

“Glory To The Martyrs  
Freedom To The Captives  
Victory To The Resistance”

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**Prisoner Solidarity Issue**  
The words and stories  
of Palestinian prisoners,  
the beating heart  
of the resistance.

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FREE

## ALL FOR ALL, “ISRAEL” MUST FALL

*Resistance Demands Release of All 10,000 Palestinian Prisoners*



Palestinian youth walk past a mural of Khalida Jarrar. This month, Israeli courts sentenced Jarrar to six months detention.

## FREEDOM IS COMING Shattering Slavery and Emptying Prisons

by Khalida Jarrar

Khalida Jarrar is a researcher at Muwatin Institute for Democracy and Human Rights at Birzeit University. She is a Palestinian feminist human rights activist and advocate and a former member of the Palestinian Legislative Council (PLC). She began composing the essay, “Freedom Is Coming: Shattering Slavery and Emptying Prisons,” in early December while completing research on her report, “Violations against Male and Female Prisoners during Israel’s War of Genocide on Gaza.” This essay is a part of her overall focus on understanding and explaining “abolition”—as a Palestinian, an intellectual, and as part of her political practice.

In the early hours of December 26, 2023, the IOF kidnapped Jarrar from her home in al Bira/Ramallah. As of this writing, she has been sentenced to 6 months of administrative detention. Though she is once again confined in Damon Prison, located near Haifa in occupied Palestine, Jarrar’s work will not stop and her voice will not be silenced by settler colonial violence. The following excerpt is printed here for the first time. Read it in its entirety on [Jadaliyya.com](#).

For over a century, Zionist settler colonialism has committed crimes of genocide against the Palestinian people. Founded on the concept of annihilating the Palestinians, The Zionist project has also adopted multiple forms of neo-colonial fascism—including the “prison system”—in order to silence those who resist its mechanisms of destruction.

Since 1967, approximately one million Palestinians have been arrested, detained, or interrogated, including over 17,000 Palestinian women. As of 2022, there were 50,000 cases of children who were arrested. For 17 years, the occupation has transformed all of Gaza into a large prison, marked by besiegement, the elimination of life, and starvation, among other crimes that are difficult to describe in our modern world.

This is only a snapshot of the bigger picture, which is the revolution of prisoners who long for freedom and to break through the bars of their prison cells. This article does not focus on the history of the prison system but rather the desire for liberation from within its confines, and the core of what freedom means to the Palestinian people.

Even those locked in solitary confinement manage to rebel. Many prisoners have attempted self-liberation, including the now famous attempt to break out of Gilboa Prison in 2021, remembered as the “Freedom Tunnel Escape.”

Prisoner exchange deals have also liberated thousands of Palestinians, the most recent being the “Shalit Deal” in 2011. But more recent attempts to negotiate a prisoner exchange have failed. In 2014, the resistance captured four Zionist soldiers in Gaza, as a way to attempt negotiations over those re-arrested after the “Shalit Deal,” as well as those arrested prior to the Oslo Accords, women, children, the sick, and the bodies of 372 martyrs—all of whom are still being held.

In December 2022, Yahya Sinwar issued an ultimatum, demanding that the occupation complete a prisoner exchange or else, “We will find another way to liberate our prisoners.”

However, after October 7, 2023, the slogan evolved from “liberation of prisoners,” or a limited prisoner swap, to one of “emptying the prisons.” The enormity of this demand, issued after the capture of around 250 Zionist soldiers and army officers, is unprecedented. It seemed that a historical watershed had taken place.

On October 28, 2023, Abu Ubaida, the military spokesperson for the Qassam Brigades, announced that “The large number of captives we are holding will be the price for emptying Israeli prisons of all our prisoners.”

The same day, Yahya Sinwar announced that Hamas would agree to an “all for all” exchange deal, or the release of all Palestinian prisoners in the occupation’s prisons in exchange for all captives held by the resistance.

At the time of writing this article, the initial stages of “emptying the prisons” began with the liberation of all female prisoners and the majority of children. The exchange took place in seven stages and has led to the liberation of 240 prisoners. This number does not include the women in Gaza who were arrested and imprisoned during the war.

The ongoing quest to liberate prisoners works in tandem with the Palestinians’ constant, multifaceted struggle against colonialism. Hence, the slogan “emptying the prisons” is derived from and a core component of the Palestinian struggle. During the 1936 Revolt, Palestinian women used encoded songs as a way to communicate with the prisoners, alerting them that the revolutionaries would be coming to liberate them on a specific date, so that the prisoners would be ready. Through these songs, information was exchanged by altering the lyrics in a way that allowed prisoners to understand the message without the colonial forces interfering or intercepting. Such as it was, in the famous encoded song, “O, those ascending the mountain heights,” the letter “lam” (L) was added and repeated to the end of the line. This is a noticeable shift in the song, which was originally created at the beginning of the 1936 revolution as a means of conveying messages to the revolutionaries. The history of prisons must be read within the framework

of the resistance, historically and in the present moment. Moreover, Palestinian resistance is part and parcel of the complicated social dynamics of the Palestinian people.

The “Al-Aqsa Flood” of October 7 is said to have had two central causes: prisoners and Jerusalem. At this moment, the slogan relating to prisoners became “emptying the prisons,” representing the crazed, oppressive measures used by the Zionist colonial occupier in using imprisonment as a tool for power and control. So, how did this slogan affect the behavior of the brutal Zionist occupier? Simply put, it has meant more intense genocidal acts in Gaza and in Palestine as well as increasingly brutal forms of retaliation against political prisoners.

Since October 7, Zionist occupation forces have seized over 3,500 male and female prisoners. This number neither includes those arrested from the Gazan border, nor does it account for individuals who are from Gaza but work in the occupied territories. The arrests were accompanied by retaliatory and brutal measures, including beatings, house demolitions, and even killings. Among those who lost their lives was Mahmoud Daraghma, a political prisoner, killed on October 10, 2023 in Majiddo prison. Arafat Hamdan from Beit Sira was killed on October 24 in Ofer Prison. On November 6, the Palestinian Prisoners’ Club reported that Majed Ahmad Zaouq, a worker from Gaza, was killed in Ofer Prison, and that another worker whose name remains unknown, was killed at “Anatot” detention center. On November 13, Abdul Rahman Ahmed Mura’i, 33, a political prisoner from Qarawat Bani Hassan was killed in Megiddo Prison. According to the Commission of Prisoner Affairs, the political prisoner Thaeer Sameeh Abu Asab, 38, from Qalqilya, was killed on November 18 in Negev Prison.

