



Is the Fate of Gaza Sealed? The US–Israeli ‘Imperial Expansion Dream’ Has Just Begun

Walaa Alqaisiya, Matteo Capasso & Rong Jianxin

To cite this article: Walaa Alqaisiya, Matteo Capasso & Rong Jianxin (10 Jan 2026): Is the Fate of Gaza Sealed? The US–Israeli ‘Imperial Expansion Dream’ Has Just Begun, Middle East Critique, DOI: [10.1080/19436149.2025.2609245](https://doi.org/10.1080/19436149.2025.2609245)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/19436149.2025.2609245>



Published online: 10 Jan 2026.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)



Is the Fate of Gaza Sealed? The US–Israeli ‘Imperial Expansion Dream’ Has Just Begun

Walaa Alqaisiya^a , Matteo Capasso^a  and Rong Jianxin^b

^aSchool of Country and Region Studies, Institute of Middle East Studies, Northwest University, Xi’an, People’s Republic of China; ^bWénhuàzònghéng 文化纵横 (Beijing Culture Review)

ABSTRACT

This is a translated and exclusive interview from *Wénhuàzònghéng* (Beijing Culture Review), where Dr Walaa Alqaisiya and Matteo Capasso discuss the situation in Gaza. As they point out, Israel’s fundamental goal is not just the destruction of Hamas, nor is it limited to Gaza and the West Bank; under the expansionist vision of ‘Greater Israel’, Netanyahu seeks to redraw the map of the Middle East. This strategic aspiration aligns with America’s urgent goal of consolidating imperialist rule amid crisis. China’s rise brings hope for establishing an alternative world system based on peaceful coexistence and joint development. Once Arab regimes seek unity again and the Middle East region returns to stability, it will seriously shake the imperialist architecture that the United States has cultivated for years through division and control in the Middle East—thus thoroughly eradicating any resistance forces in the region has become a strategic objective from which the US–Israel alliance cannot retreat.

ARTICLE HISTORY

Received 21 December 2025
Accepted 21 December 2025

KEYWORDS

Palestine; Zionism; Israel;
United States; Imperialism;
Gaza

Introduction

On September 17, 2025, Israeli Finance Minister Bezalel Smotrich, while attending an event, jokingly referred to Gaza as a ‘real estate goldmine’, stating that Israel has ‘completed the demolition phase’ and is currently negotiating with the United States on the postwar division of land. Earlier this year, following meetings between Trump and Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu, Trump announced at a joint press conference that Palestinians living in Gaza should be relocated elsewhere, and that the United States would ‘take over’ and ‘own’ the Gaza Strip for economic development.

The Gaza Strip currently has over 500,000 people facing famine and 200,000 displaced. On September 16, local time, the UN Independent International Commission of Inquiry on the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem, released a report concluding that Israel has committed the crime of genocide against

CONTACT Walaa Alqaisiya  walaa@nwu.edu.cn  Chang’an Campus, School of Country and Region Studies, Northwest University, Xi’an, People’s Republic of China.

This article is an interview with *Wénhuàzònghéng* (Beijing Culture Review), with its Chinese version originally published on the journal’s WeChat Official Account @文化纵横.

© 2026 Editors of Middle East Critique

Palestinians in Gaza. The timing of US and Israeli discussions about ‘dividing Gaza’ should be sufficient to dispel any remaining illusions within the international community—Trump and Netanyahu’s plans are not absurd fantasies but carefully calculated, step-by-step colonial designs. In this context, Israel’s exceptionally hardline tactics, the remarkably weak effects of international aid and regional counterbalance, and the special role played by the United States seeking to profit from the situation can all be fully explained.

Wénhuà zòng héng (Beijing Culture Review) conducted an exclusive interview with Walaa Alqaisiya and Matteo Capasso, teachers at the Institute of Middle East Studies, Northwest University, China. Both scholars have long been dedicated to research on imperialism, Palestine, and the Arab region, and serve as editors of the academic journal *Middle East Critique*. This interview begins with the famine crisis in Gaza, pointing out that the Israeli government’s current food policies are applications of long-standing settler-colonialist and genocidal strategies involving systematic destruction of agriculture, land seizure, and population expulsion against the Palestinian people. Israel’s fundamental goal is not just Hamas, nor is it limited to Gaza and the West Bank; under the expansionist vision of ‘Greater Israel’, Netanyahu seeks to redraw the map of the Middle East. This strategic aspiration aligns with America’s urgent goal of consolidating imperialist rule amid crisis. China’s rise brings hope for establishing an alternative world system based on peaceful coexistence and joint development. Once Arab regimes seek unity again and the Middle East region returns to stability, it will seriously shake the imperialist architecture that the United States has cultivated for years through division and control in the Middle East—thus thoroughly eradicating any resistance forces in the region has become a strategic objective from which the US–Israel alliance cannot retreat.

Current Situation on the Ground

Beijing Culture Review: *On August 22, the latest Integrated Food Security Phase Classification (IPC) report released by the UN officially declared that 500,000 people in Gaza are facing famine. The Israeli government denied this on the very same day, claiming it was a fabrication by Hamas and insisting they have neither implemented a starvation strategy nor are they committing genocide. Why does the UN state that this famine is entirely man-made and preventable? What exactly is the Israeli government doing—or not doing—that has led to this consequence? Why has existing international aid failed to be effective?*

Matteo Capasso and Walaa Alqaisiya: The UN’s declaration that Gaza’s famine is ‘entirely man-made and preventable’ emerges from decades of documented policies that have systematically controlled Palestinian access to food. This assessment requires understanding how Israel’s prolonged siege of Gaza, beginning formally in 2007, is part and parcel of the colonial land-control practices dating back to the late nineteenth century, when the European settler movement of Zionism first developed strategies for territorial acquisition and agricultural domination in historic Palestine. These foundational practices established the structural conditions enabling the currently exacerbating humanitarian catastrophe.

Food Control: A Structural Foundation of Israel's Colonial Project

From the earliest Zionist settlements in the 1880s through the British Mandate period (1920–1948), settler-colonial institutions systematically acquired Palestinian agricultural land through legal mechanisms, economic pressure, and outright dispossession. For instance, the Jewish National Fund's policy of creating 'inalienable' Jewish-only land, combined with labor exclusion practices that prohibited Palestinian employment on Jewish farms, established patterns of territorial control and economic marginalization that would later be institutionalized under Israeli state authority after 1948. This colonial framework deliberately transformed Palestine's agrarian landscape from mixed Arab–Jewish cultivation into segregated zones of Jewish agricultural supremacy and Palestinian economic dependency.

With the 1967 occupation, Israel consolidated comprehensive control over Gaza's economic infrastructure and food systems, extending these long historical patterns of land control into territorial management. Hence, the transition from encouraging Gaza's agricultural production during early decades of occupation—when the territory served as a source of inexpensive labor and products—to implementing punitive economic measures represents an evolution rather than a departure from longstanding Zionist approaches to Palestinian land and livelihood. These measures deliberately undermined food production capabilities and agricultural infrastructure, creating a policy of economic 'de-development' (Roy 2016) aimed at collective punishment and systematic food insecurity, rooted in over a century of colonial land control practices designed to render Palestinian territories economically unviable and dependent on external management.

