# THE POLITICS OF AL-AQSA CRISIS: THE PAST, THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE

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Israel-Palestine conflict was fading in relevance in the mainstream politics of West Asia as the Abraham Accords officiated by the Trump administration has added 4 more WANA countries into the array of Middle Eastern countries that have normalised their relations with Israel.<sup>1</sup> Since the 2014 Gaza war (Operation Protective Edge'—Israeli code name) things have never been escalated this much, even when the city of Jerusalem was made the capital of Israel. Incidents of confrontation between the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) and Palestinian protesters, and the exchange of missile attacks between Hamas and Israel are frequent in recent years, but none have escalated into a warlike situation. Here arises the question, why and how a usual event of confrontation suddenly escalated to an armed conflict between the two sides. It can be explained closely by analysing the events that have happened so far and by digging deep into the domestic politics of both Israel and Palestine.

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Steve Holland, "Morocco joins other Arab nations agreeing to normalize Israel ties", Reuters, December 10, 2020, at https://www.reuters.com/article/israel-usa-moroccoint-idUSKBN28K2CW. Accessed on May 13, 2021.

#### A REAL-ESTATE DISPUTE TO THE AL-AQSA RAID

The new set of confrontations started on April 12, 2021, when Israeli police started imposing restrictions around the Damascus Gate, which is usually a popular gathering spot for Palestinian protests during the month of Ramadan.<sup>2</sup> Four days after, the Israeli authorities limited the number of people who can be admitted for prayers at Al-Aqsa Mosque, which is the third holiest place of Sunni Islam. Despite the restrictions and a 10,000-head limit, several tens of thousands of Palestinians made unsuccessful attempts to enter Al-Aqsa for prayers.<sup>3</sup> Since then, exasperation has been brimming and there has been an uptick in violent confrontations between Israeli police and Palestinians in the region.

The recent chapter of this sequence of violence was triggered by the threat of a looming eviction of six Palestinian families in the neighbourhood of Sheikh Jarrah, which was belittled by Israeli officials as "a real estate dispute".<sup>4</sup> The Jewish Trust, which claims to own the land, posits that the Palestinian houses that were built in the 1950s are over the ancient tomb of a revered Jewish High Priest Shimon HaTzadik.<sup>5</sup> On the contrary, the Palestinian leaderships propound that these attempts of eviction by Israeli authorities are part of a larger ploy to ethnically cleanse the neighbourhood, which is right outside the city walls of Old Jerusalem, which all Abrahamic religions consider holy. On May 7, 2021, the tension escalated to violent clashes between the Palestinian mob and Israeli police eventually injuring hundreds of Palestinians and a couple of dozens of Israeli policemen.

Days before Ramadan, this "real estate dispute" has escalated into a crisis in the city of Jerusalem as Israeli police armed with rubber bullets, stun grenades, and tear gas confronted Palestinian

Prabhash K. Dutta, "Al-Aqsa violence: Why Israel and Palestine are going at one another again", *India Today*, May 11, 2021, at https://www.indiatoday.in/ world/story/al-aqsa-violence-why-israel-and-palestine-are-going-at-one-anotheragain-1801365-2021-05-11. Accessed on May 13, 2021.

<sup>3.</sup> Ibid.

Patrick Kingsley, "Evictions in Jerusalem Become Focus of Israeli-Palestinian Conflict", New York Times, World, Online Edition, May, 7, 2021, at https://www.nytimes. com/2021/05/07/world/middleeast/evictions-jerusalem-israeli-palestinian-conflictprotest.html. Accessed on May 13, 2021.

<sup>5.</sup> Ibid.

