



THEY HAVE THE WATCHES, BUT...
WE HAVE THE TIME



A youth in Beitunia, Palestine helps start a fire. More photographs by Dina Salem on page 5.

‘You dreamed of a place that would endure’
A student from Bureij writes to a teacher from Baghdad

By DIMA HATTAB

The last math class I took with Mr. Nabil ended on an afternoon in May 2021. That year, the semester was cut short by an Israeli aggression, not the first nor the last in the Gaza Strip. I quickly arranged my books and raced to exit through the school’s small, antique door. I stood outside the building, looking at it, contemplating its dark interior, which used to be a convenience store. A question passed through my mind: Did it ever occur to the convenience store that someday, calculus classes would be taught there? I laughed to myself, a disappointed laugh. When the difficulty of our circumstances is greater than our ability, the scenario that we envision for our lives escapes us.

My teacher exited the building and we began walking together. After I shared my opinion on the war we were living through, I felt that he wanted to tell me something. He seemed to sense that the war had extinguished whatever enthusiasm I once had. That afternoon, we walked beneath a golden sun, past the concrete blocks of a refugee camp that had been established in 1948. The summer sky was clear except for the drones, which never seemed to leave us, not even in times of truce. The teacher asked me:

— So, how are your studies?
— They’re going pretty well, but I feel my concentration has been disrupted by what’s happening.
— Final exams are coming up; what choice do you have but to keep going? You always manage to solve the difficult questions. I can see you’ll be among the top students in the class. Tell me, will you go to medical school?

I took refuge in silence and recalled a story Mr. Nabil once told us about how, as a youth, he’d wanted to study medicine. He was an extremely sharp student, unrivaled in his talent, but his family circumstances prevented him from pursuing it. His parents’ generation was among the Palestinians who were displaced in 1948 and settled in the camps. He is now over sixty and has witnessed all the events of the Strip, from invasions to uprisings to bombing raids. All of these circumstances converged, and he became one of the most important math teachers in central Gaza’s refugee camps and one of the greatest inspirations of my life. His life may not have turned out the way he had dreamed it would, but even the convenience store didn’t know it would become a place to study the limits of integration.

He interrupted my thoughts:
— Have you decided on your major, Dima?
— I haven’t yet, but I don’t feel that



Dania Ajour, a first-year student at the Islamic University in Gaza, reads a book amid the ruins of her classroom in February 2025. Haneen Salem / Instagram (@haneen.maher.salem)

I have the freedom of choice. Gaza’s brightest students don’t have many options for majors besides medicine and engineering. But for me, my obsession is physics.

We choose what suits the conditions of our country, not of our dreams

— Physics? The opportunities for that specialization are limited here.
— The opportunities in general, Mr. Nabil, are limited by the siege and the occupation’s regime of strangulation and the fear that hovers around us. Whoever excels in their studies either suffers and eventually leaves or stays here and is assassinated by Israel.

At that moment, I’m sure that the same thought crossed our minds, because we both fell silent. During the aggression that spring, Israel bombed the home of the physics teacher, seriously injuring him and killing his wife and

daughter. We did not say the names of our martyrs out loud because we feared that the occupation would hear us, even in the streets. “Physics, physics,” my teacher mumbled.

— Then travel if that’s the case; I studied math in Baghdad.
— Baghdad was different in your day than it is in mine, Mr. Nabil.
— The day it fell was the hardest of my life. In the past, Baghdad was my country...

We continued walking in silence through the camp, which was packed with concrete houses. When Mr. Nabil arrived at the place where he was teaching another group of students, I bid him farewell. “Don’t forget to study hard for the final exam,” he said. I nodded in agreement and looked at him faithfully. He looked at me with pride.

In April 2024, on the anniversary of the fall of Baghdad, Mr. Nabil said that the U.S. invasion was one of the greatest shocks of his life. The city of Mr. Nabil’s past was ravaged by wars, and the city of his present, Gaza, had been stripped of every semblance of life by the occupation. The futures that the people of these cities envisioned have not yet been realized.

I apologize to you, Mr. Nabil, on behalf of fate, because you dreamed of a

free place in your past and your present. You dreamed of a place that would endure, that would never be erased by the hands of barbarity, that would respect reason and knowledge, and that, above all, would respect human life.

To Mr. Nabil: The difficulty of our circumstances was greater than our ability. We often choose what best suits the conditions of our country, not of our dreams. Though I once envisioned myself studying physics, I now study literature and write the story of my people. You became one of the best math teachers in Gaza, not a doctor as you once aspired, and you helped many generations of the country’s youth.

To the convenience store: I apologize because I know that if you had been the convenience store that you wanted to be, you wouldn’t have been so dark and cramped inside. I wonder if you, like me, find it ironic that we study the limits of integration in a country where everything is limited.

Dima Hattab was born in Bureij refugee camp in central Gaza, where she continues to live during the ongoing genocide. She studies English literature online at the Islamic University. This piece has been translated from Arabic.

CELL THEORY

HIGHER EDUCATION IN ZIONIST PRISON

By QASAM AL-HAJ

Hadarim Prison University is one of the primary sites for the production and reproduction of the Palestinian national narrative. This narrative of resistance manifests in precisely the space designed to suppress and negate it — in other words, the Zionist prison. The Hadarim Prison University exemplifies two modern institutions (the university and the prison) that feed off one another, while the place and purpose of each is constantly embattled and negated. Here I will discuss some of the mechanisms of survival and coalition-building employed by Palestinian prisoners at Hadarim as they seize their right to regular university education while rebelling against the Zionist colonial system.

The university at Hadarim was initiated by the popular political leader and prisoner Marwan Barghouti. He consulted several personalities and academic institutions with the intention of setting up a university in prison that would be administered and run by the captives themselves. Formal education inside Zionist prisons had been banned since 2011. Instituted by a bill known as Shalit’s Law, Benjamin Netanyahu himself announced that “the party is over,” restricting Palestinian prisoners from their right to higher education inside prisons.

Al-Quds University was the first to agree to Barghouti’s proposal, partly because he had been a lecturer there prior to his capture in 2002. (He also received a doctoral degree from the Institute of Research and Studies affiliated with the Arab League University in Cairo.) Following the signing of a formal agreement between Al-Quds University, the Palestinian Ministry of Education, the Palestinian Ministry of Detainees and Ex-Detainees Affairs, and the lawyer Elias Sabbagh, Al-Quds University began officially granting bachelor’s and master’s degrees at Haradim, chosen for its geographical, political, and colonial location.