Inside prisons, retaliatory Zionist policies are evident in the violent measures deployed against inmates, reflecting a latent mentality of revenge. All prisoners, both male and female, are isolated in cells lacking basic necessities. Occupation forces offer nothing but a blanket and a change of clothes. Additionally, prisoners are subject to physical assaults, and sprayed with teargas.

Damon Prison, located atop Mount Carmel, and where Palestinian female prisoners are held, is not exempt from these measures. Before the prisoner exchange, the number of female prisoners in Damon reached 87, up from 38 prisoners prior to the war on Gaza. Since October 7, it is reported that female prisoners have been sprayed with teargas and beaten on three different occasions. The first instance occurred on the day that the female prisoners expressed joy at the prospect of their imminent release from prison: their rooms were sprayed with teargas and the prisoners were isolated and prevented from going into the prison yard or accessing bathing areas outside of their cells. Additionally, Marah Bakir, representative of the female prisoners, was transferred to solitary confinement. The second incident took place on October 19, when the prisoners’ cells were sprayed with teargas and water. Four prisoners were severely beaten and their cells were violently searched; family and personal pictures were destroyed, and their belongings confiscated. The third incident occurred on the morning of October 30 as part of a systematic and retaliatory policy against the female prisoners.

Prisoner Fatima Amarna, held at the Damon Prison since September 4, 2023, stated during a visit with her lawyer, “The morning inspection was strict. They took the pots, the dishwashing soap, sugar, and lentils. There is overcrowding in the prison and collective isolation inside the cells, in addition to the sadism of the guards. They have cracked down on us several times with teargas. They are afraid of us and try to humiliate us. But we defy them; our morale is high, and we are not worried. Our dignity is above everything.” Political prisoner Lama Khater reported being strip-searched and threatened with rape and deportation to Gaza with her family by Israeli intelligence officers at the Etzion Detention Centre. After her release, Khater told the media that female prisoners from Gaza had their head scarfs removed, their hands and feet bound, their eyes blindfolded, and were dressed in prisoners-of-war uniforms.

This is how prison guards reacted to Palestinian prisoners’ demand for “emptying the prisons.” The conduct of the guards was, in essence, part of their retaliatory attempts to break the will and morale of prisoners. It is the nature of a colonizer, whether male or female, to see themselves as superior and to believe that they can crush the dignity of prisoners. In this context, it is worth noting that targeted arrests have not been limited to Palestinians under colonial occupation. Dozens of activists, supporters, and fighters in the Palestinian National Movement have been arrested in places including the United States, Canada, France, Germany, and the United Kingdom. Moreover, several international and Arab activists have been imprisoned in France and the United States due to their involvement in the Palestinian liberation movement: People such as Ilich Ramirez Sanchez, known as Carlos from Venezuela;

Continued on Page 2

## Veteran Prisoners Remain Steadfast

### The Oslo Farce

In September 1993, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Yasser Arafat, head of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), signed the Oslo I Accord, inaugurating what came to be known as the Oslo peace process. Oslo, named for the Norwegian town in which negotiations occurred, was intended as an interim treaty and initiation of bilateral dialogue, with the looming promise of a Palestinian state. Bill Clinton greased the deal.

The ensuing decades of Zionist aggression and ethnic cleansing of the Palestinian people have shred Oslo’s liberal, conciliatory facade and laid bare the full calamity of the occupation. Among the decrees was a promise to release Palestinians arrested prior to Oslo’s signing, an agreement Israel has repeatedly violated. Accordingly, various axes of the regional resistance have prioritized “prisoner exchanges,” such that the veteran prisoners—those who have served over 30 years—seem more likely to be freed by regional armed factions than by the Israeli government.

In 2004, Hezbollah negotiated the release of over 400 Palestinian prisoners in exchange for a single businessman; and in 2011, over 1,000 prisoners were released in exchange for the captured IOF soldier Gilad Shalit.

Severing political leaders from their people is intended to demoralize the Palestinian resistance, fracture their communities, and thus impede the development of a cohesive, democratic state. Despite enduring scandalous conditions for over three decades, the people profiled here remain the lifeblood of the revolution—their captivity does not curtail the national struggle, but renews it, ensuring that the Palestinian resistance lives and lives again. We echo the demand of the Palestinian resistance and its allies: empty the prisons. May the veterans be home soon.



**Muhammad Adel Hassan Daoud (Abu Ghazi)**

From Qalqilya  
62 years old

Muhammad Adel Hassan Daoud (Abu Ghazi) was seized by occupation forces on December 18, 1987. A dedicated fighter born in 1962, he was sentenced to life in prison for targeting the cars of illegal settlers on the Qalqilya bypass road and for his role in the Fateh armed resistance. After his arrest, Zionist forces confiscated his family’s home, a common mode of collective punishment.

Despite multiple prisoner exchanges, Daoud remains behind bars, permitted to see his family once per year. While in prison, he lost his father and mother and was prohibited from attending their funerals. In fact, his father suffered a fatal heart attack the night before he was to visit Mohammed. He had gathered family photos to take to Mohammed in prison and died with the photos still in his pocket, not having seen his beloved son.

of Haifa. He is the third oldest prisoner in the world. Mokh was seized by occupation forces on March 24, 1986 on charges of capturing and killing an IOF soldier in the occupied city of Umm Khaled. He was sentenced to life in prison, which was eventually set to 40 years, of which he has now spent 38 years. Abu Mokh suffers from leukemia which has worsened as a result of the prison’s policy of “slow death,” instituted by deliberate medical neglect. He is currently held in the Negev desert prison.