The strategic nature of food restriction in Gaza became explicit in 2006 when a senior advisor to Prime Minister Ehud Olmert articulated the underlying philosophy: 'The idea is to put the Palestinians on a diet, but not to make them die of hunger' (Graham-Harrison 2025). This statement reveals that nutritional restriction was already an established governmental tool, designed to maintain the population at survival levels while avoiding mass casualties that might provoke international intervention. However, when Israel declared a complete siege in 2007, these control mechanisms became institutionalized through bureaucratic precision. Israeli health ministry officials developed detailed spreadsheets calculating minimum caloric requirements for Gaza's population, factoring in estimated local food production to determine how much external food assistance would be permitted. These calculations resulted in allowing approximately 131 supply trucks per day, operating five days weekly, for a population exceeding 2 million people (Bahour 2025). This siege architecture intentionally created economic dependency where, by 2023, roughly 80% of Gaza's residents relied on controlled aid flows for basic nutrition. The blockade systematically dismantled Gaza's productive capacity, transforming what had been a partially self-sufficient territory into one almost entirely dependent on externally managed assistance (UNCTAD 2023).

COGAT (Coordinator of Government Activities in the Territories), Israel's coordination office for territorial activities in occupied territories (namely Gaza and the West Bank), has maintained this approach by establishing that Palestinians require an average minimum of 2,279 daily calories per person, equivalent to approximately 1.836 kilograms of food. However, Israeli government data reveals significant gaps between

calculated requirements and actual allowances. During the March–June 2025 period, only 56,000 tonnes of food entered Gaza—representing less than 25% of the territory’s documented minimum needs. International humanitarian organizations currently estimate that 62,000 metric tonnes monthly are necessary to meet basic nutritional requirements for 2.1 million residents, yet even during peak allowance periods in 2025, only 60% of this baseline was permitted entry (Graham-Harrison 2025).

The human toll of this systematic approach has reached catastrophic levels. Hospital records document that at least 66 children have died from malnutrition-related causes, while over 5,000 children have received formal malnutrition diagnoses. The IPC forecasts that 132,000 children under five will experience acute malnutrition through June 2026, accompanied by 55,000 pregnant and breastfeeding women and 25,000 infants requiring emergency nutritional intervention. Medical data from Gaza facilities indicates that starvation-related deaths during an 11-day period in July 2025 exceeded the total for the previous 21 months of conflict combined. Therefore, the UN classifies this crisis as manufactured because it stems from policy decisions rather than natural disasters or logistical impossibilities.

Israel’s Intent to Thoroughly Destroy Local Agriculture, Creating Conditions for Population Expulsion

Beyond controlling aid flows, Israeli forces have implemented a comprehensive strategy of agricultural annihilation designed to permanently destroy Gaza’s capacity for food production and self-sufficiency. Military operations have seized 29% of Gaza’s agricultural land through militarized buffer zones while systematically targeting the remaining farmland for destruction. Israeli forces have prohibited all fishing activities, destroyed farming equipment and greenhouses, and applied chemical herbicides to crops, rendering more than one-third of agricultural land unusable. By late 2024, military operations had damaged nearly 70% of farmland, while 95% of livestock had perished (Bahour 2025). This agricultural devastation extends to the systematic destruction of Gaza’s water infrastructure, which forms the backbone of any sustainable food production system. Israeli forces have deliberately targeted water wells, irrigation systems, and water treatment facilities, creating conditions where even if agricultural land remained intact, cultivation would be impossible. The contamination and destruction of groundwater sources—Gaza’s primary water supply—ensures that any future attempts at agricultural recovery face insurmountable obstacles. This dual assault on both land and water resources reveals a calculated strategy to eliminate not just current food production, but to prevent any possibility of future agricultural self-sufficiency.

Once again, the targeting of agricultural infrastructure follows historical Zionist patterns of environmental warfare designed to render Palestinian territories uninhabitable (Alqaisiya 2024). The systematic destruction of olive groves, the uprooting of fruit trees, and the deliberate contamination of agricultural soil through chemical agents demonstrates continuity with colonial practices of ‘making the desert bloom’ for Jewish settlement while simultaneously making Palestinian land barren and unproductive. After all, biological warfare had been used on Palestinians already in 1948 (Morris and Kedar 2023). This environmental destruction serves the dual

purpose of immediate population displacement and long-term territorial transformation, ensuring that even post-conflict reconstruction cannot restore Gaza's agricultural independence. The ongoing military operations have accelerated this environmental warfare through the systematic bulldozing of agricultural areas, the destruction of seed banks and agricultural research facilities—including in the West Bank (Abou-Eid 2025)—and the targeting of farming cooperatives and agricultural extension services. The deliberate nature of this destruction—evidenced by the methodical targeting of specific agricultural infrastructure rather than collateral damage—demonstrates that food system annihilation constitutes a strategic objective rather than an unfortunate consequence of military operations.

Aid Distribution Becomes an Instrument of Systematic Control and Violence

Current developments also show how international aid mechanisms have been transformed into instruments of control and violence. The Gaza Humanitarian Foundation, established in May 2025, illustrates this transformation. Despite its humanitarian branding, GHF distribution points have been positioned within Israeli-controlled military zones, creating concentrated areas where desperate civilians become targets for sniper fire and drone attacks. Since beginning operations, these locations have generated over 670 fatalities and 4,000 injuries, forcing Palestinians to choose between starvation and exposure to lethal force while seeking food. Those managing to obtain aid packages now face additional dangers, including the reported presence of addictive opioid substances embedded in flour supplies and direct pepper-spray attacks by Israeli military personnel at distribution sites (Bahour 2025).

This pattern of weaponizing aid distribution has extensive precedents. The February 2024 'flour massacre' exemplifies this approach: Israeli forces opened fire on thousands of Palestinians waiting for grain deliveries, killing at least 112 people and wounding 760 others, with survivors covered in blood and flour while ambulances were prevented from reaching the wounded (OHCHR 2024). Aerial food drops have proven similarly lethal—packages dropped without parachutes have killed Palestinians through impact, while those dropped into coastal waters have caused drowning deaths as people attempted recovery. Throughout the first 21 months of conflict, 104 days of aerial drops provided nutrition equivalent to only four days of food for Gaza's population (Graham-Harrison 2025).

International aid has proven ineffective because it operates within the dependency framework created by decades of blockade. Despite international organizations maintaining food stockpiles in Egypt specifically for Gaza's population, Israeli authorities prevent their distribution. Coordination between international bodies and Israeli officials has in documented cases facilitated rather than prevented violent outcomes at aid sites. Humanitarian convoys have faced repeated attacks, including the targeted killing of World Central Kitchen personnel despite advance coordination with Israeli military authorities, suggesting systematic rather than accidental targeting of aid operations.

UN Emergency Relief Coordinator Tom Fletcher characterized the situation as 'a famine within a few hundred metres of food, in a fertile land' that could have been prevented with adequate access, noting that 'food stacks up at borders because of systematic

obstruction' (UN News 2025). The comprehensive nature of this crisis—combining over two decades of siege-induced dependency, mathematically calculated nutritional restriction, systematic destruction of food independence, controlled aid flows, and the transformation of assistance distribution into sites of violence—explains why UN officials characterize Gaza's famine as an entirely manufactured and preventable catastrophe designed to render the territory uninhabitable and facilitate population displacement.

Israel's Goals in Taking Over Gaza

Beijing Culture Review: *Is Netanyahu's ultimate goal really, as he claims, the 'complete destruction of Hamas'? Why is Israel so insistent on establishing complete control over Gaza, and what gives them the confidence to use such hardline tactics to push this military operation forward?*

Matteo Capasso and Walaa Alqaisiya: The framing of Israel's stated goal as the complete destruction of Hamas fundamentally misrepresents the nature of the current conflict. This is not a war against a militant organization, but rather a systematic campaign against the Palestinian people as a whole—a continuation of decades of colonial violence aimed at Palestinian elimination and territorial conquest. Three central arguments demonstrate this reality: first, that Hamas represents a legitimate national liberation movement whose resistance is protected under international law; second, that Israeli actions of ethnic cleansing occur against Palestinian society as a whole and in areas, such as the West Bank, where Hamas has no operational control; and third, that decades of US diplomatic protection have enabled Israel's confidence in pursuing this eliminationist project with impunity.