Al-Quds University’s institutional and bureaucratic requirements stipulated a legal framework to regulate the work of Hadarim University. Students in captivity would be granted procedural accommodations, but the educational rigor would be maintained. Hadarim University first launched its master’s degree in “Israeli” studies in 2012 under Barghouti’s leadership and instruction, and the first cohort graduated in 2014.

Continued on page 3

Dismantle the Board of Butchers!

Students vs. Trustees

By NATIONAL STUDENTS FOR JUSTICE IN PALESTINE

The Student Intifada has laid the university system bare. Whether through the dispossession of indigenous land or the propagation of genocide in Palestine, the university has always been a keystone of empire. Today arms manufacturers, war profiteers, and genocidaires occupy its highest ranks as trustees. In order for us to remove the imperial university as a roadblock to the struggle for Palestinian liberation, we must dismantle its structure — starting with these Boards of Butchers.

After October 7, 2023, as students witnessed the acceleration of a decades-long genocide against the Palestinian people, they mobilized en masse to protest their universities’ material ties to the Zionist entity. This coordinated response built on decades of Palestine organizing on campus and peaked in spring 2024 when encampments were established across campus grounds first nationally in the U.S., then internationally. Thousands upon thousands of Palestinians in Gaza had been displaced into tents, where they have since been subjected to relentless bombardment and forced starvation. The Student Intifada used the encampments as a form of direct, material intervention to address this, raising the political consciousness of both our fellow students and also the public at large.

Students largely pursued three demands: full disclosure of university investments, an academic boycott of Zionist institutions, and divestment from the Zionist entity. The encampments served to mass-mobilize people around these demands and acted as spaces for popular education, coalition work, base-building, and, notably, escalatory direct action.

The Student Intifada created a crisis for universities across North America and exposed that real power does not lie in the hollow facade of bureaucratic, neoliberal “democratic” structures, nor in the glorified managerial positions into which students are funnelled to maintain the capitalist-imperialist economy. Rather, the students identified these structures as sanctioned illusions of “democratic” participation which shield the university’s actual mechanisms of control.

Continued on page 6



THE ART OF RESISTANCE: Marah Khalad is an 18-year-old artist from Beit Hanoun in northern Gaza. Since October 7, 2023, she has been forced to move with her family at least 10 times. Recently she posted on X about the difficulty of continuing her studies amid displacement: “We deserve to learn,” she wrote. “Even if this right was taken from us, we will reclaim it through our struggle.” Support Khalad, her family, and her art: bit.ly/marah-khalad.

The Only Liberated Place

RAMALLAH, PALESTINE — Layla was jolted awake by urgent voices just before dawn on September 17, 2024. Her mother and brother were whispering that enemies were at the door of their Ramallah home. In the living room, an Israeli occupation soldier checked each of the family members’ IDs. Then he informed the family that he and the other officers had come to arrest Layla*, who was then 21 and beginning her third year at Birzeit University.

Although the Zionist authorities had not issued Layla an arrest warrant, as they often do, arbitrarily, to harass and intimidate Palestinian students, she wasn’t surprised that they’d come for her. Several months earlier, they had murdered her friend Rami*. A month ago, they had arrested her brother, only to release him later. In the occupied West Bank, students are targeted for their associations as much as for their political activity.

“The captain told me, ‘You are here because *inti mahbooba* — you are loved,’” Layla recalls. Meaning, because she is popular, influential, a threat.

The head officer ordered her to get dressed. She went back into her room and grabbed her best pair of long socks and a hoodless jacket, since the prison guards, she knew, would confiscate anything with a hood. Back in the living room, Layla tried to comfort her weeping mother by listing the names of all the girls in her class who would be keeping her company in prison.

This strategy of consolation proved ill-advised. “She started cursing me and all my friends, asking what the hell we did,” Layla says, laughing.

Soon Layla was handcuffed, then marched to a military jeep. Over the next 48 hours, the occupation soldiers drove her to different processing centers, where they interrogated, beat, intimidated, and sexually harassed her. At one point during her interrogation, she was forced to balance on a beach ball for hours, the strain leaving her core and legs in agony.

When finally she was brought to Damon Prison in Haifa, Layla felt that she was walking into a giant cage and, at the same time, arriving at a school reunion. Classmates cheered her name when they caught glimpses of her through the glass window of the prison’s large sliding doors. Passing by them on the way to her cell, she pressed her pointer fingers to theirs through the iron bars — the only form of touch she would know for months to come.

Layla is one of hundreds of students across Palestine who have been locked up in the occupation’s prisons since October 7, 2023 — including 150 from Birzeit alone, the highest number of student detainees from any Palestinian university outside Gaza. Students at other West Bank universities, like Al-Quds and An-Najah, have also faced raids, arrests, and censorship.

The repression at Birzeit reflects a broader landscape, in which Israel’s regime forces Palestinians to bend, twist, and reconfigure themselves just to survive its suffocating grip.

Since its establishment in the 1970s, Birzeit has developed a reputation for influencing Palestinian political life. Over time, this has made it a target of both the Israeli occupation and the Palestinian Authority (PA). Still, the school’s administration has protected the student body’s right to engage in political activity over the decades, making Birzeit one of the rare Palestinian campuses where students from across the political spectrum openly organize.

“We call it the only liberated place here,” says Hadeel Shatara, a Birzeit faculty member and recent prisoner of the Zionist regime.

At Birzeit, the exigencies of life under occupation are woven into the curriculum. Professors routinely excuse the absences of students who are hiding from the occupation’s life-threatening witchhunts. Since Israeli forces carry out most of

Birzeit’s students and the fight for Palestine’s future

By THE NEW YORK WAR CRIMES



Layla is one of hundreds of students across Palestine who have been locked up in the occupation’s prisons, including around 150 from Birzeit alone. When she arrived at Damon Prison in Haifa, she felt that she was walking into a giant cage and, simultaneously, a reunion. Classmates cheered her name when they caught glimpses of her through the glass window of the prison’s large sliding doors. As she passed them on the way to her cell, they pressed their pointer fingers together through the bars — the only form of touch they would share for months to come.

But even showing up on campus can be a challenge. Over the last two years, the occupation has established over 100 new checkpoints across the occupied West Bank, bringing their total count to approximately 900. The humiliation of the checkpoint is a universal Palestinian experience, but for Birzeit students the scrutiny is particularly high. According to Shatara, guards have beaten dozens of Birzeit students for doing nothing more than trying to get to their classes on time.

“The guards check every student’s ID and bag,” Shatara explains, “and if they see a Birzeit book inside, they’ll pull the student aside and make them step out of their vehicles.” Sometimes, the guards steal textbooks and notebooks.

