaning that Tehran - theoretically - can now produce bombs, but it must first withdraw from international treaties and then produce its nuclear bomb... and this is what happened with North Korea, for example. As for the reason for Israel's insistence on preventing Tehran from possessing nuclear weapons, it is due to the declared enmity after the fall of the Shah of Iran and the Islamic revolution's takeover of power, which considers Israel an enemy that must be eliminated... and Israel and the West do not want an Islamic country that is not affiliated with them to achieve nuclear status and produce nuclear weapons.

The most important geopolitical reasons for Israel to settle this issue are that it wants to become the dominant regional power, not just superior... the superior needs to prove its superiority in every battle, and the dominant imposes its will by

distributing its desires and demands to others. Israel becomes dominant when it wins its wars in a decisive way that achieves defeat for the other side without harming itself, but rather obtains the crushing defeat of its opponents, as it has done repeatedly in Lebanon and Gaza, in front of the world and in violation of UN resolutions... meaning that it wants to send a warning to any government in the region; it must comply or face destruction... in short, whoever wants to break away from Israeli obedience must be stronger than it and be prepared to inflict losses on it, and this is what Tehran knows, and therefore it responds with all its might, but Israeli nuclear superiority remains a deterrent if traditional military and intelligence methods fail. The outcome of this final battle between Iran and Israel is what will determine Israel's borders, whether they will stretch farther than the declared Greater Israel from the Nile to the Euphrates, meaning dominance over the region from Morocco to the farthest borders of Iran, with Afghanistan and Pakistan to the east, Yemen to the south, and the Iraqi-Turkish border to the north... or whether the outcome of the battle will return Israel to the 1967 borders. What is certain, is that Iran has fallen into the trap, as it was not consulted regarding the October 7, 2023 attack, and neither was Hezbollah, but they both entered to give support under pressure from the street and their own ideology, and they could not abandon Hamas and the civilian victims in Gaza... Hezbollah was drawn into the battle, and then Israel implicated Iran in the media and continued to work globally on the Iranian nuclear file, leading to talks between Tehran and Washington, and then the explosion of negotiations and the attack on nuclear sites and Iranian missile factories, and the paralysis of air defense capabilities to ensure air dominance over Iran, while agents are active in sabotage on the ground. Despite the fact that this war began with a surprise attack on Tehran while negotiations were ongoing with Washington, the leaders of Britain, Germany, and France hastened to confirm Israel's 'right to defend itself' the day after the attack!! And it was announced on behalf of the president, that the United States did not participate in the attack, but is participating in the defense of Israel!! And Washington threatened Tehran with dire consequences if it targeted any of its bases or interests in the region!! French President Macron said that Putin's mediation between Israel and Iran to stop the war is unacceptable!! These are indications that clarify the lines of the future.

What next?

On the morning of Sunday, June 22, 2025, Washington launched a raid on Iranian nuclear sites, and Trump announced that he is part of team Netanyahu. As for Iran, as usual, it said it retains the right to respond at a time of its choosing, and, theoretically it could strike American nuclear reactors, or at least strike some bases in the region under the principle of an eye for an eye, as it had threatened before the attack, but it will probably be content with continuing to strike Israel with missiles for a few days and then resort to negotiation offers. In general, no matter what Iran's reaction is, the end of the ruling Islamic regime has begun... If it fights and attacks American interests in the region, they will physically eliminate the regime, and if the regime makes peace as a sign of weakness, the situation will turn against it from within... there is no longer any opportunity to repair the image, structures, and principles of the Islamic regime in Iran after the security and military exposure since Israel's attack on Tehran on June 13... the credit for that goes to Hamas and the 'Al-Aqsa Flood', which occurred without consultations and embarrassed Hezbollah and Iran into intervening in support, leading to these disastrous results for them as well.