The Gaza Conflict Is an Extermination Plan Against All Palestinian People

First, Hamas must be understood within its proper historical context as a national liberation movement that emerged from conditions of prolonged occupation and colonization. UN General Assembly Resolution A/RES/37/43 from 1982 explicitly endorsed the Palestinian people's inherent right to self-determination, independence, territorial integrity, unity and sovereignty free from external interference, while affirming the legitimacy of their struggle for these rights through all available means, including armed resistance (Allday 2021). This right to resist occupation is further guaranteed by the Fourth Geneva Convention, which requires occupying powers to protect the status quo and human rights of occupied populations. Israel's systematic refusal to accept this framework constitutes a fundamental denial of Palestinians' right to self-determination and creates their legally protected right of resistance.

The portrayal of Palestinian resistance as inherently terrorist is a dangerous attempt to characterize Palestinians as savage, terrorist barbarians beyond all reasoning and logic, thereby justifying Israel's use of massive violence against them, regardless of how brutal and indiscriminate (Allday 2023). Hamas has clearly articulated its position, emphasizing that its struggle is with the Zionist project rather than with Jews based on their religion, stressing that Hamas does not fight Jews because they are Jewish but rather fights the Zionists who occupy Palestine. The movement's

official 2024 document reinforces this position, emphasizing that Hamas opposes the persecution of any human being or the undermining of their rights based on nationalist, religious, or sectarian grounds while maintaining that their struggle is specifically with the Zionist project (Hamas Media Office 2024). This contrasts sharply with Israeli propaganda that attempts to conflate anti-Zionist resistance with antisemitism, when in fact Hamas—in the same 2024 document—has explicitly stated its opposition to what Jews endured under Nazi Germany and recognized that the Arab and Islamic environment was historically a safe haven for Jewish people and other peoples of different beliefs and ethnicities.

Second, the assertion that this conflict centers on Hamas is fundamentally contradicted by the systematic escalation of violence and the material reality of ethnic cleansing targeting Palestinian people as a whole—whether they are affiliated with Hamas or not. Gaza endures a humanitarian catastrophe of staggering proportions—with independent studies estimating over 80,000 direct deaths from violence by early 2025 and potentially over 370,000 total deaths when including indirect casualties from destroyed infrastructure and healthcare systems (Capasso 2025). For instance, UN Special Rapporteur Francesca Albanese, appointed by the UN Human Rights Council as an independent expert on the situation of human rights in the Palestinian territories occupied since 1967, documented how Israel has engaged in genocide as colonial erasure, with the state apparatus deliberately targeting Palestinian society's foundations. Her reports detail how this conduct constitutes a genocidal campaign to erase Palestinians as a people, with Israeli conduct aiming to ethnically cleanse the land from the river to the sea (OHCHR 2025a). The International Court of Justice, the UN's principal judicial organ, has issued provisional measures ordering Israel to prevent acts of genocide and has recognized that Israel's occupation is unlawful and constitutes acts of aggression, ordering immediate withdrawal and reparations.

The targeting of Palestinian intellectual and cultural leadership reveals the systematic nature of this eliminationist project. Israel has killed more journalists since October 7 than died during the American Civil War, both world wars, the Korean War, Vietnam War, Yugoslavia War, and Afghanistan War combined (see Figure 1).

This methodical elimination of those who document Palestinian life also expands to those who preserve its culture and its heritage, thus an ongoing scholasticide and cultural genocide—the deliberate destruction of a people's intellectual and cultural foundations (Alqaisiya and Perugini 2024). Moreover, Israel not only holds approximately 10,800 Palestinian political prisoners, representing a massive expansion of detention designed to decapitate Palestinian civil society (Addameer 2025), but the UN has also documented systematic use of torture, sexual abuse, and dehumanizing treatment in Israeli detention facilities, with at least 48 Palestinian detainees dying in custody since October 7.

Israel Is Systematically Annexing the West Bank

To understand further the scale of the Israeli assault on the Palestinian people as a whole, we must simultaneously look at the West Bank, where Hamas has no operational control, yet Palestinians face serious risk of mass ethnic cleansing as Israel



Figure 1. The Table shows the staggering number of journalists killed by Israel in Gaza, when compared to those killed during the American Civil War, both WWI-II, the Korean War, Vietnam War, Yugoslavia War, and Afghanistan War combined.

Source: from Turse (2025).

advances its long-held plan to seize Palestinian lands and remove Palestinians under the cover of war (OHCHR 2025a). Since January 2025, more than 40,000 refugees from Jenin, Tulkarm, and Nur Shams were forcibly displaced from their homes, with nearly 70 killed. We both have just returned from visiting family in the West Bank, where we have witnessed first-hand these policies. The West Bank now faces its most severe military assault since the second intifada, characterized by air strikes, armored bulldozers, and controlled demolitions to conduct raids, demolish homes, and destroy villages and critical infrastructure including farmland. Israeli Defense Minister authorization of military reinforcements has prevented 40,000 displaced Palestinians from returning to northern areas, while settler-led attacks backed by the Israeli army displaced over 2,275 Palestinians, including 1,117 children, between January 2023 and January 2025 (OHCHR 2025a).

The West Bank is experiencing a methodical annexation strategy institutionalized through legislation, engineered to render Palestinian life unbearable. Israeli authorities deny 99% of Palestinian construction permits while aggressively expanding illegal settlements, severing water supplies, demolishing homes, and allowing armed settlers to destroy olive groves that constitute the foundation of the Palestinian economy. The year 2024 witnessed the most extensive demolitions in two decades, with Israeli forces destroying 1,760 Palestinian structures and displacing over 4,250 people, while 2024 saw unprecedented levels of settler violence with over 1,400 incidents causing casualties or property damages. These assaults have intensified through volunteer battalions

of armed and trained settlers in uniform, obscuring the distinction between military and civilian forces in violation of international law (Gordon and Perugini 2025; Khalidi 2025). This systematic oppression operates through an extensive network of military checkpoints, roadblocks, and closures that severely restrict access to essential services and transform Palestinian communities into open-air prisons, with at least 800 Israeli military checkpoints, barriers, and gates currently operating in the West Bank. The strategy extends beyond physical control to include bureaucratic warfare against civil society, with Israeli forces raiding Palestinian agricultural associations and converting them into military outposts while systematically denying permits and visas for both Palestinian and international humanitarian staff, leaving over 620,000 Palestinians facing inadequate access to basic services (Khalidi 2025).

The nature of territorial expansion becomes evident through Israel's unprecedented settlement construction and practical annexation policies. Israeli authorities are advancing plans to dramatically expand illegal settlements in the E1 area east of occupied East Jerusalem, which would connect the large and illegal Ma'ale Adumim settlement with Jerusalem, effectively dividing the West Bank and isolating Palestinian communities. This plan involves confiscating nearly 1,214 hectares of Palestinian land to construct more than 4,000 settlement units. Currently, more than 500,000 settlers live in the West Bank, with an additional 220,000 in East Jerusalem (CGTN 2025a). The annexation process has accelerated under Israeli Finance Minister Bezalel Smotrich, who in June 2024 transferred administrative control over Area C—which comprises 60% of the West Bank—from the Israeli army to settler bodies under what has become known as the Smotrich Plan. That same month witnessed the largest single land confiscation since 1993, with 12,700 dunams seized in the Jordan Valley, followed by the retroactive legalization of five settlement outposts and approval of 5,255 housing units across the West Bank (Khalidi 2025). Accompanying this territorial expansion is the systematic arming of settler militias. Far-right National Security Minister Itamar Ben-Gvir announced that over 120,000 firearms have been distributed among Israeli settlers since the Gaza war began, with tens of thousands more receiving conditional approvals (Arnaout 2024). This militarization of the settler population creates private armies operating with state backing to terrorize Palestinian communities and facilitate land seizure.

