

“All the Consent  
That’s Fit to Manufacture”

# The New York <sup>WAR</sup> Crimes

**Late Edition**  
American romance with  
colonial violence still as  
strong as ever

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FREE

## IN USA, SUPPORT FOR GENOCIDE STILL STRONG

### AMERICA CELEBRATES ITS OWN GENOCIDAL HISTORY AS IT SUPPLIES THE WEAPONS USED TO COMMIT GENOCIDE IN PALESTINE

These 1,856 martyrs of Israel’s assault on Gaza are the last whose names and ages are available. The Health Ministry has been unable to fully update the list since October 25, due to the complete breakdown of the health care system in Gaza and the lack of communications infrastructure.

*We commit to honoring the dead  
and fighting for the living,  
now and forever.*

Rami Adel Mesbah Labad, age 35 • Ahmed Mahmoud Mohammed Al-Ghazali, age 35 • Rasha Mohammed Abdullah Al-Lidawi, age 35 • Adham Hussein Ibrahim Marzouk, age 35 • Mohammed Salim Abdul Salam Abu Mustafa, age 35 • Mohammed Khaled Saeed Al-Bayaa, age 35 • Ahmed Rushdi Abdul Karim Hamad, age 35 • Ahmed Al-Alawi Imad Mesbah Abu Shaaban, age 35 • Yasmine Mansour Amer Farhat, age 35 • Thaer Sobhi Dhiab Gharib, age 35 • Maha Ismail Ragheb Qarout, age 35 • Balsam Ramadan Mohammed Obaid, age 35 • Khaled Nabil Radwan Amara, age 35 • Hutham Abdul Karim Eid Al-Zahrani, age 35 • Ibrahim Hamdan Mohammed Khattab, age 35 • Diana Musa Hammad Abu Khattab, age 35 • Tamer Musleh Ezzo Al-Qanou, age 35 • Rabah Mahmoud Rajab Abu Safia, age 35 • Ahmed Issa Ali Al-Nashar, age 35 • Zainab Ahmed Musa Al-Mamlouk, age 35 • Ahmed Fathi Shehada Suleiman, age 35 • Fidaa Saud Mahmoud Othman, age 35 • Ikram Abdul Raouf Hussein Muammar, age 35 • Mohammed Nasri Salem Al-Naouq, age 35 • Musa Ahmed Mohammed Naseer, age 35 • Jihad Saber Mohammed Saleh, age 35 • Ayat Samir Hussein Abu Jald, age 35 • Abdul Rahman Nasr Hashem Al Tatar, age 35 • Hassan Hamdi Hassan Al-Hinnawi, age 35 • Khaled Ziad Fawzi Saleh, age 35 • Imad Faraj Nazmi Al-Zatma, age 35 • Nedaa Abdul Karim Hassan Abu Dahrouj, age 35 • Abdul Rahim Youssef Diab Abu Bayd, age 35 • Mohammed Abdullah Mahmoud Al-Ghalban, age 35 • Youssef Ahmed Salem Abdul Wahed, age 35 • Hamada Khalil Abdul Qader Abu Draz, age 35 • Abeer Ahmed Awad Ghorab, age 35 • Mohammed Jamil Abdullah Hadi Shamia, age 35 • Karam Ibrahim Jamil Abu Sultan, age 35 • Ahmed Abdel-Hay Abdullah Abu Mahdi, age 35 • Ayed Mohammed Mohammed Al-Mahrouq, age 35 • Ibrahim Mohammed Abd al-Rahim al-Sahar, age 35 • Mohammed Jawad Mohammed Abu Dayh, age 35 • Amina Mahmoud Suleiman Abu Zuhair, age 35 • Moaz Ismail Mahmoud Al-Arja, age 35 • Tahrir Salim Daoud Bolan, age 35 • Sanaa Ahmed Youssef Abu Bakr, age 35 • Mohammed Salah Khalil Aslih, age 35 • Ayham Ahmed Salim Haider, age 35 • Ibrahim Mohammed Sweilem Abu Haddaf, age 35 • Ibrahim Jamil Badawi Al-Barawi, age 35 • Falisteen Ziad Khamis Shalaha, age 35 • Thaer Talal Ramadan Al-Kurdi, age 35 • Moamen Kamal Ahmed Saeed, age 35 • Shadi Nahed Ziad Al-Batta, age 35 • Mohammed Rashad Mohammed Murad, age 35 • Nael Abdullah Ali Al-Danaf, age 35 • Talal Hamdan Abdullah Abu Ruk, age 35 • Mahmoud Hilal Gohar Johar, age 35 • Asmaa Youssef Salem Thabet, age 35 • Jihad Sweilem Ali Abu Sabt, age 35 • Tahrir Samir Suleiman Farhan, age 35 • Mohammed Adel Ibrahim Jazar, age 35 • Lina Mohammed Tawfiq Sheikh Ali, age 35 • Khalil Abdul Hakim Khalil Al Sutari, age 35 • Ahmed Salem Mohammed Abu Mughaysib, age 35 • Mahmoud Nayef Ali Musabeh, age 35 • Mohammed Youssef Abdul Latif Abu Saad, age 35 • Alaa Zakaria Ali Al-Astal, age 36 • Hala Yasser Fares Hassouna, age 36 • Raed Ali Hassan Hassouna, age 36 • Firas Fahmy Mohammed Al-Najjar, age 36 • Salwa Samih Youssef Abu Jazar, age 36 • Shehab Sabry Abdullah Musa, age 36 • Mohammed Musa Mohammed Al-Nabahin, age 36 • Hanan Ahmed Salim Nofal, age 36 • Ahmed Hisham Ratib Nofal, age 36 • Kholoud Fares Saad Al-Dalu, age 36 • Asmaa Fathi Salim Al-Nabahin, age 36 • Othman Salah Ahmed Hamdan, age 36 • Alaa Khalil Ramadan Gouda, age 36 • Israa Ahmed Mahmoud Hamdan, age 36 • Daa Aladdin Mahmoud Ahmed, age 36 • Osama Fouad Mohammed Abu Odeh, age 36 • Bilal Zaher Ismail Ahmed, age 36 • Yasmine Hamdan Mahmoud Totah, age 36 • Raghda Ali Zaki Maarouf, age 36 • Tahany Omar Hashem Al-Ajrani, age 36 • Mohammed Ramadan Younis Eid, age 36 • Saheer Samir Zakaria Al-Fasih, age 36 • Nazir Shawqi Ahmed Shaaban, age 36 • Ahmed Mahmoud Khamis Saidam, age 36 • Youstra Jabr Abdullah Al-Helou, age 36 • Bitisil Musa Shehda Dhahir, age 36 • Nour Jamil Khalil Saad, age 36 • Hossam Jamil Hassan Al-Zaanin, age 36 • Fedaa Nafez Shehta Zeino, age 36 • Mo-