On a personal level, it was planned that my daughter and grandchildren would visit us, coming from Africa via Cairo to Amman. On June 14, they arrived in Cairo to visit my sister Andalieb, who was stuck there, and the next day, Egypt Air decided to cancel its flights to Amman due to the Iranian-Israeli war, and days passed waiting for a breakthrough until Trump bombed the Iranian reactors; my daughter decided to change her flight and return at the earliest opportunity to their residence in West Africa. I wanted my grandchildren to spend two weeks near their

grandmother, who is suffering from cancer, but - of course - their safety is more important than their visit, and at least they met their aunt, my sister Andalieb, who left Gaza after the 'flood' to testify and attend sessions of the International Court in The Hague, but she was unable to return to Gaza; so she stayed in Cairo, continuing her work from there... for the record, we tried many times to facilitate Andalieb's visit to Jordan, but the instructions after the 'flood' led to the prohibition of any Gaza resident from reaching Amman... Before the 'flood' Andalieb visited us regularly and compensated me for the impossibility of visiting Gaza. My older sister, the late Aisha, mother of Ahmed, died years before the 'flood', but the 'flood' destroyed her grave and the graves of my father and mother and the rest of the relatives who have been buried in Rafah from the Nakba to the 'flood'. Aisha's grandson, the son of Ahmed Hikmat Adwan, the child Kenan, died in the 'flood' on April 20, 2025, and his parents had had three beautiful daughters and had been seeking medical help for years to have a boy; he was killed as an infant. There are - of course - many children of our family who were killed in this massacre, and all our homes were leveled to the ground, but the war between Israel and Iran, and then Washington's direct involvement, and what may follow of skirmishes or wrangling, will prolong and overshadow the daily tragedy that the rest of my family and people are living in Rafah, the sector, and Palestine... the destruction of Rafah and the displacement of its inhabitants separated the families of my brothers, Abdul-Raouf and Abdul-Mu'ti, and on July 26, Abdul-Raouf died as a direct result of the lack of medicine.

This reminds me of a previous personal tragedy, the victim of which was my brother Abdul Karim, who is the fifth in the count of siblings, followed by the youngest, Abdul Menam, and preceded by Abdul Salam, then Abdul Mu'ti, Abdul Raouf, and then me... I had three older brothers from my father's first wife, Abdallah and Khader, who died one after the other in Doha, and Abdul Rahman, who died in Jordan. As for the sisters, Aisha was the eldest, and she died in Rafah, Palestine, then come Andalieb, Asmahan, and Afaf. During the first intifada, Abdul Karim finished his studies in Germany and returned to Gaza Strip, got married, and had Diaa and Youssef, then he was diagnosed with a chest disease, which later turned out to be lung cancer. Movement was available between the West Bank and Gaza Strip during the first intifada; so Abdul Karim went to Al-Makassed Hospital in Jerusalem, where Abdul Salam was working as a nurse. It

was decided to perform an operation and open his chest, but during the operation, the anesthesiologist was pulled away to another operation or work, and the surgeon began to cry as he continued the operation because Abdul Karim was waking up from the anesthesia... the important thing is that Abdul Karim died during the operation, feeling all the pain, and the hospital acknowledged the mistake when I followed up with them remotely from London, and I was faced with a difficult choice: should I file a complaint against this hospital, and thus possibly close it, as it is in Jerusalem, which is under Israeli law, and what would follow from allegations that I had deprived the injured of the intifada from treatment at Al-Makassed, or should I waive my claim? And that is what happened after they apologized and promised to compensate his family, but of course they did not fulfill their promise... The hospital director was Ahmed Qurei, who later signed the most repellant agreements with Israel and was involved in corruption and the cement case (see appendices). Abdul Karim was lost as a result of corruption and administrative stupidity.

The news of the Gaza Strip has disappeared from the world's eyes, and Israel has deepened its war of extermination, starvation, thirst, and plunder... even the advocates of steadfastness and patience, and those who raise the slogans of victory, have abandoned Gaza and turned to Iran, praying that it will restore Gaza from its current state... and the turn of Yemen and other countries that support and fund Hamas will come.