In addition to the repeated intimidation and attacks by Zionist forces, students feel the weight of a secondary occupation: the Palestinian Authority. Whereas PA forces used to limit their repression of students to campus interrogations, they now stalk young people in their neighborhoods and homes.

According to Shatara, dozens of Birzeit students were arrested during “Operation Protect the Homeland,” a series of PA raids aimed at rooting out armed resistance in the cities of Jenin and Tulkarem. During that period, the university hired its own lawyers to fight for the students’ release in the PA’s courtrooms. Eventually, Birzeit succeeded.

“The PA uses the same method that the occupation uses — collective punishment,” Shatara says. “Both regimes are working together.”

Some Birzeit students had tasted Zionist prison before they’d ever stepped foot through the university’s gates. Shadi*, now 19, was arrested as a 16-year-old high school student. As with Layla’s case, occupation forces arrived at his family’s home in Jerusalem at 5 a.m. Ten military vehicles surrounded the house, carrying some 70 soldiers.

Once inside, occupation soldiers punched and kicked Shadi in front of his parents and brother. The soldiers pointed their snipers at Shadi’s relatives as they beat him, telling him that if he resisted, they would shoot. Before he even made it out of the house, he had a broken nose and several broken teeth.

“I was done. I wasn’t conscious,” Shadi recalls.

The Zionist forces held Shadi for “processing” for 16 days before bringing him, like Layla, to Damon Prison. That whole time, he was barefoot. The only clothes he had on him were the ones he’d worn to sleep on the night he was arrested: a pair of shorts and a t-shirt from a marathon he once ran in Bethlehem, which read “urkud ila al-hurriya, or “run for freedom,” on the back. “You’re running for freedom, yeah?” one soldier sneered as he punched Shadi repeatedly in the side.

What stung Shadi the most, he says, was how the soldiers mocked his faith. Curses of Jesus and Mary became the soundtrack to Shadi’s two months in prison. Like Layla, he believes he was arrested for no other reason than to terrorize his community in Jerusalem.

“They wanted me to be an example for others,” Shadi says. “When there’s a Palestinian guy who’s Christian and speaks English, it’s dangerous for them.”

Layla remembers the small cake her fellow detainees had welcomed her with, which they made from small portions of tahini, jam, and toast they’d quietly saved for the occasion. Her memories of raids, daily strip searches, and gnawing hunger are interwoven with moments of singing and dancing with her peers.

“After they’d drag us to the yard and torture us, you won’t believe it, we’d go back to cook and play games,” she recalls. “We’d laugh for the rest of the day.” Games were their way of restoring their agency and resistance.



their arrests at the start of final exams season in an attempt to sabotage academic careers, the administration allows students to take their exams late or retake their classes free of charge.

Even death is folded into campus life. When a student is martyred — like Layla’s friend Rami in 2024, or like the brothers Jawad and Thafer Rimawi in 2022 — they return to the school grounds one last time, their body borne on their classmates’ shoulders in a solemn procession before burial. It is a ritual no other Palestinian university carries.

“It is part of our identity, something we’re really proud of,” Shatara says.

Historically, the university has admitted only the top-performing students from each village, filling the campus with bright young minds from the upper-class neighborhoods of Ramallah and from the West Bank’s refugee camps, from Akka in ‘48 and from Gaza City. Before the Second Intifada in the early 2000s, nearly a third of the student body came from Gaza.

Cafeteria debates and classroom arguments, attended by the likes of Palestinian People’s Party Secretary-General Bassam Al-Salhi and political prisoner Marwan Barghouti, seeded the DNA of the student movement in the occupied lands and gave rise to the political parties and ideologies Palestinians inherit today.

“It is known that much of the organizing during the First and Second Intifadas came out of Birzeit,” Shatara said. “The student movement led the streets.”

Over time, the political party structure on campus consolidated into three major factions: Hamas-aligned Al Wafa’ Islamic Bloc, the Fatah-aligned Martyr Yasser Arafat Bloc, and the PFLP-aligned Democratic Progressive Student Pole. The campus’ student elections are not popularity contests, but instead serve as barometers of where the Palestinian body politic is headed. In the nearly two-decade absence of national elections, Birzeit’s polls have come to signify the pulse of majority opinion. Since 2015, the Islamic bloc has dominated these polls, which has discouraged the PA from holding national elections that could upend Fatah’s rule.

Since October 7, 2023, the Israeli regime has ramped up its attacks on students at Birzeit. Due to the campus popularity of the Islamic Bloc, occupation forces have begun to single out and punish groups and individuals they perceive as aligned with Hamas. The occupation, aiming to paralyze political activity on campus, treats engagement in student activism as grounds for an automatic arrest warrant. Since this genocidal war on Gaza began, no student elections have been held at Birzeit.

Elections, Shatara explains, are “a celebration of democracy.” Holding such a celebration now would not only be tone-deaf, but could also expose students to an increased risk of arrest. These days, much of the political organizing at Birzeit happens underground.

“They arrested the entire first and second lines of command in the Student Union,” Shatara said.

“So a third line started showing up.”



These days, Layla’s interaction with Zionist forces is not confined to checkpoints. Ever since her release, she and other freed student prisoners receive random phone calls from occupation intelligence agents. In the calls, the agents detail what they observed her doing that day: arriving and leaving campus, attending lectures, sitting with friends.

Although his imprisonment was years ago, Shadi’s case remains open and the threat of sentencing still hangs over him. He doesn’t allow himself to plan beyond his final court date, let alone imagine a long-term career. His judge is an Israeli settler living illegally on Palestinian land.

He asks rhetorically: “When the judge is your enemy, how are you supposed to be free?”

For Shatara, the biggest obstacle for the student movement in Palestine is the weakness of the broader movement. Today, students have no real model in the political party structure to emulate, no coherent strategy to build upon.

“They have to count on themselves,” Shatara says. “But sometimes you need someone to point things out for you, someone with experience to learn from. All they’ve seen during the past 20 years is a failing experience.”

In the occupied West Bank, there is no safe space left to engage in political activity. Drones circle ceaselessly overhead, buildings are equipped with rotating cameras, and phone-tapping and spyware apps register practically all remote communication. Nonetheless, Shatara is adamant that the student movement, which has carried the past revolutions in Palestine, will rise again.

“No matter how hard the situation is getting, the younger generation will find a way out,” she insisted. “We need to rebuild trust in these students, to protect their work and give them space to act.”

When campus encampments erupted across the world in solidarity with Gaza, Shatara said university students in Palestine felt a rare sense of hope.

“Here, students feel that everything they try to do is pointless, because wherever they turn, they face attacks,” she says. “But when they saw something happening on campuses abroad, they thought: People know what’s going on. The students are moving.”