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# THE RED NATION STANDS WITH PALESTINIANS IN THEIR STRUGGLE FOR DECOLONIZATION AND LAND BACK

ISSUED OCTOBER 13, 2023

As we write this, Palestinians face unrelenting and unprecedented settler violence. The Israeli army has warned 1.1 million Palestinians in Gaza to relocate south within the next twenty-four hours as Israel prepares to level Gaza with bombs. The Israeli apartheid regime has already cut off all food, water, and electricity to Gaza while carpet bombing residential buildings, markets, schools, health facilities, and mosques. Across the occupied West Bank residents fear the worst, with many trapped in their homes as armed Israeli settlers threaten pogroms against Palestinian families and the military prohibits any freedom of movement. Israeli officials promise to “open the gates of hell,” labeling Palestinians “human animals.”

Israeli-led massacres in Gaza have commenced with full support and aid from the US.

For the last two decades, 2.3 million Palestinians in Gaza have been forced to live in a dense open-air prison, besieged by Israel in violation of international law. Two thirds of the population in Gaza are refugees that were forcibly displaced from other parts of Palestine. Half the population are children, and the vast majority are impoverished. Completely surrounded by a militarized barrier, Gazans are denied freedom of movement and regular access to food, water, and healthcare by a protracted Israeli siege. In 2018, the United Nations deemed Gaza “unlivable,” and since then Gazans have experienced multiple bombardments by Israel, intensifying an already untenable situation.

This is not a “conflict.” This is a deliberate act of settler colonialism and genocide.

Israel’s violent occupation of historic Palestine is typically framed as a “conflict.” This is a distortion of history that erases the actual truth: Israel cannot exist without the annihilation of Palestinians, whether this be slow or sudden.