Speaking of Amman and Jordan; we see the missiles and hear the explosions in the sky, especially if the exchange of bombardment is at night... and whenever a missile salvo is launched from Iran, the warning sirens sound in the kingdom to alert the residents, and then sound again to reassure them that the missiles have passed to their targets. The important thing here is that the sounding of the warning siren prompts some people to climb to the rooftops or stop in open areas to watch the missiles pass and the accompanying defenses, or they close the windows to reduce the annoyance of the sirens, and the official advice is to open the windows and take shelter from the possibility of being hit by what may fall on our heads... but we are generally not in a state of war and we cannot prevent ourselves from watching... today, Sunday, June 22, 2025, I woke up at seven in the morning to the sounds of distant explosions, so I turned on my phone and saw the news of Trump's attack on Iran, and I went up to the roof to see the reactions, but I didn't

see anything, even though the sounds of explosions were echoing in the air... I thought of my family and brothers who are caught in the explosions; their tents are flying, and their flour, which is expensive, is mixed with the cheap dust of their land. The Iranian-Israeli war deepens the state of Arab inertia and waiting... waiting for the new dominant master, and this war proves the importance of nuclear weapons and its deterrence of others and its uniqueness in imposing its vision until what and who confronts it is born. The silent struggle for dominance in the region has been between Turkey, Iran, and Israel, and that is why Tehran has been seeking to develop its nuclear weapons, without success so far. It would have been better if it had stayed away from the 'flood' and its consequences until it completed the bomb and joined the nuclear club alongside Pakistan, India, and Israel, all of which are democratic countries, even if they have racist undertones, but Tehran was dragged in the wake of the 'flood', unlike Pakistan or Turkey, and what was to be was. Turkey failed the test before it even began, and the defeat of Tehran, or its weakening, will gladden some Arabs in the Gulf states who were feeling threatened by Iranian Shiite influence, and they will have to secure themselves from succumbing to Israel by succumbing to Western powers... betting on China or Russia has repeatedly proven to be a failure, and nuclear Pakistan is busy watching India and succumbing to the American vision. Our problem is that the Western world has planted a colonial entity in our midst that is advanced and smart, relying on democratic methods in governance and racist methods in implementation on the periphery, while our Arab-Islamic societies are struggling between the appearances of civilization and the fundamentalism of religion and do not rely on a clear plan that accelerates growth, and therefore, there is no escape from dependence in pursuit of protection.

The Arab attempts have been crushed in their infancy... the West, some Arabs, and the Muslim Brotherhood conspired against Egypt's Nasserite experiment, then the idea of Arab unity, and they allied against Iraq and executed it, and followed that in Syria, and when Iran penetrated the region and had to prove itself by supporting the 'flood' and confronting Israel, it was dealt with in the same way... Western-Israeli military participation and Arab acceptance, thus opening the way for Israeli dominance or American protection... and who would dare now to develop long-range missile weapons, or even build air defenses that might repel the enemy or

limit attacks, not to mention thinking about manufacturing a nuclear deterrent bomb in the face of more than 300 bombs in Israel's possession!!

On the evening of June 23, 2025, it was said that Iran attacked the American Al-Udeid base in Qatar, meaning as retaliation for the American attack with stealth aircraft and submarines on nuclear sites, and on the morning of the next day, Trump announced a ceasefire between Israel and Iran and called on God to protect the region and expected a beautiful future for all, and Trump said he thanked Iran for notifying Washington before bombing the base in Qatar... of course, no Americans were killed in the attack on the bases, and no damage was done at all... meaning, bring Iran down from the tree to bring it back to the negotiating table again, with their previous harsh conditions, in addition to Washington milking Iranian money for the benefit of peaceful economic development programs, and the political situation remains as it is, or of course, returning to threats and implementation and adding them to the goal of regime change. This result, when achieved, will put Iran in the same position as the Gulf Arab states... that is, under American protection in exchange for political compliance and financial tribute, and I expect President Trump to soon demand that Iran join the Abraham Accords between the Arab governments and Israel.