Third, Israel's confidence in employing such brutal and uncompromising tactics stems from decades of impunity provided by Western powers, particularly the United States. The US has used its UN Security Council veto power to protect Israel from accountability more than any other nation, vetoing 45 resolutions critical of Israel as of December 2023, representing slightly over half of all US vetoes since 1945. Of these vetoed resolutions, 33 pertained specifically to Israeli occupation of Palestinian territories or treatment of the Palestinian people. Between 1982 and 1990 alone, the US used its veto to support Israel 21 times, nearly half of the US's total vetoes in support of Israel, while since 2001, the US has used its veto in support of Israel 14 times (O'Dell 2023). The US administration and its Western allies have consistently treated Israel as a state above the law, providing it with necessary cover to maintain the prolonged occupation. Despite over 900 UN resolutions regarding Palestinian rights over 75 years, Israel has rejected compliance with any of them, with US vetoes consistently preventing accountability at the UN Security Council.

This cover has enabled Israel to pursue what UN experts characterize as a genocidal campaign to erase Palestinians as a people through the deliberate destruction of the foundations necessary for Palestinian survival: healthcare, education, food systems, housing, and cultural institutions (OHCHR 2025b). The strategic calculation is clear: under the cover of ‘destroying Hamas’, Israel is implementing a comprehensive program of Palestinian elimination designed to complete the colonial project of total territorial control.

Political Landscape in the Current Middle East

Beijing Culture Review: Another reason Israel can act with impunity may be that the international community and regional powers have consistently failed to effectively constrain it. What are the causes? Will Israel’s dominance be a long-term trend for the future regional landscape?

Matteo Capasso and Walaa Alqaisiya: The ineffectiveness of international constraints on Israel stems from fundamental structural problems within the international system combined with the systematic criminalization of grassroots Palestine solidarity movements. This dual failure reveals how Western powers have functioned not merely as reluctant observers of Israeli violence, but as active participants in maintaining Israel’s impunity while suppressing popular resistance to Israeli occupation and genocide.

When Western Imperial Interests Are at Stake, International Law Is Rendered Meaningless

The international legal framework designed to prevent genocide and war crimes has proven entirely inadequate when confronted with Western imperial interests. As scholars observe (International Association of Genocide Scholars 2025), this represents fundamentally a Western genocide, where major European and North American powers have actively supported, shielded diplomatically and politically, and financed and armed Israeli violence from the beginning rather than failing to prevent it. As discussed previously, the US has deployed its UN Security Council veto power over 30 times to protect Israel from accountability, including multiple vetoes since October 7 that defeated ceasefire resolutions despite overwhelming global support (Asrar and Hussein 2023). For instance, when 153 of 193 UN member states voted for a ceasefire in December 2023, representing the overwhelming majority of the world’s population, a single US veto rendered this democratic will meaningless (United Nations 2023). This reflects the fundamental structural flaw of the UN system: the imbalance of power between a small group of states and the majority of states and peoples worldwide. The Security Council’s veto mechanism allows individual Western nations to determine when the UN can halt war crimes, crimes against humanity, or genocide, effectively rendering the international legal system subservient to imperial interests (Akram 2024; CGTN 2025b).

Even when the International Criminal Court issued arrest warrants for Netanyahu and former Defense Minister Yoav Gallant in November 2024, the international community failed to implement these measures, demonstrating how legal mechanisms

remain ineffective without political will from dominant powers. The International Court of Justice has similarly been circumvented. While South Africa's genocide case resulted in provisional measures ordering Israel to prevent genocidal acts, Israel has publicly defied these orders and continued its systematic destruction of Gaza with complete impunity. This reveals how international law becomes meaningless when Western powers provide diplomatic cover and military support to violating states.

Western Powers Actively Suppress Palestinian Liberation Movements to Maintain the Alliance with Israel

Simultaneously, Western governments have embarked on an unprecedented campaign to criminalize grassroots Palestine solidarity movements that might otherwise pressure for accountability. While a handful of progressive states have implemented meaningful boycott measures—with South Africa leading international efforts through its genocide case at the ICJ and several Latin American countries severing diplomatic ties with Israel (Bolivia, Colombia) or recalling ambassadors (Chile, Honduras, Brazil)—the vast majority of Western states have actively worked to suppress the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement rather than fulfill their legal obligations to refrain from supporting an occupying power. The BDS movement, which emerged as a non-violent tool modeled on the successful anti-apartheid struggle, has been systematically criminalized across Europe and North America precisely because it threatens to expose Western complicity in Israeli occupation and genocide. In Germany, the Bundestag passed a 2019 resolution characterizing BDS methods as antisemitic and reminiscent of Nazi-era Jewish boycotts, leading to widespread cancellations of Palestinian cultural events and academic conferences. France criminalized calls to boycott Israeli products through judicial circulars, with the European Court of Human Rights only partially restraining these measures in 2020. Britain passed legislation in July 2023 making boycotts by public bodies illegal, explicitly protecting not only Israel but also 'occupied Palestinian territories' and 'the Golan Heights' from any future boycott campaigns—effectively legislating support for illegal occupation in direct violation of international law. This systematic criminalization reveals how Western states have abandoned their proclaimed commitment to international law when it conflicts with imperial interests, choosing instead to weaponize their legal systems against their own citizens who demand accountability from an occupying power.

The weaponization of antisemitism accusations through the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) definition has become a powerful instrument for suppressing legitimate opposition and criticism of the Israeli regime. As documented in academic literature, the IHRA definition conflates Jewishness with Israel to shield the Zionist-supremacist regime from criticism, transforming Palestine into an exceptional question requiring exceptional means of repression (Alqaisiya and Perugini 2024). This framework has enabled universities, governments, and public institutions to deny Palestinians and their supporters the right to freedom of expression and assembly. Student movements supporting Palestinian liberation have faced particularly severe repression, with protesters now detained under anti-terrorism laws and visas revoked for international students who participate in Palestine solidarity

activities. The recent student encampment movements across universities in the US and Europe have been met with violent police crackdowns and legal persecution, criminalizing students for organizing protests aimed at pressuring universities to divest from weapons manufacturers and speaking out against genocide (Dasha et al. 2024). Universities have become sites where state, administrative, and corporate interests exercise institutional violence—including through firing of staff and revocation of students' visas—to prevent divestment and boycotts despite broad support from university communities. The US has extended this repression to international personnel, placing UN Special Rapporteur Francesca Albanese under sanctions in violation of international law for her documentation of Israeli genocidal conduct, while refusing to provide visas to Palestinian passport holders in a clear implementation of collective punishment that violates international legal principles (Rubio 2025). This systematic attack on civil society reveals how Western academia and institutions have become settler-colonial outposts that extend Israeli control beyond the Zionist state's borders (Alqaisiya and Perugini 2025).