**Walid Daqqa**

From Baqa al-Gharbiyya  
62 years old

Born in 1961 in Baqa al-Gharbiyya in the lands conquered in 1948, Walid Daqqa is one of the most prominent organizers and intellectuals of the Palestinian prisoners’ movement. Daqqa formed a commando cell of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. On March 25, 1986, Daqqa was seized by occupation forces and charged with abducting and killing an IOF soldier. He was sentenced to death, which was later commuted to 37 years in prison. In 2018, two years were added to his sentence for smuggling phones into the prison. Behind bars, Daqqa obtained a master’s degree in political science and published several books. He was thrown into solitary confinement when he published the children’s book, *The Secret of Oil*, in which he writes: “I write until I am freed from prison, with the hope of freeing the prison from me.” Though behind bars, Daqqa married Sana’ Salameh in 1999, and in 2020 the couple welcomed a daughter, Milad. Daqqa is held in Ashkelon prison and in recent years, he has been subjected to a complete disregard for his life and livelihood, including the denial of the specialized care required to treat his bone marrow cancer. He continues to fight for medical treatment and, ultimately, his freedom. His release date is scheduled for March 2025.



**Mohammed Ahmad al-Tus**

From Jabaa Village  
66 years old

Known as a “dean of the prisons,” Mohammed Ahmad al-Tus is the longest-held Palestinian prisoner. On October 6, 1985, occupation forces arrested him in an ambush [date?] which martyred his friends and left al-Tus severely wounded. Charged with involvement in the Fateh movement, he was given multiple life sentences and has now been in prison for 38 years. Al-Tus is currently held in Ramon prison and suffers from severe health problems, most notably a fluid cyst in his kidneys.



**Ibrahim Nayef Abu Mokh**

From Baqa’al-Gharbiya  
62 years old

Ibrahim Nayef Abu Mokh was born in 1961 in Baqa al-Gharbiyya, one of the current cities

We lift up the names Ismail Ghabin, Najah Gabin-Salem, Firas Ghabin, and Marah Ghabin, martyred in Palestine c. December 20, 2023. They are survived by our comrade, Tamar Ghabin.  
We also lift up the names Mohammed Ali Abu Emara, Saleh Mohammed Abu Emara, Abdullah Mohammed Abu Emara, Abdulrahman Mohammed Abu Emara, and Jamal Al-Hajja. They are survived by our comrade, Ibtihal.

# Prisons, The Black Liberation Movement and The Struggle For Palestine

BY AHMAD SA'ADAT

Ahmad Sa'adat is the Secretary General of The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. After joining in 1969, Sa'adat rose through the ranks of the organization, assuming leadership in 2001 after the assassination of his predecessor, Abu Ali Mustafa. In 2008, Israeli military courts sentenced Sa'adat to 30 years in prison for heading an "illegal terrorist organization." Though imprisoned, he remains a prominent political leader.

In 2011, Hamas attempted to broker Sa'adat's freedom, asking that he be released alongside the 1,000 other Palestinians freed in exchange for Gilat Shalit. Israel refused. Sa'adat continues to lead hunger strikes to protest the prison's deteriorating conditions as well as advocating for the release of his friend and comrade, Georges Ibrahim Abdallah. His jailers have responded by repeatedly placing him in solitary confinement—most recently in 2023—despite concerns over his health. The detainment of Sa'adat and others belies that the Zionist entity, western forces and the complicit Palestinian Authority are committed to neutralizing independent Palestinian leadership and sovereignty.

Sa'adat's writings from the inside help us connect the struggles of political prisoners across time and movements—from the jailed and martyred leaders of the Black Panther party to the Palestinian revolutionaries who continue to face similar abuses by the hands of the state.

From inside the occupier's Ramon prison, on behalf of myself, my comrades and the Palestinian prisoners' movement, we extend our clenched fists of solidarity to our Black comrades whose struggle for liberation in the belly of the beast continues today against fierce repression.

From Ansar to Attica to Lannemezan, the prison is not only a physical space of confinement but a site of struggle of the oppressed confronting the oppressor. Whether the name is Mumia Abu-Jamal, Walid Daqqa or Georges Ibrahim Abdallah, political prisoners behind bars can and must be a priority for our movements. These names illustrate the continuity of struggle against our collective enemy—their legacies of organizing that reach back to the anti-colonial, liberation movements of the 1960s, 1970s, 1980s to today. Political prisoners are not simply individuals; they are leaders of struggle and organizing within prison walls that help to break down and dismantle the bars, walls, and chains that act to divide us from our peoples and communities in struggle. They face repeated isolation, solitary confinement, cruel tortures of the occupier and jailer that seek to break the will of the prisoner and their deep connection to their people.

We have not yet been able to realize our dreams and transform the prisons into museums of liberation. Revolutionaries across the world struggle and dream for this future, in every movement of oppressed people. Indeed, when we speak of the prisoners' movement, we are in essence speaking of Resistance.



Manacled by occupation forces, an unbowed Sa'adat declared: "I am fighting occupation!"

Prisons exist for a reason, for the needs and interests of those with power. And when there are prisons to lock up the people, when there is occupation, colonialism, oppression; where there is occupation and colonization, there will be prisons and all of the laws and legal frameworks erected to legitimize exploitation, oppression and injustice and criminalize resistance and liberation. From the Fugitive Slave Acts of the 1800s to the "terrorist lists" that seek to criminalize and isolate the resistance movements of the peoples of the world, these are reflections of a war on the people. We salute sister Assata Shakur, still struggling and free in Cuba, while facing renewed threats and "terrorist" labeling to justify hunting down this global symbol of freedom.

This also illustrates clearly that the struggle, the cause, and the movement of the Black Panther Party and the Black Liberation Movement are not a closed file. It is an open file, an ongoing struggle and a continuing movement for justice and liberation. As I write today, the revolutionary Palestinian Left, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, is marking its 50th year of struggle, a time for both celebration and review of this legacy in order to sharpen and strengthen our march toward revolutionary victory. Similarly, we have just passed the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Black Panther Party, whose vision for revolutionary change continues to be just as relevant today.