As students across the world march in their name, the occupation traps young Palestinians inside a silo. The occupation engineers this isolation with checkpoints, arrests, prisons, raids, and surveillance, in order to convince Palestinian youth that they are alone, that resistance is useless, and that no solidarity can pierce the occupation walls they are sentenced to endure.

“We’re in the belly of the beast here, just like in the US,” Shatara says. “The students here know they are responsible for the future of Palestine. They know they can’t just wait for a hopeful picture of the future to come. They have to create it with their own hands.”

Names with an asterisk have been changed to protect the subjects.

WHAT CAN'T BE SHOWN: “In Ramallah, freed student prisoners spoke to us nervously, knowing they are at risk of further arrest by occupation forces. They only allowed us photos of their hands, even then taking care to hide distinguishing features like marks and scars. Still, they participated because these stories should be heard. Being a prisoner comes with the responsibility of not only protecting yourself and your family, but also serving as an example on the frontlines of the liberation movement.” — **Z.H., photographer**

‘No university, no students, no Dr. Refaat’

By NADERA MUSHTA

I could not sleep that night. Thoughts swept through the folds of my mind, gnawing at me. Other times, they pounded at my skull with a jagged hammer. I was anxious, afraid that a heavy slumber might snatch me away from my university lectures. I longed for sleep and dreaded it all the same. Perhaps, I worried, it would prove stronger than my alarm clock, that sound I had always loathed. And what could I possibly say to Dr. Refaat Alareer, if I were a few minutes late to his lecture on poetry? I did not want him to think of me as a lazy student.

All I recall from the next morning is opening the window of my warm room to see what, for heaven’s sake, was happening. Soon, we were all running toward the balcony of the house — not just my family, but everyone who lived in that small corner of the neighborhood. Outside, everything appeared as madness itself.

A few minutes later, the university sent us a message announcing that classes had been suspended until further notice. I sighed and said, “Alhamdulillah, Dr. Refaat Alareer won’t scold me for being late.” It was only later that I realized it was a farewell.

No university, no students, no Dr. Refaat. A path toward education had been extinguished.

Since that day, I have remained alone — away from my friends and from the joys of wandering between lectures, steeped in the splendor of knowledge. This genocide has drawn a thick line between us and the things we love. Everything points us toward an inevitable death. This whole city, which once carried all of our hopes and sorrows, is now unrecognizable. It has been reduced to something much simpler: a place trying to survive.

I was once like the other young people in this city, endeavoring to prosper, working with the hope that one day we might be blessed with a measure of success. I carried few worries and fears. Perhaps I did not even know what it truly meant to feel fear until this bloody genocide, which traps us between memory and hope.

Genocide has split our lives in two and turned them upside down. I mark this division on the map of our city, cleaved apart by the occupation. It is a line that may one day divide our past and our future. Today it has torn apart our present and scattered the remains.

In July 2024, our university reopened electronically amid this hell. I could not attend because I was in the midst of being displaced from our once-beautiful neighborhood. The following term I was finally able to sleep among my books and pens. Still, it was never easy. In the middle of my stud-

ies, my computer would often turn off, its battery drained. The next morning, I would wake to the sound of those damned drones, squeezing out whatever thoughts remained from the night before and scattering them. All of this, without mention of the endless bombardment and the images of mangled corpses and skulls that will not leave us.

Poetry was among the university courses in which I enrolled. I studied all of Dr. Refaat’s lectures. He would never know that the ink inside his book, which I had bought before the war, would be erased by my tears. I have often wondered how such a voice could die. How could they have killed him? But now I think that his voice cannot be killed. His poetry has seeped into the limbs of the universe. That semester, I studied subjects I was supposed to have finished at the beginning of this genocide, but what can one do? This is what has been written for us. I received a high grade in the class; he

would never know that either. I know he would have rejoiced.

Term after term, exam after exam, and I am now at the precipice of graduation, two years into the war and its horrors. We should be in the midst of a joyful celebration — on stage in our gowns, among our friends, our families, and our professors. Dr. Refaat should be here, standing with our loved ones who too have been martyred.

Now, neither friends nor a university remain. The stage that once embraced dozens of graduating classes will not hold us. These days, the stage only holds the displaced, as a shelter for them and their tents. Dr. Refaat will never learn that the theater was burned down and turned into nothing, that not only the lecture hall was wiped away, but our hearts as well.

Nadera Mushta is a senior studying English online at the Islamic University in Gaza.



Illustrations by Marah Khalad (see page 1).



‘Everything will remain’

By ZARIFA HASSAN

Every morning, I woke up at dawn to the call to prayer, feeling like somebody was chasing me. With all my energy, I got dressed and ran towards the university buses. The seats were often full, so I stood among crowds of students in the aisles for an hour until we reached Al-Isra University, where I studied media and political science.

Between lectures, on holidays, during vacations, in my spare time, I rushed to television and radio stations, attended training workshops at media institutions, and acquired whatever knowledge and skills I could gain from the field. Those efforts are now paying off in my coverage of the war on Gaza.

Before October 7, 2023, my class-

mates and I were entering our fourth and final year of university. There was a great deal of enthusiasm shared among us and the university administration, which recognized us as a distinguished class. Suddenly, the drums of war began to beat, and our university days were over. Israel bombed Al-Isra at the beginning of the war, in January 2024, and broadcasted a video of the bombing, claiming there was a tunnel hidden beneath the building.

And so the never-ending nightmare began. After some time, universities in the West Bank opened their doors to Gaza’s students to continue their studies, but the system for enrolling and participating was never clear, at least not to me. Ultimately, I did not return to my studies until Al-Isra was able to get back on its feet, gather its surviv-

ing faculty and students, and create a remote learning environment.

I spent each day searching for a place to charge my computer and gain secure internet access to attend lectures and complete my tests and assignments. My fellow students and I frequented cafés with solar-powered charging stations, but often these were targeted in Israeli air strikes, sometimes repeatedly, with people inside. Often, we drew electricity from a hospital generator to finish our work, though hospitals too are targeted. When these sources failed, colleagues working in international institutions with relatively stable internet connections sometimes assisted me.

I am still alive. The journey will not end here.

During exams, between one question to the next, there would be an air-strike on a house or a tent, a massacre at an American aid distribution site, the invasion of a new area, or an evacuation order for the place I was sheltering in. A month ago, just as I was preparing to take an exam, my mother called me, and I said I was busy. She called to me again, then came to me and said, “Your cousin Ahmad was martyred. They bombed his tent.”