Arab Regimes Submit to US Hegemony, Joining Western Complicity

The structural failure of international constraints on Israel becomes even more pronounced when examining the complicity of Arab regimes, which have systematically abandoned their historic solidarity with Palestine in favor of subordination to US hegemony. What emerges is a pattern of regional powers that have not merely failed to constrain Israeli regime violence, but have actively facilitated it through their embrace of normalization ties with Israel. This regional dimension reveals how Arab states have been systematically de-Arabized, transformed from potential sources of resistance into instruments of Palestinian subjugation. The betrayal by Arab ruling classes represents a dramatic reversal from the early decades of the Israeli–Arab conflict, when Arab states understood the existential threat posed by the creation of a modern, expansionist, Western settler-colonial state in their midst. Even with their limitations and dependencies on Western powers, Arab states in 1948 sent actual military detachments to fight in and for Palestine, recognizing that colonial Zionism represented a fundamental challenge to Arab self-determination.

However, a systematic transformation from resistance to capitulation began after the 1967 defeat, as the US worked relentlessly to isolate the Palestinian question from any concerted regional Arab support through what the US State Department documents explicitly described as the 'de-Arabization of Arabs'—making them accept Western values that included support for Israel (Jacobs 2011). While this process accelerated dramatically after the 1973 war, the transformation reached its nadir with Egypt's signing of the Camp David Accords in 1978, which effectively abandoned Palestinians to their fate under Israeli colonialism in exchange for limited Egyptian sovereignty over Sinai and annual US financial support. This established the template for subsequent Arab capitulation: the rewards of lavish Western attention and financial support proved too tempting for Arab ruling classes, while the costs of ongoing resistance to Israel were made to appear prohibitively high for their societies to bear.

The current genocide in Gaza has exposed the complete moral and political bankruptcy of Arab ruling regimes while simultaneously accelerating the normalization agenda embedded within the Abraham Accords framework. Rather than representing a deviation from regional integration plans, the Gaza genocide serves to advance the US–Israel vision of a region where Palestinian resistance is eliminated and Arab states are fully integrated into an Israeli-dominated regional order. This becomes evident through the concrete actions Arab regimes have taken during the genocide itself: Saudi Arabia announced massive investment commitments to the US (\$600 billion over four years) while refusing to condition aid on stopping weapons shipments to Israel; Qatar pledged economic deals worth \$1.2 trillion with the US, including a \$400 million aircraft gift to Trump, while maintaining silence on Gaza’s destruction; Jordan and the UAE have continued providing food and aid shipments directly to Israeli forces; Egypt signed a record \$35 billion gas deal with Israel in August 2025—expanding an existing agreement to import 130 billion cubic meters from Israel’s Leviathan field through 2040—even as President Sisi publicly condemned Israel’s ‘systematic genocide’ in Gaza. These actions reveal how deeply Arab ruling interests now align with maintaining the regional architecture that includes Israeli dominance.

In such a context, we have to discuss the disarmament agenda that Arab regimes now openly promote, and how it extends far beyond Gaza to encompass the entire Axis of Resistance. Saudi Arabia and the UAE have made clear they will not participate financially or practically in Gaza’s reconstruction unless Hamas surrenders its weapons and plays no role in governance. Jordan has proposed exiling 3,000 Hamas members from Gaza, while Egypt has presented ceasefire proposals that include demands for the group’s disarmament. These same regimes simultaneously pressure for Hezbollah’s disarmament in Lebanon and support Western sanctions aimed at weakening Iranian capabilities. The systematic nature of these demands reveals a coordinated effort to eliminate any armed resistance capacity across the region, from Gaza to Beirut to Tehran. This regional disarmament project depends crucially on Arab disunity and the weaponization of sectarian divisions that fragment potential resistance. Rather than fostering pan-Arab solidarity that could challenge Israeli expansion, comprador regimes actively cultivate Sunni–Shia antagonisms, Palestinian factional splits, and competing nationalisms that prevent unified responses to Israeli aggression. The absence of coordinated Arab action during the Gaza genocide—with no emergency summits, no collective economic measures, no unified diplomatic strategy—demonstrates how successfully decades of US–Israeli policy have fractured Arab political solidarity.

These demands for Palestinian capitulation reflect the same forces that pressured Arafat to leave Beirut in 1982, ultimately facilitating the Sabra and Shatila massacre. Today, the same Arab regimes are eager for the defeat of Gaza’s resistance as the final step in regional normalization. Journalist Bob Woodward revealed that Arab officials privately reassured US leaders of their support for Israeli aggression aimed at dismantling Palestinian armed resistance, with their chief concern being not the mass killing of civilians, but the possibility that images of Palestinian suffering could trigger unrest within their societies (ibn Said 2025). This represents the culmination of decades of calculated distancing, political maneuvering, and shifting regional priorities that prioritize regime survival over ethical norms or even national security imperatives.

The Gaza Issue May Only Be a Prelude to Broader Regional Conflict

The future trajectory of the Arab–Iranian region now tilts precariously between Netanyahu’s expansionist vision of Greater Israel and the unresolved reality of regional war. What many observers fail to grasp is that from its inception, this conflict is regional because Palestine represents a regional question that threatens the entire architecture of Western imperialist dominance in the region (as we shall explain later). Netanyahu’s assertion that he is on a historic and spiritual mission attached to the vision of Greater Israel reveals the true scope of Zionist ambitions that extend far beyond Gaza and the West Bank to encompass parts of Lebanon, Syria, Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Kuwait, and Turkey (Inlakesh 2025). Since October 2023, Israel has achieved foreign policy objectives that were previously beyond reach, systematically weakening what it perceives as threats to this expansionist project. With US and European weapons, Israel has not only conducted genocide in Gaza but significantly degraded Hezbollah in Lebanon, occupied additional territory in Syria after it achieved the long-forsaken goal of regime change, bombed Yemen’s Ansar Allah, eliminated senior Iranian leaders, and seized control of Gaza’s frontiers with Egypt in violation of existing security agreements.

However, this apparent Israeli dominance masks underlying contradictions that suggest the military battles remain far from settled. While the Axis of Resistance has undoubtedly been weakened, the prolongation of these wars will inevitably create new contradictions and potential turning points that extend beyond the regional level. The thinking from the Israeli–American perspective clearly carries the goal of eliminating the Axis of Resistance entirely, with Iran as its leader, believing this period provides a unique opportunity to crush regional resistance and achieve regime change in Tehran. Yet recent conflicts demonstrated the limitations of Israeli power when Iran proved capable of surviving Israeli strikes and responding with ballistic missile barrages into central Tel Aviv, revealing that the Zionist regime cannot take on Iran alone.

The regional war dimension becomes more complex when considering the strategic calculations of various actors. Hezbollah appears to be successfully rebuilding itself despite intelligence deficits, and Israeli military strategists understand that in the event of a renewed conflict with Iran where Hezbollah chooses to enter the fight on the ground, they may face an existential battle for survival. If Hezbollah and Ansar Allah in Yemen launch an all-out offensive while Iran fires ballistic missiles across occupied Palestine, it remains plausible that Israel could face a ground defeat and substantial territory could be seized in northern Palestine. This scenario becomes more likely if Israel commits to its claimed mission of occupying Gaza City, an operation Israeli military estimates would take between two to five years and leave them vulnerable on the northern front.