This is a legacy that is carried on both with ideas and with people themselves whose histories of struggle continue to animate and inspire their communities. You could pass by the first prisoner of the PFLP somewhere on the streets of Berlin, still organizing Palestinians. You could feel the legacy of the Black Panther Party and the continuing Black struggle on the streets of Chicago, Oakland and Harlem. There are people who carry within them the legacies of struggle as a human treasure. The experiences of the elders of our movement,

especially those who have come through prison, stand alongside the ideas passed down through writing, books and literature in carrying on, from one generation to another, the trajectory and path of struggle toward a future in which youth are coming forward to lead Black and Palestinian revolutionary struggles for liberation.

Every political prisoner, whether they are currently in prison or not in prison, carries within them the dream and reality of liberation and what it can and must mean in practice. Today, when we look at the Black Liberation movement or the Indigenous and Native struggle in the United States and Canada, we are talking about the same camp of enemy that we confront in occupied Palestine. The bullets that assassinated Malcolm X or Fred Hampton could have been used to kill Ghassan Kanafani or Khaled Nazzal or Mahmoud Hamshari, and today we see the same tear gas and bullets shipped around the world for use against the people. We see corporations like G4S profiting from the attacks on our movements and the mass imprisonments of our people and U.S., European and Israeli police forces exchanging training with one another to escalate racism, "counter-insurgency" and repression on the streets of our cities, camps and villages.

In our circles here in prisons, we always hope and wish to communicate to movements elsewhere and political prisoners everywhere. We want to share our experiences with one another to strengthen all of our movements for liberation and the movement to free our prisoners. The political prisoners have a firsthand experience of confrontation, and the experience of the prison can be a transformative one for a political prisoner. It is not an individual experience but a collective one; the heroism of a prisoner is not simply to be in prison but to understand that they carry with them the leadership of a movement and a continuing struggle in a new location that continues to have international reverberations. Georges Ibrahim

Abdallah today is struggling in Lannemezan prison just as Mumia Abu-Jamal is struggling in Mahanoy. The heroism also does not come simply in that one has spent years in prison and now has been released; but in being a veteran of struggle who continues to carry the message of liberation for those who remain.

The political prisoner is not weak and is not broken, despite all of their best efforts. The responsibility of the political prisoner is to safeguard the flame. This is not a role that we have sought out or worked for. But now that we are in this position we must hold our position to set an example, not to our people, who are rooted and steadfast, but to the enemy, to show that imprisonment will not work to defeat us or our people. We carry a cause, not simply an individual search for freedom. Israel or France or the U.S. would free us, or Georges Abdallah, or Mumia Abu-Jamal, if we were willing to become tools of the system or betray our people. But instead, the prisons have generated striking examples of a culture of resistance, from art to literature to political ideas.

Today, our movements and the revolutionary movements around the world are facing very difficult times. However, these difficult times can also hold value if we look more closely; we are paving the way for new generations of revolutionaries around the world who can still carry the demand for socialism, for people's democracy, for an alternative world. In the era in which Newton wrote, movements and prisoners shared experiences and communicated through letters, books and art, often smuggled out of or into prisons, past censors and iron walls. Today, with all of the great revolutions in technology, political prisoners are struggling to have their words heard at all, denied access to even telephones to speak with our families and loved ones.

Today, when popular movements are under attack and liberation struggles labeled as "terrorist" and criminalized, we see a massive coercive attack on our peoples. They want to see all of our movements isolated from one another; through the terror of the "terrorist list" and the silence of solitary confinement. Capitalist and imperialist media blankets the world, so even here in Israeli prison we hear about the latest technologies in the U.S. while the repression of Black people is rendered invisible.

Huey Newton said, "We support the Palestinians' just struggle for liberation one hundred percent. We will go on doing this, and we would like for all of the progressive people of the world to join our ranks in order to make a world in which all people can live."

Of course, I cannot speak as an expert about incarceration in the United States today. But just looking at the numbers is a stunning illustration of what is deeply wrong with the system. As Palestinians, we also face an experience of negation, of attack on our existence, as being treated as lesser or non-humans for our designated racial identity. We understand through our own experiences how occupation and capitalism are all about profit and the example that U.S. prisons are creating for the world, where prisons are seen as a

source of cheap and coerced free labor and a profit for capitalism. We see how incarceration is used to control, divide and threaten communities and peoples under attack. Incarceration means a lot of money for corporations at the same time that it means a direct threat to Black children and their futures. And this is the "security solution" that U.S. imperialism is marketing to the world as a solution to the crisis of capitalism, a solution built on bloody and brutal exploitation.

Here in our cells, we can feel the reverberations of these attacks and the physical impact of them in the invasions and inspections of the special repressive units of the occupier. We also see the potential and indeed, the necessity, for movements to rise inside prisons together with those on the outside. We see thousands of people sentenced to massive sentences of 20, 30, 40 years in prison and even more, stripping people's freedom and betraying people's lives. Resistance is critical and it must have a real impact on people's lives. Our sacrifice in prison has meaning when it can lead to fruits for the poor and liberation for our peoples. Our struggle must impact people's lives in a material way.

From Ireland to the United States to France to Palestine, political prisoners continue to be leaders in movements fighting racism, imperialism and colonialism. We also see the prisoners of the Palestinian movement facing political imprisonment around the world in the jails of the enemy—from the heroic Rasmea Odeh forced from the United States to the Five prisoners for Palestine, called the Holy Land Five, held in extreme solitary confinement alongside Black strugglers, for engaging in charity work for our people, to our dear comrade Georges Abdallah who has suffered for 34 years in French prisons.

The prisons and the political prisoners are also an example of the power and necessity of "breaking the law." The law—the law of the imperialist and the colonizer—is used to steal the rights and resources of our people and also to justify our imprisonment and repression and criminalization. Through the collective "breaking" of the law and its power to define justice and injustice—when people, collectively, confront and "break" the law, not merely as individuals but as a collective power, it loses its claim to legitimacy. Breaking of the law must become the norm, and not the exception—the law of capitalism, imperialism and exploitation.

Political prisoners are jailed because they fear our actions and they fear our ideas, our power to mobilize our peoples in a revolutionary way against their exploitation and colonization. They fear our communication and they fear the powers of our people. They fear that if we come together that we will build an international front for the liberation of oppressed peoples. They know, and deeply fear, that we can truly build an alternative world. For them, this is the terror of defeat, but for us, and for our peoples, this is the hope of freedom and the promise of victory.