Settler historians in the United States have long framed the history of US settler colonialism as a “conflict” between two equal sides: cowboys and Indians; settlers and savages. Dakotah scholar Elizabeth Cook-Lynn reminds us there are no two sides to a story of colonial dispossession and genocide. There is a clear perpetrator: the settler state. Settlers invade and destroy in order to replace. Like the US, Israel is a violent settler nation that should be condemned for its crimes against humanity.

Decolonization is the only form of justice for the crimes of settler colonialism. Those who advocate for Native liberation from US occupation must also advocate for decolonization in Palestine. And those who advocate for decolonization in Palestine must also advocate for Native liberation from US occupation.

It should be clear to tribal leaders and all Native people that we are on a parallel path with Palestinian people struggling for land back and decolonization. Native nations and people face the same settler colonial violence that has descended upon our Palestinian relatives. Two-hundred years of US federal Indian law forms the basis for the imperial foreign policy the US now uses to support Israel in its genocide of Palestinians. Let us not forget that Native water and land protectors have always been labeled as “terrorists” when defending our homelands from US colonial aggression.

While the US government and its allies clamor to beat the drums of war and annihilation, we remain inspired by the steadfastness of Palestinian people and committed to the righteous struggle for decolonization that Palestinians are waging in this moment. Our dreams of liberation are one and the same.

*Read more: [therednation.org](http://therednation.org)*

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# THE “RED INDIAN’S” PENULTIMATE SPEECH TO THE WHITE MAN

BY MAHMOUD DARWISH

*Translated by Sargon Boulus*

*“Did I say death? There is no death here.  
Here there is only a change of worlds.”*

—Seattle, Duwamish Chief

## I.

So, we are who we are, as the Mississippi flows,  
and what remains from yesterday is still ours—  
but the color of the sky has changed,  
the sea to the East has changed.  
O white master, Lord of the horses,  
what do you want from those making their way  
to the night woods?  
Our pastures are sacred, our spirits inspired,  
the stars are luminous words where our fable  
is legible from the beginning to end  
if only you’ll lift up your eyes:  
born between water and fire,  
reborn in clouds on an azure shore  
after Judgement day..  
Don’t kill the grass any more,  
it possess a soul in us that could  
shelter the soul of the earth.  
Tamer of horses, teach your horse  
to ask forgiveness of nature’s soul  
for the way you’ve treated our trees:  
O Sister tree,  
look how they’ve tortured you  
the way they’ve tortured me;  
never ask forgiveness  
for the woodcutter whose axe felled  
both your mother and mine...

## II.

The white man will never understand the ancient words  
here in spirits roaming free  
between sky and trees.  
Let Columbus scour the seas to find India,  
it’s his right!  
He can call our ghosts the names of spices,  
he can call us Red Indians,  
he can fiddle with his compass to correct his course,  
twist all the errors of the North wind,  
but outside the narrow world to his map  
he can’t believe that all men are born equal  
the same as air and water,  
the same as people in Barcelona,  
except that they happen to worship Nature’s God in everthing  
and not gold.  
Columbus was free to look for a language  
he couldn’t find here,  
to look for gold in the skulls of our ancestors.  
He took his fill from the flesh of our living  
and our dead.  
So why is he bent on carrying out his deadly war  
even from the grave?  
When we have nothing left to give  
but a few ruinous trinkets, a few tiny feathers to  
embroider our lakes?  
All told,  
you killed over seventy million hearts,  
more than enough for you to return from slaughter  
as kind on the throne of a new age.  
Isn’t it about time, stranger,  
for us to meet face to face in the same age,  
both of us strangers to the same land,  
meeting at the tip of an abyss?  
We have what is ours and  
we have what is yours of the sky.  
Yours air and water, such as we have.  
Ours pebbles, such as we have,  
yours iron, such as you have.  
In the shadow domain, let us share the light.  
Take what you need of the night  
but leave us a few stars to bury our celestial dead.  
Take what you need of the sea  
but leave us a few waves in which to catch our fish.  
Take all the gold of the earth and sun  
but leave the land of our names to us.  
Then go back, stranger.  
Search for India once more!