protesters who were armed with stones and Molotov cocktails.<sup>6</sup> The Israeli efforts to dispose of the protests ahead of the Jerusalem Day rally conducted by the Israeli right-wing parties turned into a standoff when Palestinian protesters took their stronghold at the Al-Aqsa Mosque. Israeli police swiftly took over the Al-Aqsa Mosque along with its compound Haram esh-Sharif, which is also known as the Temple Mount which holds the holiest Hebrew place of worship, the Wailing Wall.<sup>7</sup> This aggressive step destabilised the security situation in the neighbourhood and invoked widespread protest from Palestinian authorities. The situation has grown into a warlike scenario where both IDF and Hamas have exchanged over a couple of thousand rockets and airstrikes over a week-span of time, resulting in casualties in both Palestinian and Israeli sides. Hamas, over the period of conflict, has launched over 4,3508 rockets into Israeli territory and IDF in return has conducted about 1,450° airstrikes. While the higher frequency of rockets breached the security of Iron Dome defence system, shattering the Israeli invincibility, IDF also has struck back into Gazan territory with overwhelming force. The high intensity counterstrikes made by IDF against civilians, media houses have invoked widespread criticism around the world and have mounted great diplomatic pressure on Israel to put an end to the crisis. The Israeli airstrikes did manage to eliminate several high-profile Hamas leaders but at the cost of huge collateral damage. Meanwhile, the peace efforts spearheaded by the UN and other nation states remained fruitless as both the parties continued to target civilian population.

While the situation furthered, the chaos spread into a greater scenario as ethnically mixed cities under the Israeli territories saw uplift in protests and demonstrations, which led to riots and violent

7. Ibid.

<sup>6.</sup> Stanly Johny, "What is happening in Jerusalem", *The Hindu*, May, 11, 2021, at https://www.thehindu.com/news/international/explained-what-is-happening-in-jerusalem/article34532966.ece. Accessed on May 13, 2021.

Nidal al-Mughrabi, Rami Ayyub and Jonathan Saul, "Israel and Hamas both claim victory as ceasefire holds", Reuters, May 21, 2021, at https://www.reuters. com/world/middle-east/gaza-truce-between-israel-hamas-begins-mediated-byegypt-2021-05-20/. Accessed on June 7, 2021.

Morgan Winsor, "Israel unleashes more airstrikes on Gaza Strip, after deadliest single attack so far", ABC News, May 18, 2021, at https://abcnews.go.com/International/ israel-unleashes-airstrikes-gaza-strip-deadliest-single-attack/story?id=77731209. Accessed on June 7, 2021.

clashes between different ethnicities and the security forces deployed. In addition to the mounting domestic situation, the non-Palestinian border lands of Israel also witnessed some transgressions as missiles were fired onto Israeli territory from Lebanon and Syria. When the newly heralded chapter of Israeli-Palestine conflict saga, which lasted 11 days, came to an end as the result of ceasefire efforts made by the Egyptian delegations, it had consumed 255 lives on the Palestinian side and 12 lives on the Israeli side.

### A CONTEST TO REAP THE POLITICAL DIVIDENDS

In the last two years, even after four elections, the incumbent rightwing Likud party led by Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu failed to achieve a majority in Knesset, the 120-seats Israeli parliament. In the last elections, the Likud party was able to secure only 30 seats and the ruling coalition fell 7 seats short of attaining a simple majority.<sup>10</sup> Allegations of corruption and scams have made the incumbent Likud government nosedive in popularity among the Israeli population. In addition to that, Israel's neighbourhood, except Palestine, is becoming friendlier than ever. The more the Arab neighbourhood became peaceful, the need for a right-wing party at the helm for the protection of Israel was on a decline and issues of governance and corruption started to occupy the centrepiece of the Israeli political realm. This has led to the rise in popular support for other centrist and left parties, such as the major opposition party, Yesh Atid. However, the current escalation has enabled the Likud party to draw more support from the Israeli public especially because of the aggressive retaliation that Hamas has managed to organise. In addition to that, the successful attempts made by Hamas to penetrate Israel's Iron Dome defence system<sup>11</sup> have inflicted heavy damage on the image of an impregnable Israel which may encourage other

Steve Hendrix, "Netanyahu has no clear path to remain prime minister, official Israeli election results show", *The Washington Post*, Midwest, Online Edition, March 26, 2021, at https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/israel-electionnetanyahu-final-results/2021/03/25/09dc5758-8d81-11eb-a33e-da28941cb9ac\_story. html. Accessed on May 13, 2021.