Ramon Prison  
November 2017

## 'Land Day' Unifies The People With The Earth Georges Abdallah Commemorates The General Strike of '76

BY GEORGES ABDALLAH

Georges Ibrahim Abdallah is a Lebanese revolutionary and one of the longest held political prisoners in the world. Abdallah is known for his prominent role within the Lebanese Armed Revolutionary Factions (LARF), a guerrilla group which emerged from the PFLP in 1979. During his time in Lebanon, Abdallah dedicated his life to fighting the Israeli occupation, and upon moving to Europe, took the revolutionary struggle with him. Arrested in Lyon, France in 1984, Abdallah was sentenced to life in prison. Abdallah's parole requests have been repeatedly denied despite the fact that, according to French Law, he completed the minimum portion of his life sentence in 1999. In 2013, a French appeals court granted Abdallah conditional release, and American politicians—the war hawk Clinton among them—refuted the appeal. Despite the efforts of numerous human rights groups, Abdallah remains incarcerated, subjected to judicial harassment and foreign intervention by the United States and other imperial allies. He continues to release communiqués from prison and has participated in many hunger strikes in solidarity with Palestinian political prisoners including Ahmad Sa'adat, general secretary of the PFLP. As of 2024, Abdallah has been imprisoned in France for 40 years.

Dear Comrades, Dear Friends,

In this time of multifaceted crisis, impoverishment and great struggles, wars and devastation, your solidarity mobilization here and elsewhere, provides a lot of strength and warms the heart too. Insofar as this mobilization is part of the overall dynamics of the ongoing struggle, it allows your incarcerated comrades to stand up and somehow transcend their conditions as prisoners, despite the long years of captivity, and thus to participate in the action of the really existing revolutionary protagonists.

As you know, Comrades, the Palestinian people commemorate "Land Day" every year; it is a true national day where the Palestinian people affirms its unity despite their dispersion in various camps and communities in Palestine and in the neighboring countries, and where they affirm above all the unity of the land of Palestine. This day affirms the indestructible attachment to historical principles, namely: the categorical rejection of the Zionist entity on Palestinian land, and the Right of Return, which implies the liberation of Palestine, all of Palestine. The commemoration of "Land Day" is therefore not only or mainly in remembrance of a general strike in 1976 against the confiscation of land. This strike aroused at the time a significant mobilization of solidarity, both in the West Bank and in Gaza and in the various Palestinian camps in neighboring countries. The fact remains that the acquisition of the land of Palestine by all means did not begin on January 19, 1976 with the decision of the Israeli government to confiscate 25 km in the Galilee. The expropriation of all of the property of the Palestinian people, with a view to their destruction, and in particular the confiscation of a large part of their land, is part and parcel of the very existence of the Zionist entity. It has never stopped and it will only stop with the dissolution/destruction of

this entity which, in reality, is only an organic extension of Western imperialism.

By celebrating "Land Day," the Palestinian people today also commemorate both the beginning of the 2002 Jenin siege and massacre and the heroic resistance that developed throughout that criminal siege. By celebrating "Land Day" today, the Palestinian people affirm by the blood of their martyrs in Jenin, Hdayrat, Yaaboud and Bethlehem that Palestine, its land and people, is more united than ever. With the blood of the martyrs, the Palestinian people crushes not only the "deal of the century" but also and above all the Oslo agreements, and signifies to all these delegations gathered at "Sharm el-Sheikh" the refusal and the condemnation of the Palestinian people of all those steps aimed at the "normalization" of relations between the Arab countries and the Zionist entity. This day thus affirms the unshakable will of the Palestinian popular masses to send to the dustbins of history the normalization between the Zionist entity and all these lackeys, emirs and agents.

By celebrating "Land Day" today on the eve of this month of Ramadan, the Palestinian popular masses are preparing for a mobilization commensurate with the current challenges; as in Sheikh Jarrah, in Gaza, and in all the cities and localities of the West Bank and the 48 territories, Palestinians of all generations know better than anyone that nothing and no one will be able to eradicate this popular intifada, rooted in the collective consciousness and a necessity to end the occupation. The intifada is, more than ever, the embodiment of all dignity and all hopes.

Quite naturally, this popular intifada of a particular type has never really died out. Today it is called upon to structure itself better and to gain momentum, in order to right the balance of power and not allow the management of Oslo to come back again as if nothing has happened. It is clear, Comrades, that lately, not a single day has gone by without new martyrs, young or not so young.

How else can we see this popular resistance in "Beita," this locality south of Nablus, or in Jenin and its surroundings in the North, or in al-Khalil, not to mention everything that is happening in al-Quds and in the territories of occupied Palestine '48 and the ongoing raids in Gaza.

Quite naturally, this situation is not isolated from everything that is happening in the Arab world. It fits in a way, in the extension and development but also the impasses of all these protests and other revolts (Hirak) which have shaped the Arab world for ten years. It is also and above all part of an international context where the inter-imperialist contradictions are more and more exacerbated against the background of the worldwide crisis of the globalized capitalist system. It is clear that this crisis continues to deepen and spread throughout the world. At a time when the Brown Death of the far right has clearly, without cover, organized itself almost everywhere in Europe and has even managed to impose itself as the main political force in certain countries, fascism is proving to be at the center of the whole global dynamic of the management of capital, especially in the center of the system.

We must also note, comrades, that the inter-imperialist contradictions are beginning to

structure international relations more and more and to occupy the forefront of the world stage. No one should be unaware that the tendency to war is somehow inscribed in the genetic code of capital. The loss of hegemony of US imperialism at the world level pushes it in its headlong rush with more aggressiveness towards the other imperialist poles and especially towards more criminal hostility at the independent states that are somewhat too contentious to their taste.

Naturally, all solidarity with the dissolved collectives and with "BDS."

Comrades and Friends, from behind the abominable walls, Ahmad Saadat, as well as the thousands of comrades imprisoned in Zionist jails, send you their revolutionary greetings and draw your attention to the fascist and supremacist groups raging in Ramleh, Lydda, Haifa and Umm al-Fahm openly supported by the Israeli police. That said, Comrades, the Palestinian popular masses can rely, and must be able to rely upon your mobilization to confront all the nefarious propaganda of the imperialist bourgeoisie in your country in particular.