This is how I spent my last year of university: between the suspension of work and remote exam periods. I am now completing two courses, a graduation project, and searching for a scholarship to acquire a master’s degree. I will always remember the lecturer Arafat Abu Zaid, whose body I was shocked to see in the morgue. The school desks, on the rubble where occupation soldiers have stood, will remain. The singular laugh of my classmate Zahraa Abu Sakhil, who was killed in the targeting of a school that she fled to after the invasion of Al-Shifa Hospital, will remain. Everything will remain, despite the destruction. It did not destroy my dreams. I am still alive. The journey will not end here.

Zarifa Hassan is a senior at Al-Isra University studying media and political science. She is from Rafah.



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NOTE FROM THE EDITORS

Keep the Flame Alive

The Zionist war on education is as old as the entity. After the Nakba, the Israeli regime began centralizing curricula under its nascent Ministry of Education with the goal of “raising youth on the values of Israeli culture and love of the [Jewish] nation.” This eventually meant banning the word “Nakba” from Arab children’s textbooks and criminalizing the teaching of Palestinian resistance history in public schools. In December 1986, Zionist soldiers killed two Birzeit students from Gaza, igniting protests that helped unify the factions across the Strip. During the First Intifada, which began the following year, Israel forced the closure of universities in the West Bank as students from Jabalia and Tulkarem took to the streets. In subsequent decades, schools in Gaza became the targets of bombing raids while those in the occupied West Bank were marked for demolition as new Israeli settlements closed in.

It is a losing war. Over the course of the ongoing genocide in Gaza, the Zionists have bombed every university in the Strip, razing campuses, libraries, and archives to the ground. In the West Bank, they have surveilled and arrested hundreds of student organizers while also cracking down on political education efforts in Israel’s prisons. To quell opposition to this genocide within the imperial core, the entity and its chief co-conspirator, the American ruling class, has relentlessly waged lawfare on the academic front. Last spring, as North American students occupied lawns and buildings to pressure their universities to divest from the war machine, administrators responded by banning assembly, outlawing movement slogans, and inviting riot police to brutalize protesters, all while quietly installing more surveillance cameras. Today, Columbia University is caving to every new demand of the Trump administration, including adherence to the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance’s falsified definition of antisemitism, which prohibits, *inter alia*, “drawing comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis.” None of this has prevented the truth of the situation from effecting the greatest upheaval in consciousness since the late 1960s.

Everyone knows about Palestine because of the students: This is the refrain we have heard from the ground again and again, whether we are interviewing organizers at Birzeit or speaking with young journalists in Beit Hanoun. The seething persistence of the enemy’s attacks on education signals the threat that Palestinian knowledge production and student protest pose to the Zionist project. By studying their history and passing it down to successive generations, by developing stronger analyses of Zionism and better strategies to fight it, by turning Zionist prisons into schools, Palestinians have kept the flame alive through 75 years of empire’s attempts to extinguish resistance.

Keeping the flame alive sometimes means burning low so we don’t burn out. It means watching, studying the enemy’s movements, biding our time until the moment is right for a conflagration. We offer this issue — the Disorientation Edition — at a time of staggering devastation in Gaza and demobilization in the West Bank, but also a moment where many students in North America, their easier material conditions notwithstanding, are demoralized and fatigued by the racism and repression that comes with advancing this righteous cause. We find ourselves asking: How can we best be of use to the movement for Palestinian liberation from our various positions in, around, and against the university? How can we support revolutionary cultural production? How can we struggle with the masses amid new regimes of surveillance and racialized class warfare? How can we fight back and win?

Published in collaboration with the editors of *The Written Resistance*, a quarterly newsletter by National Students for Justice in Palestine, this issue of *The New York War Crimes* offers some, but not all, of the answers. We are moved by the experiences of students across the U.S. who refuse to let the state and school administrators stop the fight against Zionism and imperialism, and we are honored and proud to publish testimonies from young people in the Strip who continue to study together despite famine and displacement.

Last year, from a tent in Rafah, Tamer Abumousa defended his master’s thesis on the psychological stressors experienced by education counselors in Palestine — a testament to his people’s efforts to preserve Palestinian knowledge production. He is one of many reminding us that the popular university is already here.

As a new school year begins, it is incumbent upon us all to come together in study, in struggle, and in strategy sessions, using all our collective strength and knowledge to fight for a liberated Palestine in our lifetime.

REBELLING AGAINST THE PRISON AND THE UNIVERSITY

Continued from page 1

With a growing number of advanced degree-holders, a new bachelor’s degree in Political Science was later inaugurated. An educational and administrative body was established within the prison to address registration, organization, scheduling, and academic guidance. Former graduates would participate in teaching and administration, each according to his specialization. Among the most prominent members of this body are the martyred prisoner Walid Daqqa, the freed prisoner Karim Younis, and several who remain incarcerated, including Ahd Abu Ghulameh, Ahmed Saadat, Ibrahim Hamed, Abbas al-Sayed, Hussam Shaheen, Thabet al-Mardawi, and Yasser Abu Bakr.

What role has Hadarim University played: first, as a site of academic education and intellectual study, and second, as a site for knowledge production that crystallizes the Palestinian narrative from within the Zionist prison? What added value has the university offered as an institutional structure within the prison, as compared with the informal education “cells” that also proliferate within carceral spaces? I argue that what makes Hadarim University unique is a confluence of its position as a site of knowledge production and humanistic inquiry, in addition to its oppositional stance towards the Zionist jailer.

A Site of Knowledge Production: Resisting the Institution of the Prison Through the Institution of the University

Hadarim University is a site of politicized knowledge production about Palestine. The institution contributes to a different reading of the Zionist colonial prison, that coercive and isolating space that is transformed by prisoners into a space for resistance, maneuver, and connection with the outside community. Hadarim University arms its students and graduates with new forms of knowledge in which practice and application precede academic theory. The pedagogy of hope precedes the pedagogy of education. It can be considered an institution within an institution: a modern educational institution that has shed its authoritarian pedigree housed within a prison, a modern colonial institution that exists to control, discipline, and dominate. The function of the university is to negate the function of the prison as an apparatus of domination. If prison, in the Zionist colonial context, aims to deprive the prisoner of his freedom, exile him from his society, and strip him of his faith in himself, then Hadarim University aims

to negate these forms of repression at both the personal and collective level. Since the Second Intifada in 2000, the Palestinian Captive Movement had been beleaguered by divisions and setbacks that were overcome through Hadarim University; the increasing unity in the lead-up to 2017 made the hunger strike that year possible.

The pedagogy of hope precedes the pedagogy of education.