Therefore, we must remember that the prolongation of war means the battle is definitively not over, and all these actors will continue to fight precisely because too much remains at stake for any side to accept the current stalemate. The Israeli–US refusal to end the genocide in Gaza indicates they seek nothing less than total defeat of the Axis of Resistance, while the resistance forces recognize that submission would mean complete elimination. War has become the inevitable future for the region because Israel will continue to undermine Hezbollah, Yemen, and Iran by all means possible, viewing their continued existence as incompatible with the Greater Israel project. When the battle

remains unresolved, each escalation potentially creates the conditions for dramatic reversals. The fundamental contradiction lies in the fact that while Israeli military superiority has achieved tactical victories, the strategic goal of regional hegemony remains elusive as long as resistance forces retain the capacity and will to fight. The current moment represents not Israeli triumph but rather a dangerous escalation where something must eventually give, and the outcome will determine whether the Arab–Iranian region becomes dominated by an expansionist Greater Israel or whether the costs of prolonged warfare ultimately undermine the Zionist project itself. In this context, the apparent weakening of the Axis of Resistance may prove temporary, as the contradictions generated by endless war create new possibilities for resistance and regional transformation that cannot be predicted from current power configurations alone.

US Ambitions in the Middle East

Beijing Culture Review: *Of course, we must also discuss the important role the United States plays. Since the mid-twentieth century, Israel has always been America’s unshakeable strategic ally in the Middle East—what does this mean for the United States? Specifically regarding this Gaza conflict, why are Israel’s military objectives also so important to the United States?*

Matteo Capasso and Walaa Alqaisiya: The words of a central revolutionary figure of Chinese history, Chairman Mao Zedong, help us better understand this question. When meeting the Palestinian Liberation Organization in Beijing, Mao presciently observed that ‘Israel and Taiwan are bases of operation for Imperialism in Asia. They created Israel for the Arabs and Taiwan for us. They both have the same objective’. What is crucial about these words is how they remind us that the US’s unwavering support for Israel amid the humanitarian crisis in Gaza should be understood in relation to what we call the US-led imperial architecture. That is, understanding what the US truly gains from this alliance requires examining how US dominance over the Arab region—the denial of political autonomy to regional states while ensuring continued imperial control—operates through Israel as its primary enforcer.

Controlling the Arab Region Is Critical to Maintaining the US Imperial Architecture; Israel Is Its Military Outpost

The US–Israel relationship emerged from America’s post-World War II strategy to establish global hegemony. As European colonial powers declined, the US developed what appeared to be an ‘Open Door’ policy of free trade but represented the Americanization of the global system to serve US capital’s needs. Within this broader imperial strategy, the Arab region occupied a unique position due to its vast oil wealth, making political control over this region essential for maintaining American economic dominance globally. In this region, the US developed a dual strategy: Israel as a military outpost and the Gulf monarchies as guarantors of dollar-denominated oil sales (Capasso 2023).

The Gulf monarchies’ role operates through a sophisticated mechanism of financial dependency and military protection. The monarchies agreed to sell oil in US dollars, with revenues systematically recycled back into US treasury bonds and American weapons

purchases. Every barrel sold strengthened US financial dominance while making Gulf states dependent on US military protection. This created a self-reinforcing mechanism across the entire global economy. The Gulf monarchies served a dual function: domestically, they prevented the emergence of people's oriented and socially progressive governments that might nationalize oil resources; regionally, they provided financial resources for US strategic objectives, funding military interventions and proxy conflicts that kept adversary formations weakened and divided. This arrangement required massive US military commitment, with the US maintaining extensive infrastructure across the Gulf: Bahrain hosts the Fifth Fleet headquarters; 13,000 US troops are based in Kuwait; Qatar hosts Al Udeid Air Base, the largest US installation in the Middle East; the UAE and Saudi Arabia also host US forces operating fighter jets and Patriot missile batteries (CGTN 2025a).

While the Gulf monarchies provided the financial architecture for imperial control, Israel serves as the military enforcer of this system. Between 1943 and 2023, America provided Israel with \$160 billion in aid, making it an investment in militarism for US-led imperialism. Under President Barack Obama, the so-called most progressive US president in recent decades, the biggest military package was provided to Israel, reaching \$33 billion (Capasso 2023). This relationship transcends simple financial support to create what amounts to a gendarme system. Israel functions as the US's primary instrument for maintaining what the Pentagon calls 'Full-Spectrum Dominance' (Higgins 2025)—total control over air, land, maritime, space, and information domains throughout the Arab world. Israel operates through strategic alliances with the US, creating what amounts to a proxy metropole. This positioning enables Israel to act as the US's regional enforcer (Ajl 2024), ensuring that Arab states remain fragmented, dependent, and unable to develop autonomous political projects that might challenge US hegemony. As a matter of fact, Israel has historically been at war with Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Yemen, Iran, and so on.

The ideological foundation of this partnership rests on Zionism's unique synthesis of mythological-religious narratives, militaristic nationalism, and expansionist aspirations, strongly resonating with the Christian Zionists in the US. This creates a transnational project that mobilizes diverse religious-driven (mostly Jewish and Christian Zionists) populations toward building a colonial state while justifying eliminative projects toward the Palestinians. It is an organic unity where the US considers its stranglehold on the Arab region to be a matter of existential importance to its empire, and Israel enforces it. Arab states cannot develop autonomous armies, economic policies, or technological advancements; also, they must overtly demonstrate their capitulation through normalization and recognition processes. The perpetuation of this system requires sustained destabilization of the Arab world, which serves as the strategic reservoir for Palestinian anti-colonial resistance. This strategy ensures that no unified Arab political formation can emerge to challenge Israeli-US dominance or support Palestinian liberation. The Abraham Accords exemplify this approach, as discussed earlier.

Supporting Israel's Actions in Gaza Is America's Most Aggressive Attempt to Maintain Empire Amid Crisis

However, since the 2000s, this imperial architecture has undergone unprecedented and tumultuous changes unseen in a century, driven centrally by China's ironclad

protection of sovereignty and its dramatic economic-technological rise. In this context, one should approach the US invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan, along with other interventions across the region, as a testament of the US's increasing reliance on systematic destruction as a method of maintaining control across West Asia. Unable to construct legitimate governance structures or win popular support, this shift represents a move from attempting to build compliant political formations to simply preventing the emergence of any autonomous regional development.

The relationship now operates according to a process of 'accumulation by waste' (Capasso and Kadri 2025; Kadri 2023)—a political economy where systematic destruction itself becomes not only profitable, but politically very dangerous. On the one hand, wars, militarism, and the wasting of human life function as spheres of production rather than unwanted byproducts. The purposeful destruction serves as both input and output in surplus value creation, making killing and wasting intrinsic characteristics of production under US-led financial capital accumulation. Every bomb dropped, every infrastructure target destroyed, and every life eliminated feeds into vast industrial networks spanning from Pentagon contractors to Wall Street investment firms, creating what amounts to a waste marketplace of imperialism. On the other hand, wars create populations dependent on external aid, fragment social structures, and eliminate the material basis for independent political development—from Iraq and Syria to Libya, this is exactly what we are witnessing today. By keeping Arab societies in states of perpetual crisis and reconstruction, the US ensures continued dependence while preventing the emergence of alternative political projects that might challenge imperial control. Of course, while such an approach has failed to build sustainable pro-US governance, it has proven effective at maintaining dominance through controlled chaos and close cooperation with the Gulf monarchies, Israel, and Turkey.

Hence, this explains the consistency of US support to Israel regardless of which political party controls Washington. The alliance serves fundamental economic interests that transcend domestic political considerations. Against this backdrop, the current genocide in Gaza represents the most aggressive attempt to preserve and reimpose the conditions of accumulation necessary to maintain this mode of imperialist social reproduction. The US is trying to reimpose the conditions required for imperialist accumulation by going as far as allowing a genocide in Gaza. Yet this genocidal campaign extends far beyond Gaza itself, revealing an ambitious attempt to redraw the map of the entire region—a new Sykes–Picot agreement for the twenty-first century (Charabaty 2024). Tom Barrack, the US ambassador to Turkey who has become Trump's envoy to the wider Eastern Mediterranean and Caucasus, captured this expansionist vision in a candid assessment: 'In Israel's mind, these lines that were created by Sykes–Picot are meaningless. They will go where they want, when they want, and do what they want to protect the Israelis and their borders' (Mathews 2025).