The conditions of detention in Zionist jails are getting worse day by day; and as you know Comrades, to confront this, international solidarity can prove to be an indispensable weapon. Quite naturally, the Palestinian popular masses and their struggling vanguards in captivity can count more than ever on your active solidarity.

**May a thousand solidarity initiatives flourish in support of Palestine and its promising resistance!**

**May a thousand solidarity initiatives flourish in favor of Palestinian Flowers and Cubs (imprisoned Palestinian girls and boys)!**

**Solidarity, all solidarity, with the two comrades Sibel Balac and Gokhan Yildirim on a hunger strike [in Turkish prisons] at break-neck speed!**

**Solidarity, all solidarity with the resistance fighters in Zionist jails, and those in solitary confinement cells in Morocco, Turkey, Greece, the Philippines and elsewhere around the world!**

**Solidarity, all solidarity, with the proletarians in struggle!**

**Solidarity, all solidarity, with the popular Yemeni masses!**

**Honor to the Martyrs and to the popular masses in struggle!**

**Down with imperialism and its Zionist watchdogs and other Arab reactionaries!**

**Capitalism is nothing but barbarism, honor to all those who oppose it in the diversity of their expressions!**

**Together, Comrades, and only together will we win!**

**To all of you Comrades and friends, my warmest regards.**

Your Comrade, Georges Abdallah

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Georges Ibrahim Abdallah, a Lebanese citizen who has been imprisoned in France for 40 years; and Ghassan al-Ashi, Shukri Abu Bakr, and Abdul Qadir Mishal who are detained in the United States.

In October, Basque political prisoners declared a hunger strike under the slogan "Hunger Strike for Dignity" in solidarity with Palestine. They expressed their support in a signed message from inside Basque prisons, stating: "Both Palestinian men and women have endured decades of suffering as a result of the violence inflicted by the Zionist occupation. They have been forcefully expelled from their homes, their cities and villages destroyed, and have been subjected to imprisonment, torture, rape, and murder. The recent atrocities and massacres in Gaza, committed by the terrorist Zionist state, are a clear example of this policy of genocide. In solidarity with the Palestinian people and in defense of the legitimate rights of individuals and the oppressed, the undersigned Basque prisoners, will go on a hunger strike on Friday, October 27, 2023."

Palestine has once again united the world against all forms of the global, capitalist war against the poor. Colonial oppressors in Gaza target the poor the same way that they have historically targeted the poor worldwide. White supremacy has risen once again, carrying out acts of genocide, just as it did against Indigenous peoples in the United States, Canada, Australia, and elsewhere. Perhaps colonial powers have historically failed to realize—or, perhaps, their sense of superiority prevents this realization—that their brutal methods of killing and destroying the lives of those aspiring to freedom and dignity will be met with the uprising of the impoverished and oppressed, not just in Palestine, but the world over.

The current international solidarity with Palestine represents a qualitative milestone in re-establishing the international struggle

of oppressed and colonized peoples. It also signifies the global fight against all forms of imperial military domination. It is evident that the class struggle against all forms of slavery can only be eradicated through its complete destruction as an institution and a system. On November 1, 2023, a conference held by the group "Critical Resistance" entitled "Abolition and Liberation of Palestine," emphasized the need for liberation and abolition in Palestine. The activist and former political prisoner Angela Davis stated, "There is nothing for Palestinians but action. There is global solidarity with Palestinians, a struggle for justice and for changing the reality. Gaza represents a model of colonial violence, and Israel and America each represent a model of the capitalist military system based on a military ideology and war. How can we work on breaking the chains of enslavement in support of the Palestinian people's struggle for freedom?" This is a reminder of a shared historical struggle that brings us back to a rooted alliance in the face of global struggle.

Palestine, and Gaza in particular, has been symbolic to the world as a paradigm in which colonial capitalism has developed brutal oppressive tools in an attempt to annihilate an entire people; a people who yearn for freedom and for the breaking the chains of settler-colonial slavery, imposed on them over a century ago.

On October 7, the demand "emptying the prisons" was transformed from an imaginary possibility to a reality. This transformation suggests that the possibility of breaking prison subjugation is real and tangible. This could be accomplished by eliminating all causes of repression and of oppression, not only in colonized Palestine, but in brutal, patriarchal, colonial, capitalist countries around the world. Dismantling colonial settler servitude is a crucial step for humanity, for all who have suffered from its effects and who continue to reject and resist it till this day.



Texts provided by SAMIDOUN Palestinian Prisoner Solidarity Network. Follow the New York/New Jersey chapter @samidoun.nynj and online at www.samidoun.net



Security guards examine the presumed exit of the "freedom tunnel."

## Six Strugglers Liberate Themselves

On September 6, 2021, six Palestinian prisoners absconded from Gilboa maximum security prison via a "freedom tunnel" dug with rusty spoons. Zakaria Zubeidi, brothers Mahmoud and Mohamed al-Arda, Yaqoub Qadri, Ayham Kamanji and Munadil Yaqoub Nfeiat dug under and out of the occupier's cells in a brief, profound departure from the degradation they faced inside Gilboa's walls. Subsisting on pomegranate and cacti, Mahmoud Ardash recalled stumbling upon a field of cows and kissing their faces, overjoyed at encountering another free creature.

Prior to operation al-Aqsa flood, it was the Gilboa 6 who valiantly punctured the myth of Israel's high-tech impenetrability, with Ardash stating, "I wanted to show the world that the occupation is a monster of

dust." We are indebted to those who burrow under and pummel through the enemy's enclosures, reminding us that every wall is a potential exit and reassuring that—by either spoon or bulldozer—liberation will be ours. Ardash wrote the following letter to his mother, whom he escaped to visit.

I'd like to extend my greetings to you, Mom, and tell you that I tried very hard to come and hug you before you leave this world, but I couldn't.