Most importantly, Hadarim University transforms the prison into a barrack — or a site of research and knowledge production, focused on studying and analyzing the colonizer’s tools and methods and dismantling colonial hegemony up close. The prisoner’s presence inside the carceral complex enables him to describe and examine it closely. Hadarim University adopts the standard course of study at Al-Quds University, adhering to its course requirements: a bachelor’s in political science and a master’s in “Israeli” studies — specializing in regional studies, which includes twelve courses that students must complete within two years. Students are unable to submit a master’s thesis in prison due to the absence of a qualified committee for evaluation. Instead, they must complete comprehensive exams. The grades are sent to the students’ files at Al-Quds University.

Owing to the carceral conditions, Hadarim professors and students reconstruct the curriculum based on general guidelines provided by Al-Quds University and on the books, magazines, and research papers available in the prison library. This is a laborious process, as there are not enough copies of reading materials for all students in the library — there are often only single copies, unless they have been confiscated. As such, captive students create their own copies of the prescribed curriculum, which are often passed down from generation to generation. A special intimacy develops between the prisoner and the hand-copied material; the tedium of the transcription adds value and purpose to the educational process.

The content of courses at Hadarim University, which all fall under the banner of Palestine studies, varies between compulsory courses and electives chosen by the prison faculty. Some courses cover political and economic issues, such as the “Security Forces” course in the master’s program. Others deal

with social and cultural issues, such as the “Social Movements and Political Change” course, a compulsory requirement for the bachelor’s degree, and the “Women and Men in Human Societies,” which is an elective. In addition, Hadarim University organizes annual public lectures within the various courses in the master’s program, creating community.

Some courses examine the structure of the Zionist military apparatus, including the “security” apparatus and various army units, while others scrutinize the internal structure of Israeli society. This provides the student-prisoner with an opportunity to learn about Israel and to develop critical knowledge of prison guards in their most fortified spaces. Of particular importance here is the annual lecture held as part of the “Security Services in Israel” course in the master’s program, in which an open dialogue amongst the prisoners allows individuals to share stories about interrogation. They reflect on the physical and psychological dimensions of the experience and question the formation of subjects when they are “defenseless individual[s] facing a state armed with military expertise.” The gatherings offer space for “collective and honest disclosure of prisoners’ experiences of interrogation by the Shin Bet, constituting a form of psychological rehabilitation that enables prisoners to come to grips with their human weaknesses, engaging in self-reflexivity required for the work of the resistance.”

Despite being bound by the bureaucratic procedures of Al-Quds University, which mandate exams and grading, Hadarim University still manages to transcend such complexities by transforming the margin (prison and prisoner) into the center (university and student). Ultimately, the goal is to arm the captive-student with “a critical, liberating, and not mobilizing national consciousness.”

The rebellious act of transforming the prison into a university led to a clash between the prisoners and the Israeli Prison Service (IPS) over its repeated attempts to disrupt lectures. Syed Hussein Alatas [a Malay scholar] understands these confrontations as “cluster operations,” or Zionist colonial practices necessary for maintaining intellectual imperialism. In 2018, IPS personnel disrupted the “Hadarim educational circle” that assembled in the prison yard. They confiscated the circle’s chairs following the colonial law of the so-called “Erdan Committee,” which sought to ban education in prison. They then conducted room searches and issued strict regulations over educational material. According to Basil Ghattas, each prisoner was allowed to possess only eight books.

Additionally, several bachelor’s faculty members from the ranks of the prisoners were transferred out of Hadarim.

But the prisoners would not be deterred in their recalcitrant opposition to the IPS. They leveraged the transfers out of Haradim Prison (and thus, out of Hadarim Prison University) to spread their educational programs and experiences to other carceral spaces. As such, the master’s graduates from the ranks of the incarcerated — who were forcibly or voluntarily reallocated — became messengers for new forms of knowledge production.

The struggle at Hadarim University is evident in Barghouti’s description of failed Israeli attempts to abolish the educational processes. He writes: “When we decided to teach and study, we did not submit a request to the jailer or ask for his permission. Rather, we rebelled daily against the denial of our rights, at the level of both form and content. Today, after a decade of trial and error, this experiment [Hadarim University] has spread to many carceral sites, such that it is impossible for the jailer to put an end to educational programs in prison; their only recourse is disruption and obstruction.”

The relationship between the captive and the jailer is tense; it is a struggle between adversaries. The jailer observes some form of education taking place at Hadarim through the surveillance cameras and tries to disrupt the activities. The prisoners know that the jailer’s primary duty is to maintain “calm,” avoid chaos, and prevent any clashes with the prisoners. By virtue of their power and perseverance, the captives manage to rebel and resist the jailer, transcending the laws of the prison. They do not seek the approval of the prison administration, for they know that their efforts to self-organize would be quashed. This is precisely what threatens to unravel the coercive relationship between the jailer and the captives, or the oppressor and the oppressed. The oppressed here refuses to submit to the disciplinary whims of the oppressor; instead, the captives at Hadarim decide, prepare, and act.

Qasam al-Haj is a Palestinian scholar teaching at Birzeit University. The text above is excerpted from an essay first published in the inaugural issue of Al-Janub: The Palestinian Journal of Liberation Studies, a new initiative aiming to produce and circulate militant research about Palestine and the global south in service of liberation. In the essay, al-Haj attends to the perspectives of captive scholars and thinkers, many of whom she interviewed herself.

This excerpt was translated from Arabic by members of the New York War Crimes editorial collective.

Kwame Ture: ‘It is better to die on our feet at age 26 than to live in starvation and die at age 76.’



Illustration featured in the SNCC newsletter, July 1967.

On August 31, 1968, Black Power leader Kwame Ture, formerly known as Stokely Carmichael, gave the keynote address at the Convention of the Organization of Arab Students in the U.S. and Canada, held at the University of Michigan. Speaking as the honorary prime minister of the Black Panther Party, Ture was joined by three to four hundred Arab students, as well as members of the Iranian Students Association, the Organization of Syrian Students, and the Young

Socialist Alliance.

“The Palestinians have a right to Palestine because it belongs to them,” Ture says plainly in this speech, reflecting the convention’s focus on Palestinian revolution. In this talk given a year after the Six-Day War, he discusses Black radicals’ changing perspective on Zionism, the importance of spreading propaganda against Zionist ideology in the U.S., and other issues confronting Black and Palestinian solidarity.

This excerpt has been lightly edited for length and clarity.

Good evening brothers and sisters. It is indeed a great pleasure to come before you this evening. This is one of the ties that has been too long in coming. It is far past the time that we should come together and begin to discuss our common problem because we have indeed a common enemy.