This is reflected further in Netanyahu's openly discussed vision of Greater Israel (as discussed above), which requires not just the elimination of Palestinian resistance but the systematic dismantling of any regional force capable of challenging Israeli–US dominance. The war in Gaza thus represents the opening phase of a broader regional conflict targeting the disintegration of any sociopolitical formation that aims to gain

a space of autonomy, such as Hezbollah in Lebanon, Ansar Allah in Yemen, or the Iranian government. These objectives return us to the fundamental question of political autonomy—the US and Israel cannot tolerate any independent political formations in the region, whether it's Pan-Arabism or the Axis of Resistance.

The Essence of the Current Conflict Is a Struggle Between Destruction and Peaceful International Order

Overall, the US is now willing to enable and support genocide so openly because the Palestinian resistance poses an existential threat to the entire imperial architecture at a moment when this system faces its greatest challenge in decades. The Al-Aqsa Flood operation constituted a seminal juncture that reasserted the centrality of the Palestinian question within regional political calculus, effectively disrupting persistent efforts toward normalization. It demonstrated that despite decades of fragmentation and control, the potential for unified Arab–Iranian resistance remains. Palestinian resistance has proven resilient and adaptive, persistently asserting rights, identity, and connection to the land while exposing the moral bankruptcy of Israeli colonial dominance (Liguori and Capasso 2024).

The genocide represents not just the epitomized form of the US waste-driven system but a message to all who might challenge US imperial dominance: this is the fate that awaits those who resist. More fundamentally, it reveals how the US empire's reliance on destruction and chaos has become incompatible with any alternative model of international relations based on construction, development, and peaceful coexistence.

The current moment represents a historical inflection point where the US cannot afford regional stability in West Asia because such stability would inevitably facilitate alternative economic partnerships (including China's Belt and Road Initiative) and potentially undermine the dollar-denominated oil system that underpins US global financial dominance. Gaza and the wider region thus function not merely as sites of religious conflict but as laboratories for perfecting the systematic destruction that has become central to US imperial strategy in an era of emerging multipolarity. By transforming the region into a weapon and launchpad for broader confrontation with any challenge to its hegemony, the US reveals that this conflict transcends religious or ethnic dimensions—it represents a struggle between fundamentally opposed models of global order.

Where emerging powers propose infrastructure development, economic partnerships, and respect for sovereignty (with China leading such calls), the US deploys military bases, sanctions, and proxy conflicts. The contrast illuminates a deeper contradiction: one approach thrives on construction and stability, while the other depends on destruction and controlled chaos for its continued dominance.

The alliance with Israel has proven vital precisely because it combines immediate strategic benefits with this longer-term imperial necessity. Israel provides America with a militarized forward base in a strategically important region while ongoing conflicts generate the conditions necessary for maintaining a global system based on systematic destruction rather than construction. This stark reality inevitably pits the

US against China, whose constructive capacities and ambitions for harmonious coexistence represent an existential challenge to an empire that can only survive through the perpetuation of chaos, division, and human suffering.

This returns us to Mao's prescient observation that 'Israel and Taiwan are bases of operation for Imperialism in Asia'. The strategic logic remains unchanged: regional destabilization in West Asia serves not only immediate imperial control but also the longer-term objective of containing China's rise. The collapse of Syria exemplifies this dynamic, where the dismantling of state sovereignty creates conditions that can be weaponized against Chinese interests—including the documented presence of Uyghur fighters among opposition forces. If the US vision for West Asia proves triumphant, with autonomous states systematically weakened and regional resistance eliminated, China would face an arc of instability stretching from its western borders through Central Asia to the Mediterranean. Such an outcome would not only threaten China's Belt and Road connectivity but fundamentally challenge its model of peaceful development by surrounding it with zones of perpetual conflict designed to drain resources and prevent the construction of alternative economic partnerships. The stakes in Gaza thus extend far beyond Palestinian liberation to encompass the future viability of any multipolar order based on mutual cooperation rather than imperial domination.

Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

ORCID

Walaa Alqaisiya  <http://orcid.org/0000-0003-1472-5187>

Matteo Capasso  <http://orcid.org/0000-0001-8064-3708>

References

- Abou-Eid, Ghawara. 2025. "The Destruction of Hebron's Seed Bank and the Area Growers Helping to Preserve Palestine's Agricultural Heritage." *Al-Bustan Seeds of Culture*. <https://www.albustanseeds.org/news/protectingseedheritage-c4lc7-a2j3l-lz4wl-ym9cd-bcrdy-h3wwp-2gs9a-jz9k5>.
- Addameer. 2025. "Palestinian Prisoners Database." <https://addameer.ps/>.
- Ajl, Max. 2024. "Palestine's Great Flood: Part I." *Agrarian South: Journal of Political Economy: A Triannual Journal of Agrarian South Network and CARES* 13 (1): 62–88. <https://doi.org/10.1177/22779760241228157>.
- Akram, Susan. 2024. "The Failures of the UN in the Israel-Palestine Conflict." *OpenGlobalRights*. <https://www.openglobalrights.org/failures-un-israel-palestine-conflict/>.
- Allday, Louis. 2021. "The Palestinians' Inalienable Right to Resist." *Ebb Magazine*. <https://www.ebb-magazine.com/essays/the-palestinians-inalienable-right-to-resist>.
- Allday, Louis. 2023. "'Worse than ISIS' – Debunking Israeli Propaganda." Text. *The Electronic Intifada*, October 18. <https://electronicintifada.net/content/worse-isis-debunking-israeli-propaganda/38941>.
- Alqaisiya, Walaa. 2024. "The Decolonial Wor(l)Ds of Indigenous Women." *Social & Cultural Geography* 25 (7): 1025–1043. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14649365.2023.2268583>.