## III.

Our names: branching leaves of divine speech,  
birds that soar higher than a gun.  
You who come from beyond the sea, bent on war,  
don’t cut down the tree of our names,  
don’t gallop your flaming horses across  
the open plains.  
You have your god and we have ours,  
you have your religion and we have ours.  
Don’t buy your God  
in books that back up your claim of  
your land over our land,  
don’t appoint your God to be a mere  
courtier in the palace of the King.  
Take the rose of our dreams  
and see what we’ve seen of joy.  
Sleep in the shade of our willows  
and start to fly like a dove—  
this, after all, is what our ancestors did  
when they flew away in peace  
and returned in peace.  
You won’t remember leaving the Mediterranean,  
eternity’s solitude in the middle of a forest  
rather than on the edge of a cliff.  
What you lack is the wisdom of defeat,  
a lost war, a rock standing firm  
in the rush of time’s furious river,  
an hour of reverie for a necessary sky of dust to  
ripen inside,  
an hour of hesitation between one path and another.  
One day Euripides will be missing  
as well as the hymns of Canaan and Babylon,  
Solomon’s Song of Songs for Shulamith  
and the yearning lily of the valley.  
What you white men need will be the memory of  
how to tame the horses of madness,  
hearts polished by pumice in a flurry of violins.  
All this you will need,  
as well as a hesitant gun.

(But if you must kill, white man, don’t slay  
the creatures that befriended us.  
Don’t slaughter our past.)  
You will need a treaty with our ghosts on those  
sterile winter nights,  
a less bright sun, a less full moon  
for the crime to appear  
less glamorous on the screen.  
So take your time  
as you dismember God.

## IV.

We know what this elegant enigma conceals from us:  
a heaven dies.  
A willow strays, wind-footed,  
a beast establishes its kingdom  
in hollows of wounded space,  
ocean-waters drench the wood of our doors with salt,  
earth’s a primordial burden heavier than before  
but similar to something we’ve known since the  
beginning of time.  
Winds will recite our beginning and our end  
though our present bleeds  
and our days are buried in the ashes of legend.  
We know that Athens is not ours  
and can identify the color of the days  
from puff clouds or rising smoke.  
But Athens isn’t yours as well,  
yet we know what mighty iron is preparing for us  
for the gods that failed  
to defend the salt in our bread.  
We know that truth is stronger than righteousness,  
and that times changed  
when the technology of weapons changed.  
Who will raise our voices to the rainless clouds?  
Who will rinse the light after we’re gone?  
Who will tend our temples,  
who will safeguard our traditions  
from the clash of steel?  
“We bring you civilization,” said the stranger.  
“We’re the masters of time  
come to inherit this land of yours.  
March in Indian file so we can tally you  
on the face of the lake, corpse by corpse.  
Keep marching, so the Gospels may thrive!  
We want God all to ourselves  
because the best Indians are dead Indians  
in the eyes of the Lord.”  
The Lord is white and the day is white.  
You have your world and we have ours.  
What the stranger says is truly strange.  
He digs a well deep in the earth to bury the sky.  
Truly strange, what the stranger says!  
He hunts down our children, as well as butterflies.  
O stranger, what promises do you make to our garden,  
zinc flowers prettier than ours?  
Fine.  
But do you know that a deer  
will never approach grass that’s been  
stained with our blood?  
Buffalos are our brothers and sisters, as well as  
everything that grows.  
Don’t dig any deeper!  
Don’t pierce the shell of the turtle that carries our grandmother  
the earth on its back!  
Our trees are her hair,  
and we adorn ourselves with her blooms.  
“There’s no death on earth,”  
so don’t break her delicate formation!  
Don’t bruise the earth, don’t smash  
the smooth mirror of her orchards,  
don’t startle her, don’t murder the river-waisted one  
whose grandchildren we are.  
We’ll be gone soon enough.  
Take our blood,  
but leave the earth alone:  
God’s most elaborate  
writing on the face of the waters,  
for His sake and ours.  
We still hear our ancestors’ voices on the wind,  
we listen to their pulse in the flowering trees.  
This earth is our grandmother, each stone sacred,  
and the hut where gods dwelt with us  
and stars lit up our nights of prayer.  
We roamed naked and walked barefoot to touch  
the souls of the stones  
so that the spirit or air would unfold us in women  
who would replenish nature’s gifts.  
Our history was her history.  
To endure our life  
go away and come back.  
Return the spirits,  
one by one,  
to the earth.  
We keep the memory of our loved ones in jars,  
like oil and salt, whose names we tied  
to wings of water birds.  
We were here first,  
no ceiling to separate our blue doors from the sky,  
no horses to graze where our deer used to graze,  
no strangers bursting in on the night of our wives.  
O give the wind a flute to weep for the people  
of this wounded place,  
and tomorrow to weep for you.  
And tomorrow to weep for you.