<sup>11.</sup> Campbell MacDiarmid, "How Hamas pierced Israel's famous Iron Dome shield", *The Telegraph*, World, Online Edition, May 12, 2021, at https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2021/05/12/hamas-pierced-israels-famous-iron-dome-shield/. Accessed on May 13, 2021.

adversaries of Israel to attempt an offence against Israel. Sensing this political advantage that was developing in favour of the Likud party, the opposition who were disarrayed for the last two years and four elections managed to find a consensus despite their stark ideological differences. In a surprising move, the main opposition party, Yesh Atid, a centrist party, forged an alliance with Yamina, a far-right party, thereby ousting the incumbent regime that was working as a caretaker government. This political deal struck between unlike allies of the Israeli political spectrum has prevented Benjamin Netanyahu and the Fatah party from reaping the political dividends of the Al-Aqsa crisis. As the deal unfolds, Naftali Bennett from the Yamina is likely to be the Prime Minister for the first two years of the tenure. This consensus can be viewed as the intelligent political step by Yair Lapid, allowing a hardliner to accede to power in this tumultuous situation.

#### HAMAS: ACCOMPLISHING THE IMPOSSIBLE

In a similar manner to their Israeli counterpart Fatah, Hamas too is facing severe criticism in the domestic politics of the Gaza strip as they have failed to deliver on the promises that they have made while ascending to the Gazan leadership. Since it acceded to power, Hamas' efforts to deal with the Israeli blockade on the Gaza strip and to revive the Gazan economy, which is under dire crisis, have been unfruitful.<sup>12</sup> In addition to the unsuccessful crisis handling in the Gaza strip, Hamas is engaged in a political struggle with the Fatah which still holds the office of Palestinian Authority based in the West Bank, despite the Hamas majority in the Palestine Legislative Council. Last April, Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas has postponed the Palestinian parliamentary elections amid the standstill with Israel on the dispute over the voting process in East Jerusalem, which is under Israeli occupation. Hamas, which was considered the most likely to win the elections amid the declining popular support for President Abbas, questions the democratic legitimacy of the present Palestinian Authority which lacks a majority in the

<sup>12.</sup> UNCTAD, "Israeli occupation cost Gaza \$16.7 billion in past decade—UNCTAD estimates", November 25, 2020, at https://unctad.org/news/israeli-occupation-cost-gaza-167-billion-past-decade-unctad-estimates. Accessed on May 14, 2021.

Palestinian Legislative Council. The postponed election was a door for Hamas to become the sole Palestinian Authority, defeating Fatah whom Hamas criticises for taking a soft stand against Israel and its incursions. The crisis at Al-Aqsa was a golden opportunity for Hamas to sideline Fatah in Palestinian politics. Even though this confrontation was staged entirely in the West Bank, Hamas gave an ultimatum to Israel to withdraw its forces from Al-Aqsa Mosque and to leave East Jerusalem. When the demand was not met as expected, Hamas responded to the Israeli occupation even more aggressively than they did in the 2014 Gaza war.

Hamas is already victorious in this chapter of confrontation, as they have successfully sidelined Fatah and made a loud statement that it is the only the Palestinian party that can stand up to Israel. In addition to that, the nature of Hamas attacks reveals that they are not the very same ragtag militia group that they once were. They were successful in penetrating Israeli defences, especially the Iron Dome which was hailed as impregnable. Hamas launched over 850 missiles into Israeli territory, including major cities such as Tel Aviv and even towards Jerusalem, in less than 48 hours after the expiry of the ultimatum given to Israel.<sup>13</sup> The frequency of Hamas missile strikes during the initial 48 hours was around 425 per day while it was just 80 per day during the Gaza war in 2014, which can be interpreted as a 431.25 per cent increase in intensity. This increase in intensity in short and medium-range missile attacks has brought down the efficiency of Iron Dome to 85 per cent which has resulted in Israeli casualties.<sup>14</sup> Thus Hamas has made a double gain by sidelining Palestinian Authority Fatah and has dealt a severe blow to Israel's invincibility during the initial phase of the conflict. Moreover, Hamas maintained this increased intensity and kept the average of missile strikes around 400 per day throughout the crisis. The immense missile strikes by Hamas have proved that the Israeli blockade has had a minimal effect on the strike capabilities of Hamas. Though, Hamas has misjudged

<sup>13.</sup> Stanly Johny, "Did Israel misjudge Hamas's response?", *The Hindu*, May 12, 2021, at https://www.thehindu.com/news/international/news-analysis-did-israel-misjudge-hamass-response/article34540932.ece?homepage=true&utm\_campaign=socialflow&fbc lid=IwAR0B\_UQTzvqEeWwVxLvJD5u1pUgui4wHAftLOmkFPzagN8ccB\_Zf5o--SwQ. Accessed on May 13, 2021.