You are in my heart and head. The good news is that I have eaten figs from many places across our homeland. I also ate prickly pears, pomegranates, sumac, and wild thyme. I even ate guava for the first time in 25 years. I had a jar of honey as a gift for you. Extend my greetings to my dead sisters Basima, Ruba, Khitam, and

Saeda, and to my brothers as well, as I miss them a lot.

I smelled freedom and we saw that the world has changed. I climbed the mountains of Palestine for long hours and we walked across broad plains. I saw how the plain of Arraba, my hometown, is a small part of Bisan and Nazareth.

My greetings to all family members and friends. My greetings to my niece, Sinat, whose socks I wore all across the mountains. My greetings to Abdullah, Hadeel, Yousef, the wife of Raddad, and all family, to Sarah, Rahaf, Ghada, Muhammad, and everyone. A special greeting to Huda. I miss her so much and I will send the whole story to her.

MAHMOUD ARDAH

## Marwan Barghouti Strikes For Dignity



Marwan Barghouti is escorted to a deliberation at the Jerusalem Magistrate Court on January 25, 2012.

BY MARWAN BARGHOUTI

Marwan Barghouti, leader of the first and second Intifadas, was arrested in 2002 on charges of being a senior member of the al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigade, an armed resistance faction in the West Bank. During the trial, Barghouti refused to present a defense, maintaining, rightfully, that the Israel courts were illegitimate. He was sentenced to five life sentences. A political member of the Fatah Party, Barghouti remains widely popular in Palestine and internationalists continue to advocate for his release.

I write this letter to you from my small cell, which is small for the great prisoner and the free man. However, the chains that bind the body cannot bind the willpower, as the soul is nurtured by the love of the land of Palestine and its people. The Palestinian prisoner has succeeded in turning the prison into a base for the struggle, contemplation, culture, strengthening of the willpower, and deepening of the belonging. These colonialists wanted the prison to constitute a graveyard for the fighters, but the prisoners, with their resolve and willpower, have stood against the hangman and the jail and turned the prison into a station for renewing the strength, strengthening of the belonging, and deepening of the experience. The secret of the resolve, perseverance, and energy is in our deep belief in the justice of the matter for which we are fighting and sacrificing, as Palestine is among the most just and noble causes of our time. Therefore, we sacrifice all that we possess with happiness

and joy so that our land will be free and sovereign, as the free and sovereign homeland is what gives meaning to dignity and honor.

The struggle for freedom is of the highest order, and is even the pinnacle of human sentiment. Our mighty people are carrying out resistance and have been fighting for more than 100 years. It has ignited rebellions, intifadas, and popular uprisings, and resisted in every way. There are many ways to resist the colonizer's knowledge: culture, literature, art, fiction, poetry, drawing, music, popular folklore, heritage, working the land and agriculture, building schools, universities, and institutes, producing national products, boycotting Israeli merchandise, and exposing the occupation's crimes.

My dear students, my dear children, when you read this letter I will be in solitary confinement, in a place the rays of the sun do not enter. I will be alone, but every morning anthem you sing will reach my ears. We are waging the battle for freedom and dignity with an unlimited hunger strike; and this is the prisoners' weapon, just as knowledge is your weapon to liberate your homeland and your people. This is because the path to the freedom of our land is hard and long, as freedom is the supreme value of peoples and human dignity, and the struggle for freedom is the realization of the greatest meanings of freedom itself. Your brothers, the prisoners, have already chosen the path of resistance to the apartheid and occupation regime and I say to you that in order to be creative in resisting the colonialist, we must be creative in our studies, education, and culture.

I say to you: I was arrested for the first time when I was in high school, I took the matriculation exams in prison, and continued on the path of study and obtained a bachelor's degree, master's degree, and doctorate. This was despite being imprisoned for more than 23 years, expelled for seven years, and subjected to pursuit and assassination attempts. I say this to you in order to emphasize to you that the path of studies and the national path go side by side, and that education is the key to change in the battle of the peoples and nations. What I mean is modern education, which provides wide room for scientific professions and philosophy, teaches the children critical thinking, and strengthens the mentality of dialogue, accepting the other, partnership, pluralism, freedom of opinion, thought, and faith, and personal freedoms, in light of the fact that [this mentality] constitutes the true realization and greatest expression of the freedom of the peoples, nations, and homelands.

I and my brother prisoners who are waging an unlimited hunger strike call on you to express your solidarity and write in your notebooks 10 times every day: "Freedom and dignity for Palestine." Allow me to also shake the hand of every one of you and to kiss your pure hands and raised foreheads. I say to you as our Palestinian poet Tawfiq Ziyad from Nazareth said: "The prison cell has not weakened me and my shoulders have not fallen, but rather I will remain upright with the flag of Palestine in my hand waving high until freedom, return, independence, and dignity are achieved."

## Long Live Fatima Bernawi

The Palestinian spirit of sumud finds its apotheosis in the freedom fighters who dedicate their lives to resisting the occupation. One such giant is the late Fatima Bernawi, Afro-Palestinian militant and beloved daughter of Jerusalem. Born in 1939 to a Palestinian mother and a father of Nigerian descent, Bernawi became the first Palestinian woman to organize a military operation on Israeli soil. For this, she was made the first female prisoner of the modern liberation movement.

Bernawi and her mother were forced out of Jerusalem and expelled to Amman during the 1948 Nakba, while her father, who was active in the 1936 Revolt, stayed behind. They eventually reunited when Bernawi joined her father in the paramilitary Fateh movement. Formally trained as a nurse, Bernawi applied her medical knowledge and battlefield experience in service of the resistance. When Israeli interrogators asked why she joined the revolution, Bernawi answered: "Because you destroyed Qalqilya."

In 1967, Bernawi and her fellow liberationists attempted to bomb Zion Cinema. The explosives failed to detonate but succeeded—in the tradition of guerrilla factions from the BLA to the IRA—in delivering the battle to the enemy's doorstep. Bernawi was

sentenced to life in prison but was released in a prisoner exchange brokered by the resistance ten years later. In her decade of incarceration, she worked tirelessly to cultivate a nascent women's prisoner movement. Miraculously, she was able to use her medical expertise to help deliver children behind bars. We understand her commitment to midwifery as contiguous with her devotion to armed revolt, highlighting the centrality of giving and stewarding new life, without which there would be nothing and no one to struggle for.