One of the important observations is that the Israeli-Iranian ceasefire agreement did not mention the situation in Gaza, and this also happened in the similar Lebanese-Israeli agreement, and Iran did not mention the situation in Gaza at all during the days of missile exchanges, even in the context of Israeli aggression and brutality on the region as a whole. The second observation is that the Israeli Finance Minister, an extremist, publicly demanded that the Gulf Arab states pay the cost of the war on Iran and Israel's losses!!; meaning that Israel is fighting Iran and depriving it of nuclear weapons as a service to the Arabs of the Gulf. As for the situation in Gaza, Jonathan Winell, Director of the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHER) in the occupied Palestinian territories, warned that the prevailing conditions in Gaza have become an effective tool for harming civilians, describing what is happening as a "massacre", and that hunger has become a "weapon", saying that "the conditions existing today were created to kill people". He added: "What we are seeing is a massacre. It is hunger that has been turned into a weapon. It is forced displacement. It is a death sentence on those who are just trying to survive." This description is known to UN

organizations, European leaders, and the whole world, but everyone, to varying degrees, is putting their heads in the sand... no one wants to take responsibility, or humanitarian participation through an economic or diplomatic decision against the Israeli occupation... the clever ones among them issue a statement, and condemnation, while their country's relations with Israel remain unaffected by its actions. But also, there are no Palestinian initiatives, either to bring Hamas down from the tree or to bring about a qualitative political shift that responds to the existing reality without concessions on fixed rights, but rather seeking those rights through peaceful means other than those that have failed. There are no popular movements expressing the vision and demands of the people directly concerned with the developments. The developments of the situation before the 'flood', and then the social, economic, and living developments of the 'flood', have overwhelmed people's mentality and deepened the feeling of inability to bring about any self-change, and everyone has become, according to an Israeli plan and vision, a helpless recipient, begging for any solution or aid... it goes without saying that the Islamic resistance does not kill an occupying soldier at the rate of one every day, or every week, or every month, despite their occupation of three-quarters of the sector.

Palestinians abroad are divided and wasting their capabilities in the theoretical conflict between the talking of steadfastness and victory, and saying that it is not possible to do better than what has already been done, and Hamas must disappear and thus allow the cessation of the massacre... practically, the action of Palestinians abroad does not exceed providing some financial support that benefits the money changers and merchants in the first place... the reason for the generalization of political backwardness on the inside and outside is the dominance of religious thought and the lack of democratic tools and knowledge, and resorting to treason. The Muslim Brotherhood and Hamas supporters accuse the other side of treason and intimidate them from speaking out and discussing things, and the other side accuses Hamas of working for Israel, as it is the beneficiary of this massacre day after day, and that Hamas's actions are not nationally rational... and this situation will remain as it is, according to the wishes of the sheikhs, or until democracy is adopted.

Brief, Responsibility, and End

In the end I cannot summarize my memories, but what I have mentioned in the pages of this book is only a part of those memories that are present in my mind, I have introduced them according to the reality of events during writing, to create parallels and draw lessons for the future... but certainly, I can summarize the political vision of what happened and what may happen if our intellectual approach and performance continues without an educational, social, and political upheaval: I say that without resorting to a real democratic system that relies on secular social principles and limits the dominance of religious vision on minds... without that, we will continue to stumble, collapse, pray, and wait for a space meteor to hit the earth to rest from our reality. Where there is a religious political or social system, there will be backwardness and its consequences. The proof is clear when we observe the types of countries and societies with their levels of social, economic, and security progress, and there is no need to prove the obvious again and again. On the Palestinian level, I say that it is necessary to understand the causes of our self-inflicted disasters... I observe, according to the results, that Israel is the primary beneficiary of the 'Al-Aqsa Flood', and every rational person can understand and conclude what they like... and as to the Palestinian in-fighting both between those who consider themselves leaders in Fatah and Hamas and among themselves, these differences are what have kept the Arabs away from true support, and the differences are what have destroyed our people's trust in their leadership, and they are what permits the world to put the blame on us,, and certainly, there is no justification for the continuation of differences in the face of genocide... and therefore, all the different and conflicting leaderships are practically standing in the ranks of the enemy, no matter how loudly they declare, shout, and claim patriotism and loyalty.