- Alqaisiya, Walaa, and Nicola Perugini. 2024. "The Academic Question of Palestine." *Middle East Critique* 33 (3): 299–311. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19436149.2024.2384009>.
- Alqaisiya, Walaa, and Nicola Perugini, eds. 2025. *Palestine and the Western Academe: Fighting the Exception, Defending Epistemic Justice*. London: Routledge.
- Arnaout, Abdelraouf. 2024. "Over 120,000 Firearms Distributed among Israeli Settlers since Gaza War: Minister." Andalou Agency. <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/middle-east/over-120-000-firearms-distributed-among-israeli-settlers-since-gaza-war-minister/3354318>.
- Asrar, Shakeeb, and Mohammed Hussein. 2023. "How the US Has Used Its Veto Power at the UN in Support of Israel." Al Jazeera. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/10/26/how-the-us-has-used-its-veto-power-at-the-un-in-support-of-israel>.
- Bahour, Nadine. 2025. "Starvation by Colonial Design: Israel's Genocidal Weapon in Gaza." Policy Brief No. 142. Institute of Palestine Studies. <https://www.palestine-studies.org/en/node/1657646>.
- Capasso, Matteo. 2023. "Theorising Sanctions as Warfare: Insights from the US-Led Aggression on Libya." *World Review of Political Economy* 14 (4): 555–584. <https://doi.org/10.13169/worlrevipoliecon.14.4.0555>.
- Capasso, Matteo. 2025. "Euro-American Middle East Studies: An Intellectual Apparatus of Empire." *Middle East Critique* 34 (3): 337–344. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19436149.2025.2538359>.
- Capasso, Matteo, and Ali Kadri, eds. 2025. *The Imperialist Question in Middle East and North Africa*. London: Routledge.
- CGTN. 2025a. "Chart of the Day: Mapping U.S. Military Bases in the Middle East." News. <https://news.cgtn.com/news/2025-06-24/Chart-of-the-Day-Mapping-U-S-military-bases-in-the-Middle-East-1E5tB3wCQ12/p.html>.
- CGTN. 2025b. "Israeli Far-Right Minister Backs Contentious West Bank Settlement Plan." <https://news.cgtn.com/news/2025-08-15/Israeli-far-right-minister-backs-contentious-West-Bank-settlement-plan-1FQQxFi1QRy/p.html>.
- CGTN. 2025c. "U.S. Vetoes UN Security Council Draft Resolution over Gaza." CGTN News. <https://news.cgtn.com/news/2025-06-05/U-S-vetoes-UN-Security-Council-draft-resolution-over-Gaza-1DX8e2SIxag/index.html>.
- Charabaty, Myriam. 2024. "Western Strategist: Sykes-Picot Was Not Enough Division, More Required." Al Mayadeen English, December 28. <https://english.almayadeen.net/news/politics/western-strategist-sykes-picot-was-not-enough-division-mor>.
- Dasha, M., Luma Qashou, Parviz Behrangi, Caroline Reynolds, and Amal Haddad. 2024. "Palestine Is the Vanguard for Our Liberation: Insights from the Students' Intifada at Columbia University." *Middle East Critique* 33 (3): 487–516. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19436149.2024.2383827>. [Mismatch]
- Gordon, Neve, and Nicola Perugini. 2025. "Human Shields. When Humanitarian Law Turns against War Victims." Centre de Réflexion Sur l'action et Les Savoirs Humanitaires (CRASH). <https://msf-crash.org/en/conferences-debates/human-shields-when-humanitarian-law-turns-against-war-victims>.
- Graham-Harrison, Emma. 2025. "The Mathematics of Starvation: How Israel Caused a Famine in Gaza." World News. *The Guardian*, July 31. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2025/jul/31/the-mathematics-of-starvation-how-israel-caused-a-famine-in-gaza>.
- Hamas Media Office. 2024. "Our Narrative ... Operation Al-Aqsa Flood." Hamas Media Office. <https://www.palestinechronicle.com/wp-content/uploads/2024/01/PDF.pdf>.
- Higgins, Patrick Donovan. 2025. "Acts of Return: How the Al Aqsa Flood Shattered the US Fantasy of 'Full Spectrum Dominance.'" Anti-imperialists.com. *Pen and Machete*.
- Inlakesh, Robert. 2025. "The Coming War on Iran Will Be Regional, Perhaps International." Al Mayadeen English, September 2. <https://english.almayadeen.net/articles/opinion/the-coming-war-on-iran-will-be-regional-perhaps-international>.
- International Association of Genocide Scholars. 2025. "IAGS Resolution on the Situation in Gaza." International Association of Genocide Scholars. <https://genocidescholars.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/08/IAGS-Resolution-on-Gaza-FINAL.pdf>.

- Jacobs, Matthew F. 2011. *Imagining the Middle East: The Building of an American Foreign Policy, 1918–1967*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press. https://doi.org/10.5149/9780807869314_jacobs.
- Kadri, Ali. 2023. *The Accumulation of Waste: A Political Economy of Systemic Destruction*. Leiden: Brill Academic Pub.
- Khalidi, Bushra. 2025. “How the Surge in Land Seizures and Violence by Israel in the West Bank Adds up to a Brutal New Level of Oppression.” *Views & Voices - OXFAM*, February 27. <https://views-voices.oxfam.org.uk/2025/02/west-bank-new-level-of-oppression/>.
- Liguori, Pasquale, and Matteo Capasso. 2024. “Heterogeneity and Spaces of Autonomy: Reasons for a Cohesive Struggle against US-Imperialism and Settler Colonialism: Interview with Matteo Omar Capasso.” *World Marxist Review* 3 (3): 139–148. <https://doi.org/10.62834/8e0zbv40>.
- Mathews, Sean. 2025. “Israel Sees Sykes-Picot Borders as ‘Meaningless’, US Envoy Tom Barrack Says.” *Middle East Eye*. <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/israel-sees-sykes-picot-borders-us-envoy-tom-barrack>.
- Morris, Benny, and Benjamin Z. Kedar. 2023. “‘Cast Thy Bread’: Israeli Biological Warfare during the 1948 War.” *Middle Eastern Studies* 59 (5): 752–776. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00263206.2022.2122448>.
- O’Dell, Hope. 2023. “How the US Has Used Its Power in the UN to Support Israel for Decades.” *Blog Post*. The Chicago Council on Global Affairs, December 18. <https://globalaffairs.org/commentary-and-analysis/blogs/how-us-has-used-its-power-un-support-israel-decades>.
- OHCHR. 2024. “UN Experts Condemn ‘Flour Massacre’, Urge Israel to End Campaign of Starvation in Gaza.” OHCHR. <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2024/03/un-experts-condemn-flour-massacre-urge-israel-end-campaign-starvation-gaza>.
- OHCHR. 2025a. “‘Tragedy Foretold and Stain on Our Collective Humanity’: Special Rapporteur Warns of Mass Ethnic Cleansing in the West Bank.” OHCHR. <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2025/03/tragedy-foretold-and-stain-our-collective-humanity-special-rapporteur-warns>.
- OHCHR. 2025b. “UN Experts Appalled by Relentless Israeli Attacks on Gaza’s Healthcare System.” OHCHR. <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2025/08/un-experts-appalled-relentless-israeli-attacks-gazas-healthcare-system>.
- Roy, Sara. 2016. *The Gaza Strip: The Political Economy of De-Development (Expanded Third Edition)*. 3rd ed. Washington DC: Institute of Palestine Studies.
- Rubio, Marco. 2025. “Sanctioning Lawfare That Targets U.S. and Israeli Persons - United States Department of State.” US Department of State. <https://www.state.gov/releases/office-of-the-spokesperson/2025/07/sanctioning-lawfare-that-targets-u-s-and-israeli-persons>.
- Said, Ahmad Rashed ibn. 2025. “Gaza Genocide: How Arab Regimes Became the Enemy Within.” *Middle East Eye*. <https://www.middleeasteye.net/big-story/gaza-genocide-arab-regimes-became-enemy-within-how>.
- Turse, Nick. 2025. “News Graveyards: How Dangers to War Reporters Endanger the World.” *Costs of War*. Brown University. <https://costsofwar.watson.brown.edu/paper/news-graveyards-how-dangers-war-reporters-endanger-world>.
- UN News. 2025. “Famine in Gaza: ‘A Failure of Humanity Itself’, Says UN Chief | UN News.” UN News. <https://news.un.org/en/story/2025/08/1165702>.
- UNCTAD. 2023. “Prior to Current Crisis, Decades-Long Blockade Hollowed Gaza’s Economy, Leaving 80% of Population Dependent on International Aid.” UN Trade & Development, October 25. <https://unctad.org/press-material/prior-current-crisis-decades-long-blockade-hollowed-gazas-economy-leaving-80>.
- United Nations. 2023. “US Vetoes Resolution on Gaza Which Called for ‘Immediate Humanitarian Ceasefire’.” Question of Palestine. <https://www.un.org/unispal/document/us-vetoes-resolution-on-gaza-which-called-for-immediate-humanitarian-ceasefire-dec8-2023/>.