<sup>14.</sup> Ibid.

the intensity of retaliation from the IDF as the counterstrikes have claimed several civilian lives including women and children.

#### POST CRISIS DEVELOPMENTS

Politically, the Al-Aqsa crisis has invoked a huge response on the banks of the River Jordan; both Israeli and Palestinian politics are being stirred up and have led to the ousting of the then Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu from power.<sup>15</sup> The aftermath in Israeli politics is quite visible as there is a leadership change from an unlikely alliance. Before the crisis, Israeli politics were in mayhem for two years, as no party or alliance was able to find the required majority in the Knesset, as the seats were scattered among different political parties throughout the last four successive elections.

The Al-Aqsa crisis brimmed over in such a political situation where the formation of a stable government seems to be elusive. The consensus between the right-wing alliance, Yamina and the centrist-liberal-socialist parties including the Yesh Atid, Blue and White, the Labour Party, Yisrael Beiteinu, New Hope, Meretz, and the United Arab List is largely driven by the outcome of the crisis.<sup>16</sup> They were able to criticise the then government led by the Likud party and managed to prevent the Likud from harnessing the nationalist sentiments that were on a rise during the crisis, by avoiding another election that may have mandated in Likud's favour. The accession of Naftali Bennett to the prime minister's position is a reflection of how the political alliances are trying to transform the nationalist sentiment into popular support. The growing support for the centrist liberals in Israeli politics over the years due to corruption and the stable situation on the border has suddenly met with a death warrant after the eruption of the crisis and the popular support has started reverting to the right wing. The effort made by the Yesh Atid leader and chairman, Yair Lapid, by giving up his claims on the prime minister's position and inviting Yamina alliance leader Naftali Bennett, whose alliance holds only

Jeffrey Heller, "Netanyahu out, Bennett in as Israel marks end of an era", Reuters, June 14, 2021, at https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/israels-knesset-vote-newgovernment-end-netanyahus-record-reign-2021-06-13/. Accessed on June 29, 2021.
Ibid.

7 seats in the Knesset,<sup>17</sup> can be seen as a desperate action to avert another election amid a pro-right-wing nationalist situation.

The future of Israeli politics will be primarily based on four major issues; the first one would be how the investigation on the corruption charges against the former prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu would develop; the second one how Israel's weakened position in the international stage is dealt by the new regime; the third would be the new government's take on the Palestinian statehood; and finally how long the newly webbed alliance would last. The first issue would be impacting slightly lighter than the other three on Israeli politics, the corruption accusation on Benjamin Netanyahu had already inflicted an electoral toll on the Likud party. The present government has already begun its efforts to patch up the international image damaged by the crisis and it has also initiated diplomatic engagements with many of its neighbours and allies.<sup>18</sup> The present Israeli government's stand on the issue of Palestinian statehood will be an irritant factor to the new ruling alliance as the stakeholders in the alliance differ in this matter. This may pose a great challenge for the alliance on the fourth issue: its survival. The amalgamation of unlike political parties is not a rare scenario across the globe, but most of them have met an early termination due to the lack of consensus on many eco-political issues. Naftali Bennett's Prime Minister Post is a by-product of the political chess game move made by Yair Lapid, but it may not be enough to make Bennett dilute his stand on Palestinian statehood and reach a consensus with his ally in this regard. If the alliance has to follow Bennett's tough stand on the Palestinian issue it is going to weaken the stability of the alliance, as there are mutually contradicting interest parties in the alliance. The prolonged survival of the alliance is less likely to sustain as the ruling allies have varied interests on multiple issues. In politics, parties with dissimilar interests may attract each other and find a transient consensus, but not for long.

In Palestine, the Al-Aqsa crisis has helped Hamas to emerge as a

<sup>17.</sup> The Knesset, "Current Knesset Members", at https://knesset.gov.il/mk/eng/ MKIndex\_Current\_eng.asp?view=1. Accessed on June 29, 2021.