Before we can exit the trap of differences, and until we can survive; there must be an agreement on the goal and method to achieve unity and progress!! Is the desired goal a Palestinian state from the river to the sea, or a Palestinian state on the 1967 borders, or a secular, democratic, and shared Israeli-Palestinian state? And after agreeing on the desired goal, it is necessary to agree on the method... is it enough to rely on peaceful, popular, and diplomatic struggle accompanied by scientific and economic development, or to return to the ideas of armed resistance? In reality, the

PLO charter includes solutions and answers, but Hamas denied the agreement and charter and changed the goal to comprehensive liberation and the method to armed resistance, after the PLO abandoned fighting and resorted to peaceful solutions, and here the organizational and societal split was born, as people sided with Hamas's vision and others remained with the PLO and the Authority's vision... and the result was the destruction of both visions and the achievement of a societal split and the return of Gazan society to the era of nomadism, and the preparation of the West Bank society for an unequal fight. It has been clear for several centuries that the gap between the West and the East has widened in favor of the former, which has adopted democracy and secularism and returned religion to the role of worship, away from politics and legislation, while the Arab East continued to rely on ignorance... and it was clear that the Zionist movement is an integral part of the Western world, and therefore, we should have recognized the differences between us since before the Palestinian Nakba and thus worked on correcting the imbalance, but we continued verbal clashing, practical, scientific, and social failure, and refused to compromise or seize the opportunity for middle solutions to catch up with the right path to development... When the Palestinian national movement came to term with the facts after the 1982 military defeat, followed by the birth of the popular peaceful intifada in December 1987, the national movement as a whole resorted to peace... And this is when the religious movement turned from proselytizing to jihadist resistance with explosives against Israeli civilians, and the movement returned to square one demanding everything, and thus led us to destruction and genocide. Suppose we had accepted the 1947 partition plan and coexisted with reality and benefited from the comparison with the enemy and the emulation of democracy and science, our situation would be a million times better now... and every opportunity for peace that was lost was followed by something worse. Hamas (before the flood) was demanding an Islamic state, and Fatah was demanding any state with a presidential position, and even if this or that was achieved by a miracle, what kind of state would Palestine be?? Like Afghanistan, or like Palestine's neighboring countries? No country in the region deserves to remain as it is, but they will not change without adopting the globally tried path, and any Palestinian state with Hamas or Fatah ideas and leadership will remain vulnerable to everyone.

I believe that the remaining solution for the Palestinian people is to maintain the status quo if possible, and to demand a single shared state on all of Palestine, provided that this state grants equality in education and living opportunities, and that it restores the refugees to their villages and cities or settles them in Palestinian geography under Israeli authority and international supervision, and their gradual immersion in democratic life... It is no longer important whether Mahmoud Abbas or a snake is the president of a state or a city that turns to medieval life... they have wasted opportunities and it is necessary that they be lost in the desert with their ideas, visions, and likes... and I hope in this regard for the formation of a Palestinian party under the name and slogan of Resolution 181 that will strive to implement or negotiate peacefully for a single secular state on all of Palestine, without giving up the peaceful demand for the right of return and compensation. The continuation of the conflict in the same manner and with a religious flavor, harmonizes with the biblical myths and thus reinforces the myth of the Jewish historical and geographical narrative around the world. I hope that every Palestinian, wherever they are, will think about their vision and previous positions before and after the 'flood', and thus bear the moral and material responsibility according to their position... It is not feasible to support Hamas, for example, and push for the continuation of the massacre in the name of steadfastness while you do not share your daily bread in support of those who are steadfast and cannot find water, medicine, food, and shelter because of your support for Hamas and as a result of the 'flood'! Also, every Palestinian citizen in the West Bank or Gaza bears a significant part of the failure because they have been personally lacking in demanding democracy and implementing the constitutionally mandated elections for years... waiting for others to act is the epitome of failure... if every citizen had insisted on regularizing the electoral process every four years, we would not have reached this point, and thus, everyone as individuals and as a society bears responsibility for the existing results... democratic elections and every citizen's assumption of responsibility are the guarantee to solve problems... even if the people elect fighters to rule them; they will bear the consequences of their own choices, and they will correct or reinforce them after that experience, but the existing situation without elections is a hijacking of the people's will, and a result of the people's silence about that hijacking, and thus, the people as individuals and as a society bear the consequences of their positions... or that is how it is supposed to be.