Black People and Zionism

I want you to understand that, for black people, dealing with Zionism is a new thing. I could use myself as an example. When I went to college I was totally convinced that the people of the Arab world were the most vicious people in the world. Always persecuting the poor Jews. The reason for that is because we have found that the Zionist has a very effective offensive propaganda. They state their propaganda and everyone accepts it as the truth and anyone who even tries to even question their propaganda, they put on the defensive by calling them antisemitic. It is a very, very good trick. And an extremely good one because nobody wants to be antisemitic. Nobody wants to hate people because of their race, so when I said, “Well now, why did the Jews go to Israel...” “you’re antisemitic.” I don’t want to be antisemitic, please. The way we found to counteract the offensive propaganda of the Zionists is that we state our propaganda, and that we state it offensively and we state ours as the truth and we do not bow down or question or quibble with the propaganda of the Zionists. And that is the only way we have found to be able to meet them head on. If the Zionist[s] assert that they have a right to Israel, then we assert that the Palestinians have a right to Palestine. Once we answer that, then there can be room for discussion. If we accept the assertion and begin to quibble with the Zionist, there is never room for discussion. But once we assert that the Palestinians have a right to Palestine because it belongs to them, then there can be room for discussion in this country. And that is precisely what we did, trying very hard last year to calculate assertives which would for once put the Zionist on the defensive in this country and let

them back up their so-called state of Israel, which we all know to be unjust and certainly immoral state.

But as we move in our propaganda we must be offensive. We cannot be self-defensive. We cannot just take a position of self-defense. That certainly can be related to areas of physical combat. One cannot take [a position] of self-defense. Che Guevara clearly points out that self-defense does nothing but maintain the status quo. If one wants to change things, one must move against the status quo aggressively. That is a fact. And what the Zionists do is that they have you believe that if you move aggressively against them, you are committing an act. That is very clever. We have watched their movement. What the Zionists do is that they set up a state called Israel. And then they give the justification for that state. And then people now have to question and deal with Israel as a state. People never anymore question the foundations or the beginnings or the fact that this state came into being. As they expand after each war, the territory that they cover becomes incorporated in the state of Israel. No one questions that anymore, and then they continue to expand. Always expanding, incorporating, expanding and incorporating. Anyone who tries to fight them, becomes aggressive.

Spreading Our Propaganda

Now then, what is the role as we see fit and how can we work with our Arab brothers? Number one, we can begin to spread the propaganda against Zionism and begin to enlighten and educate the masses of our people. And we have begun to do that. Not only have we done it publicly last year, but at certain conventions, for example, the National [Conference for] New Politics in Chicago last year, we took a strong position that if those white people who call themselves revolutionary or radical wanted our support, they had to condemn Zionism. And we will continue to do that. When we work with groups we must. And we will continue to spread that. We are now trying in many of the black colleges across this country to see to it that Arab culture and Arab language become in fact part of the curriculum, so that we can begin to know more about the Arab way of life and understand what the imperial-

ists are doing.

We intend to start story books and talk about life in Arab [countries] so that our people become aware and consistent with them and begin as much as possible to fight the propaganda. Unfortunately, we do not, at this point, control the mass media. It is controlled by the United States of America, which wholeheartedly supports Israel. Unfortunately, And until we get a chance to control the mass media — you laugh, but the Zionist said they would take Israel and they did. We intend to make it clear that we will help the struggle of the Arabs in any way that we can. Not only financially and morally, but with our very lives. For a number of reasons. We are Africans. The United Arab Republic is in Africa. It is Egypt. We see Africa as our Motherland. That’s not so far-fetched. The Zionist built a propaganda that Israel was the Motherland, the homeland of the Jews. And building up this propaganda has made young Jewish people feel they have to be committed to their homeland for life or death. When the aggression took place in several cities across the world, money was raised at the snap of a finger. Young people were dropping out of school to go and fight to defend the homeland. There is no difference for black people going to fight and defend Egypt. It is our homeland, it is Africa. That may seem far-fetched, but it is not.

Fighting With Our Brothers

Finally, then, as we begin to develop or struggle more and more, there will be a lot of subversion. There will be a lot of setbacks. But we made clear now our position that we will never be intimidated by the United States of America. Not anymore, not anymore. We, better than all the oppressed people of the world, know the United States because we have lived inside of her for 400 years. No one has to tell us of her brutality, no one has to tell us of her exploitation. No one has to tell us. We know it better than everyone. We, in fact, can tell you something about it. The United States of America made its greatest mistake. Rather than like other empires which colonized their people on their own land, She had the gall to bring her subjects into her country and colonize it; after She had wiped out the Indians, of course. We aim to fight with guns in our hands, we aim to fight to the death. The

word surrender cannot exist for us. It is better to die on our feet at age 26 than to live in starvation and die at age 76. We would rather die first.

The World of Humanity

The United States is the greatest de-humanizer in the world. It dehumanizes everywhere it goes, and Israel is nothing but a finger of the United States of America. It dehumanizes all over the world. Our fight today is a fight for humanity. It is not just a fight to change systems, it is a fight for our very humanity, our freedom to live, to have the type of culture and language we desire, and to live and function and enjoy the wealth of the earth. That is our fight. We are fighting for our humanity. We must be on the forces of those who fight for humanity. We know the Arab world is fighting for humanity. We know the history of the Arab world, what little we know. Just as the Vietnamese are fighting for humanity, just as our forces in Africa are fighting for humanity, Latin Americans are fighting for humanity, the black American is also fighting for humanity. We stand clear with the Third World and Arab world. As long as you invite us we will come. We don’t care what the State Department says, we don’t care what the C.I.A. says, we don’t care what Lyndon Baines Johnson says, as long as we have legs we will travel. They cannot stop us from going to Algeria. They cannot stop us from going to Syria. If you invite us, we will come. We are men. We will go where we want to go, learn what we want to learn, see what we want to see, talk with whom we want to talk, and fight with whom we want to fight. You invite us, we will come. We will come.

The world of humanity now turns; the oppressed are beginning to feel their strength. We are beginning to feel our power. The Mistress of Ceremony is absolutely right. It is in our unity that we will find victory, and we are not worried about unity. The contradictions, as I said before, will force that unity.

Now there are two dreams I have in my life. My dreams are rooted in reality, not in imagery. I dream, number one, of having coffee with my wife in South Africa. And my second dream is, I dream of having mint tea in Palestine.

Arwa Saleh: ‘We could not see clearly enough the ground on which our feet stood.’

Arwa Saleh was a leader of the Egyptian student movement in the difficult and exciting late Nasserist period, during which Egypt’s defeat in the Six-Day War was followed by a mandatory indefinite draft, provoking rebellion among the young. Through sit-ins, strikes, and street protests, and despite state repression, Saleh’s generation of activists gained mass support for the liberation of Sinai, leading to the October War in 1973.