Associated Press, "Israel's new government gets to work after Netanyahu ouster", The New Indian Express, June 14, 2021, at https://www.newindianexpress.com/ world/2021/jun/14/israels-new-government-gets-to-work-after-netanyahu-ouster-2316081.html. Accessed on June 29, 2021.

legitimate representative of Palestinian cause. Contrary to the Israeli situation, Hamas was able to reap significant political benefits from the crisis. For instance, a recent poll conducted by the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research found that Hamas enjoys an approval rate of 53 per cent as "the most deserving in representing and leading the Palestinian people",19 while the present Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas' approval rate has plummeted to 14%.<sup>20</sup> The same poll found that 77 per cent<sup>21</sup> of Palestinian people think that Hamas won the recent crisis, as Israel's invincible image was shattered and it was cornered on the international stage. The plummeting support for President Abbas and Fatah party from the Palestinian masses is another blow for Abbas and the Fatah which is already in a deep legitimacy crisis. Once championing the Palestinian democracy, the Fatah-led Palestinian Authority had called off a democratic process in last April for the sake of its political survival. In addition to that, the assassination of an Abbas critic has inflicted huge damage on the image of Fatah and President Abbas, as protest is erupting across Palestine.<sup>22</sup> On the other hand, Hamas is extending its influence over to West Bank as it has already proven that it is the only political entity that can return the counteroffensive to illegal Israeli occupation.

## DIPLOMATIC IMPLICATIONS FOR INDIA

Throughout the crisis, India maintained a balanced stance on the Al-Aqsa crisis, as it has maintained its balanced relations with both Israel and Palestine for decades. India and Israel were strengthening their bilateral relations at a rapid rate, especially substantiating it with defence partnership deals. Even after a regime change in Israel, this positive growth would most likely continue as India-Israel ties are bedrocked on defence sales averaging \$ 1 billion per annum. Moreover, the newly acceded regime is looking at New Delhi as

Joseph Krauss, "Poll finds dramatic rise in Palestinian support for Hamas", AP News, June 15, 2021, at https://apnews.com/article/hamas-middle-east-science-32095d8e13 23fc1cad819c34da08fd87. Accessed on June 29, 2021.

<sup>20.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22.</sup> Aaron Boxerman, "Protests after death of Abbas critic reflect growing crisis over PA's legitimacy", *The Times of Israel*, June 27, 2021, at https://www.timesofisrael. com/protests-after-death-of-abbas-critic-reflect-growing-crisis-over-pas-legitimacy/. Accessed on June 29, 2021.

a promising strategic partner in the Indian Ocean Rim, which is evident from the mutual statements of acknowledgement and respect exchanged by New Delhi and Tel Aviv. Newly acceded Israeli Prime Minister Naftali Bennett stated that he is looking forward to working with PM Modi to further develop the relations between India and Israel, in his reply to the congratulatory remarks made by the Indian counterpart.<sup>23</sup> Furthermore, Yair Lapid, the Foreign Minister of Israel also tweeted that he looks forward to advancing the strategic relations between India and Israel, as a response to the congratulatory tweet made by his Indian counterpart.<sup>24</sup> Sequentially both countries initiated ambassador level talks to enhance industrial and defence cooperation which was followed by Air Chief Marshal R. K. S. Bhadauria's visit to Israel. As per IAF sources, Air Chief Marshal Bhadauria's visit included discussions on enhancement in the depth and scope of bilateral exchanges between the two Air Forces.<sup>25</sup> Currently, IAF has plans to revive Project Cheetah, which involves the upgradation of IAF's Medium Altitude Long Endurance (MALE) Israeli Herons equipping them to perform specialised and longer surveillance missions and precision strikes.<sup>26</sup> This upgrade of Heron drones which equip them with the capability of satellite navigation and specialised sensors is expected to be worth around \$ 675 million.<sup>27</sup> In addition to that, New Delhi abstained from the UNHRC vote against Israel to set up an enquiry on human rights

<sup>23.</sup> PTI, "New Israeli PM Naftali Bennett: Looking forward to working with PM Modi to further develop warm relations", *India Today*, June 14, 2021, at https://www. indiatoday.in/india/story/new-israeli-pm-naftali-bennett-looking-forward-toworking-with-pm-modi-to-further-develop-warm-relations-1814627-2021-06-14. Accessed on August 13, 2021.