The people's silence about election seasons and passing them without planting, caring, or harvesting, is related to the poor social and scientific education in the West Bank and Gaza. It has become clear that decades of influence of religious movements in Palestinian society (and Arab society in general) have had negative results in the field of solidarity, order, and cooperation... people in Jerusalem, the West Bank, and Palestine 1948 did not show any practical support for the people of Gaza, who in turn turned into a state of chaos, looting, and plundering, and the poor and weak were lost, dogs were devouring corpses in the streets, and merchants were exploiting people with astronomical prices, and the people were submissive, silent, waiting, without demonstration or rallying around any kind of initiative, whether resisting, compromising, organizing, or deterring... The situation was the opposite during the first intifada before the spread of the Brotherhood ideology... not just in Palestine, but also in neighboring countries, Muslims are in a state of submissiveness and contentment with prayer, as a result of the dependent and selfish religious upbringing... and whoever sows that, should not expect positive results. The issue is not about encouragement and incitement, but about science and education as the foundation for a successful society. We see in Palestine and Arab countries a discriminatory educational situation; the vast majority of students go to government schools that provide compulsory and religious education, and the few who are financially able send their sons and daughters to private schools with advanced foreign curricula. I will not provide background on the reasons and methods of treatment, but the results are clear; those with money educate their children to take positions and opportunities, while the majority of the children of the poor go to the army, security, government education, and daily labor. In reality, there is no real reason to prevent the adoption of advanced curricula in government schools, except the fear of the attack of the religious and their accusation of the system of secularism... therefore, the systems provide them with traditional religious education and institutes of Sharia and Islamic studies to occupy the poor, and leave educational freedom and opportunities to those who have the mind and employ money for the benefit of educating their children. The state of industrial, security, economic, and societal fragmentation is entirely linked to that approach... to stop the deterioration and the great catastrophe, it is necessary to burn the stages and jump forward without any metaphysics.

The 'flood' has drowned Gaza and destroyed it, and is now threatening to sweep up the West Bank, and the Israeli right has seized the opportunity to declare its intention and implement the establishment of Greater Israel and dominate the regional environment... all Arab countries located in the area of 'Greater Israel' and countries in its sphere of influence should think and plan scenarios of what they will do if Israel's annexation war and measures to impose dominance by force reach them, and thus, create the readiness that binds their peoples together and leads to immunity and progress in the first place. Creating internal political or sectarian conflicts in these countries is one of the weapons for the achievement of Greater Israel... one of the biggest mistakes of Hamas is that it armed and trained a small group as a gang loyal to it and withdrew weapons from others, and therefore, we see hundreds of thousands of young people in Gaza running to implement the enemy army's instructions to evacuate as they have no training, qualification, or any armament because Hamas was afraid of its people and trusted the intentions of its enemy... so think and reflect, may God have mercy on you. Israel trains and arms all its people on weapons within the security arms, and every citizen has his own war weapon at home, and every citizen is qualified to fight and perform rescue and first aid operations, and all of them are connected to security agencies to report any danger, and the government is seeking to force religious leaders to carry weapons, and they all have tactical and strategic goals agreed upon and seek to establish Greater Israel... what do we have in return? Peoples, young men and women who are lax, and governments that prevent military training and qualification, and immediate arrest for anyone who owns a weapon due to lack of trust and responsibility, and religious people who seek to rule and fight the systems and spread sectarianism and division within the people... and other things that you know about, the absence or conflict of factors of comparison between the Arabs and their direct enemy who declares enmity!! In the attached appendices, you will notice that the exchange of Palestinian prisoners for Israeli hostages has been a repeated and applied process for decades, successfully and without the disastrous results of the 'flood'. And in the appendix "Chronological sequence of the most prominent Palestinian-Israeli meetings after the 1991 Madrid Peace Conference", you will see that President Yasser Arafat and Mahmoud Abbas after him were negotiating and not giving up on Jerusalem or the right of return, and insisting on stopping settlement and withdrawing it as a price for any agreement, and therefore, dozens of meetings, plans, and peaceful projects were disrupted... but what did

Hamas negotiate, and yet it accuses everyone of national treason? And what has happened to Palestinian capabilities and demands, thanks to the 'flood'!! a question posed to Hamas and its supporters to answer to themselves first and foremost.

A photo album related to the contents of this book will be established on the Rawi Cordoba website. The exhibition will bear the name of the book: "Memories of a Good Citizen".

<https://rawicordoba.com/>