Notions of Black-Palestinian solidarity must begin with Black Palestinians, Black Arabs, and Muslims, whose revolutionary histories and teachings are too often relegated to marginalia. As diasporans, we reject the Western chauvinism that reduces Palestine to a mere analog of the Black American struggle. We refute the liberal paternalism of "allyship." We move in the spirit of collusion, co-resistance, and co-struggle as Black feminists in the imperial core and we act as practitioners in the art of refusal, defiance and sabotage. We resist, with our comrades across and beyond borders, and we remain steadfast in the fight for a Free Palestine within this lifetime.



### Demonstration

by Shukri Abu-Baker

We stood firm on the same ground, by opposite to each other,  
Our teeth glaring, our gazes meeting the sky; not each other's

They cheered, yeah! Keep falling, pretty bombs

We cried, No! Cease Fire. Cease Fire

There's no beauty in a state-of-the-art fury

The sky busy and buzzy and roaring with flying objects

Our necks craned for a higher definition

They saw heroes raining down justice

We saw baby killers.

They screamed, self defense... self defense

We screamed, war crimes... war crimes

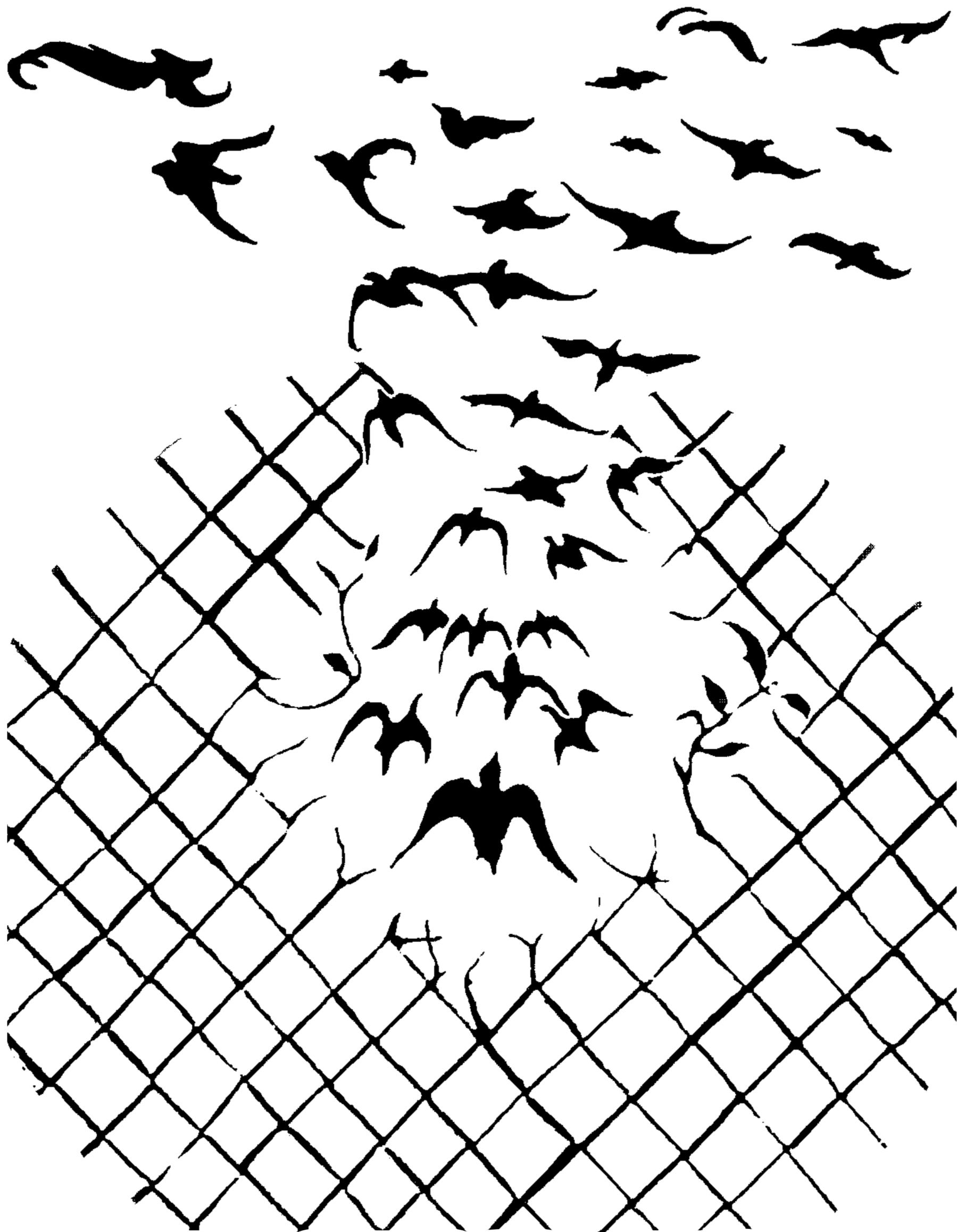
They exploded, turn Gaza into a parking lot

We trembled, that's two-million burial lots

The Holy Land Five are political prisoners detained in Texas and sentenced in 2008 to a collective 180 years in prison. Leaders of the Palestinian-run charity The Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development, Shukri Abu-Baker, Ghassan Elashi, Mufid Abdulqader, Abdulrahman Odeh, and Mohammad Elmezzain were accused of funneling \$12 million to Hamas. Prosecuted under legislation which criminalizes providing material support for "terrorist organizations," The Holy Land Five are victims of the

reactionary repression of Arab-Americans after 9/11, though by some accounts they had been under surveillance since 1994. To the American, French, German, and Israeli governments, there is no tolerable solidarity with the Palestinian people, nor is there any palatable Arab resistance to colonialism and fascism. "The Struggle Against Here" is a poem by Shukri Abu-Baker, sentenced to 65 years. It was written since the onset of the siege on Gaza. Read more of Abu-Baker's work at [notesfromshukri.wordpress.com](https://notesfromshukri.wordpress.com).

**EMPTY THE  
ZIONIST PRISONS**



**VICTORY TO  
THE RESISTANCE**