## V.

Tending our last fires  
we fail to acknowledge your greetings  
Don’t write commandments  
from your new steel god for us.  
Don’t demand peace treaties from the dead.  
There’s no one left to greet you in peace,  
which is nowhere to be seen.  
We lived and flourished before the onslaught of  
English guns, French wine and influenza,  
living in harmony side by side with the Deer People,  
learning our oral history by heart.  
We brought you tidings of innocence and daisies.

But you have your god and we have ours.  
You have your past and we have ours.  
Time is a river  
blurred by the tears we gaze through.  
But don’t you ever  
memorize a few lines of poetry, perhaps,  
to restrain yourself from massacre?  
Weren’t you born of a woman?  
Didn’t you suckle the milk of longing  
from your mother as we did?  
Didn’t you attach paper wings to your shoulders  
to chase swallows as we did?  
We brought you tidings of the Spring.  
(Don’t point your guns at us!)  
We can exchange gifts, we can sing:  
My people were here once, then they died here...  
Chestnut trees hide their souls here.  
My people will return in the air,  
in water  
in light...  
Take my motherland by the sword!  
I refuse to sign a treaty between victim and killer.  
I refuse to sign a bill of sale  
that takes possession  
of so much as one inch of my weed patch,  
of so much as one inch of my cornfield  
even if it’s my last salutation to the sun!  
As I wade into the river wrapped in my name only  
I know I’m returning to my mother’s bosom  
so that you, white master, can enter your Age.  
Enter your brutal statues of liberty over my corpse.  
Engrave your iron crosses on my stony shadow,  
for soon I will rise to the height of the song  
sung by those multitudes suicided by their  
dispersion through history  
at a mass where our voices will soar like birds:  
Here strangers won  
over salt and sea mixed with clouds.  
Here strangers won  
over corn husks within us  
as they laid down their cables for  
lightning and electricity.  
Here’s where the grieving eagle  
dived to his death.  
Here’s where strangers won over us  
leaving us nothing for the New Age.  
Here our bodies evaporate, cloud by cloud, into space.  
Here our spirits glow, star by star, in the sky of song.

## VI.

A long time will have to go by before our  
present becomes our past, just like us.  
We will face our death, but first  
we’ll defend the trees we wear.  
We’ll venerate the bell of night, the moon  
hanging over our shacks.  
We’ll defend our leaping deer,  
the clay of our jars, the feathers  
in the wings of our last songs.  
Soon you’ll raise your world over ours,  
blazing a trail from our graveyards to a satellite.  
This is the Iron Age: distilled from a lump of coal,  
champagne bubbling for the mighty!  
There are dead and there are colonies.  
There are dead and there are bulldozers.  
There are dead and there are hospitals.  
There are dead and there are radar screens  
to observe the dead  
as they die more than once in this life,  
screens to observe the dead who live on after death  
as well as those who die  
to lift the earth above all that has died.  
O white master, where are you taking my people  
and yours?  
Into what abyss  
is this robot bristling with aircraft carriers and jets  
consigning the earth?  
To what fathomless pit  
will you descend?  
It’s your to decide.  
A new Rome, a technological Sparta and an  
ideology for the insane...  
but we’d rather depart from an Age  
our minds can’t accept.  
Once a people,  
now we’d rather flock to the land of birds.  
We’ll take a peek at our homeland through stones,  
glimpse it through openings in clouds,  
through the speech of stars,  
through the air suspended above lakes,  
between soft tassel fringes in ears of corn.  
We’ll emerge from the flower of the grave.  
We’ll lean out of the poplar’s leaves  
of all that besieges you, O white man,  
of all the dead who are still dying,  
both those who live and those  
who return to tell the tale.  
Let’s give the earth enough time to tell  
the whole truth about your and us.  
The whole truth about us.  
The whole truth about you.

## VII.

In rooms you build,  
the dead are already asleep.  
Over bridges you construct,  
the dead are already passing.  
There are dead who light up the night  
of butterflies,  
and the dead who come at dawn  
to drink your tea  
as peaceful as on the day your  
guns mowed them down.  
O you who are guests in this place,  
leave a few chairs empty  
for your hosts to read out  
the conditions for peace  
in a treaty with the dead.