<sup>24.</sup> PTI, "Israel's new government will work to advance strategic relations with India: FM Yair Lapid", *The Economic Times*, June 14, 2021, at https://economictimes.indiatimes. com/news/defence/israels-new-government-will-work-to-advance-strategicrelations-with-india-fm-yair-lapid/articleshow/83506592.cms. Accessed on August 13, 2021.

<sup>25.</sup> Special Correspondent, "IAF Chief in Israel", *The Hindu*, August 4, 2021, at https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/iaf-chief-in-israel/article35732691.ece#. Accessed on August 13, 2021.

Snehesh Alex Philip, "Project Cheetah set to take off, India to get upgraded & armed drones from Israel", *The Print*, August 3, 2021, at https://theprint.in/defence/project-cheetahset-to-take-off-india-to-get-upgraded-armed-drones-from-israel/708122/. Accessed on August 13, 2021.

<sup>27.</sup> Ibid.

violations in the recent chapter of conflict.<sup>28</sup> Though New Delhi's reply to the Palestinian letter regarding India's absention stated that it was following its long-standing tradition of being an impartial observer, New Delhi's diplomatic stand favouring Israel can be deciphered.

While New Delhi's relations with Israel continue to progress despite the regime change, its ties with the Palestinian side are slowly declining. Although New Delhi asserts its support for the two-state formula as a permanent solution for the plight of the Palestinian population, India has already started to drift away towards Israel. This drift away will soon transform into a rift in India-Palestine relations with the growing significance of Hamas in the Palestinian political realm. Hamas has already declared that it rejects the option of coexistence with Israel, which is in direct conflict with the Indian vision of peace in the region. If the major ideological differences which Hamas have with the Israel policy of the incumbent Palestinian Authority continue after it accedes to the Palestinian political mainframe, it will not align with the moral values of the long-served diplomatic solidarity for Palestine which New Delhi preserved for decades. This ideological rift, coupled with New Delhi's enhanced bilateral relations with Tel Aviv, will soon alienate Hamas-led Palestine in the coming years.

# CONCLUSION

Hamas' actions weigh more responsibility than ever before, because of the influence and authority it has on Palestine. In other words, Hamas cannot be considered as a militia group anymore and its actions will not go unaccountable, as it currently runs the administration over the Gaza strip. While Hamas has gained the political dividend of the confrontation in the early leg, they failed to de-escalate the situation quickly and kept the confrontation alive, only increasing the strike window for Israel. Even though Hamas has dealt a huge blow to Israel's security systems, exposing its weaknesses and establishing the fact that Israel cannot continue the occupation of Palestinian lands without serious repercussions, it failed to protect the Palestinian

PTI, "India abstains from voting on UNHRC resolution to probe Gaza conflict", Business Standard, May 28, 2021, at https://www.business-standard.com/article/ international/india-abstains-from-voting-on-unhrc-resolution-to-probe-gazaconflict-121052800612\_1.html. Accessed on August 13, 2021.

civilians from the Israeli counterstrikes. This inability of Hamas has led to immense loss of human life on the Palestinian side while Israel restricted the loss to a few. Though, Hamas successfully emerged as the victor in the crisis as they have gained significant popular and diplomatic support.

On the other hand, Israel has anticipated retaliation for the Al-Aqsa raid, but it is evident that it has misjudged the intensity. The overwhelming Israeli counterstrikes over Gaza were an exemplification of Israeli military might, but they invoked severe diplomatic blows from across the world. Even though Israel's domestic political instability has met with a transient solution, it is still in an ambiguous political situation where the state of Israel is constantly criticised for the human rights violations in the West Bank and Gaza. Now, Israel is experiencing a regime change, where a farright party that discards the Palestinian statehood accedes to power, and the animosity between Israel and Palestine is likely to worsen. Israel's political gain is minimal compared to Palestine, even though it managed to exterminate a sizable number of Hamas leadership and manpower. In a prolonged conflict, Israel enjoys many advantages over Hamas which is confined and blockaded to the Gaza strip. Though the situation has de-escalated the Israel-Palestine question, which was sidelined over the years in West Asian politics, has reappeared and its presence will continue to destabilise the region.