But the October War in turn led to the Camp David Accords, among other betrayals. By the time Sinai was liberated in 1982, Saleh had broken with the Egyptian Communist Workers Party, the underground organization that grew out of the student movement, and left Egypt for Spain. She remained a Marxist, as her 1991 memoir of the movement, The Stillborn, makes shinningly clear. Yet her disenchantment with vanguardism impelled her to devote the rest of her life to, essentially, crit-self-crit. In 1997, she killed herself.

Today, as the Zionist entity prepares to recapture parts of Sinai for the purpose of displacing Palestinians from Gaza en masse, and as Egypt leads the Arab states in fatal complicity, Saleh’s indictments carry a fresh sting. She was rebarbative, but often she was right.

The following passages from The Stillborn have been edited for length.

One of the ironies of this bitter life — or of history, if you prefer — is that our generation of seventies intellectuals or leftists or militants (and their imitators in many cases), which was so cruel in denouncing the revolutionaries of the preceding generation, readily took its seat at the great feast of nihilism without having sung even half a song. We truly believed that making history was quite an easy thing — how young and unseeing we were! And still, we cast about for a role that turned out to be even more pathetic than the one played by the sixties generation. The intellectuals of the sixties moved us deeply with their half-songs after all; with fiction and poetry whose melancholy pierced through all the lies and made something that deserved to be called art, great art even. But history didn’t spare them, and it rushed us along before we had even begun.

Two Stories from the Same Trench

The sixties generation were the offspring of Egypt’s last popular mass movement; this was the experience that shaped them. And then they suddenly found themselves in a new and strange time, living under a regime that brutally suppressed ‘the people’ in whose name it claimed to rule. They were victims of a violent transition between two historical moments, both of which were difficult to defend. They became alienated, first from the masses, because they refused to believe in the regime that had enchanted everyone with its ‘triumphs’, then from themselves, because they were incapable of resisting a regime that claimed to be leading the battle against imperialism.

As for us, we too were overcome by the bitter irony of history. We had imag-

ined that we were the children of a new era, an era in which the people would finally declare their independence from the Nasser regime, but we were wrong. In reality, the student movement was a cornerstone of the regime’s mythology.

The Student Movement: A Beginning or an Ending?

The people wanted the regime to go to war. It never occurred to them that anybody else could wage the battle against colonialism (the regime had trained them to believe this). They themselves certainly couldn’t do it — and all alone no less! Nor did it occur to the students whom we set out to persuade of the necessity of fighting a popular war of liberation, that we were asking them to part ways with the regime. Perhaps if we had remained suspended in that situation (which became famously known as the state of ‘not-war and not-peace’) for long, a truly independent popular movement might have really taken off. But the word ‘perhaps’ in relation to history throws open the door to the devil’s mischief. Who would have had the patience to wait for that ‘perhaps’ to come to pass in a state of not-war and not-peace?

Sadat [Egypt’s third president, succeeding Nasser in 1970] certainly didn’t wait. Instead, in these conditions, the student movement actually made him speed up the peace negotiations with Israel and aborted any possibility of a mass movement. The people had never known what it meant to be independent of the regime and its interests. How then could they have had an independent perspective on what was happening? They were fated to follow the road to its very end before waking up to the reality of their separateness, their independence. The regime meanwhile still had a long way to go in order to gradually come to terms with the concessions required of it under the hanging sword of the occupation. It was a bloody road of war and death whose ultimate destination was surrender.

The student movement was the expression of this transitional moment in the life of the Nasser regime. The masses only ever gained a measure of independent consciousness in step with the regime’s developing positions. The explosion of the student movement onto the political scene was the result of a crack in the walls of the regime’s house, a house of which it was still, nonetheless, the undisputed master. The masses were sympathetic to the student movement because it ‘pressured’ the regime, not because it sought to overturn it. From the people’s point of view, there was as yet no strong justification for outright antagonism.

It was no coincidence then that the student movement was the hero of the day, and that the broader public looked on with an innocent delight out of step with the climate of struggle. The people were not conscious of belonging to distinct classes with distinct interests in the conflict. They did not understand the principle of actively independent social relations. These relations were muddy and obscure; any approach to them was only possible through the iron gates erected by the leader.

This was the heart of the matter. People had grown accustomed to the regime speaking on their behalf and on behalf of their interests. They could not see that behind its flabby nationalist jargon, behind its analysis of the national ‘struggle’ (whose ambitions were growing more minuscule by the year) the regime was intent above all on preserving its own existence. Everything else was up for negotiation, including what mattered most to the masses, the interests of the nation. The nation, the regime and the people were supposedly all the same thing, without distinction. So when the regime managed to save its own skin and the national struggle fell to pieces, the people had not yet begun to understand the real measure of difference between these two things. Because of this, the aftermath of the war was completely mystifying; no one understood that the regime had been fighting to save itself, not the country as a whole.

The student movement, however, got what it had demanded. The regime waged an utterly useless war and silenced the movement for good in the process (that’s really what happened!). When the regime went to war in 1973, it had given up on its illusions of 1967 about how to deal with the ‘consequences of the aggression’. In 1967, the possibility of ‘compromise solutions’ with Israel and the United States was still on the table. Both these countries remained deeply suspicious of the regime, so long as it retained even half a measure of national sovereignty or self-respect in its dealings with Israel. Formal recognition of Israel — meaning, recognition of Israel’s right to the lands it had seized in 1948 and of its structure as a racist state — was not enough. Instead, the demand was for reconciliation and naturalization.

In the same way, non-alignment was not enough: ‘special’ relations with the United States were required. A reasonable share of our national economy was not enough; total liberalization was demanded, so that the economy could be pillaged more effectively in the rush to a ‘free market’ in which we ourselves would have no part. Nothing about this free market was free, of course. It was built on coercion and enforced hardship barely concealed by the thin veil of national sovereignty. At first, the regime calculated that the concessions would end with the first set of demands and convinced the people that this was in fact possible. But the real world was one of extremes: it had no room for Nasserist compromises. The regime learnt to be realistic during the Israeli occupation of Sinai. It discovered that the age of resistance and of all its grand projects to change the world was over. But it declined to inform the people of this.

The student movement was weak because it was forced to confront murky and confused historical conditions (though ‘the struggle’ seemed at that time so simple and clear), and because it was rooted in an ineffectual and dependent class. This was the (student) petty bourgeoisie; a class that belonged at the time (in its sentiments and in many of its privileges, universal free education being the most important) to the Nasser regime. The historical moment repre-

sented a stage in the development of our people’s consciousness — a consciousness that had been locked up by Nasser in the prison of childhood minority.

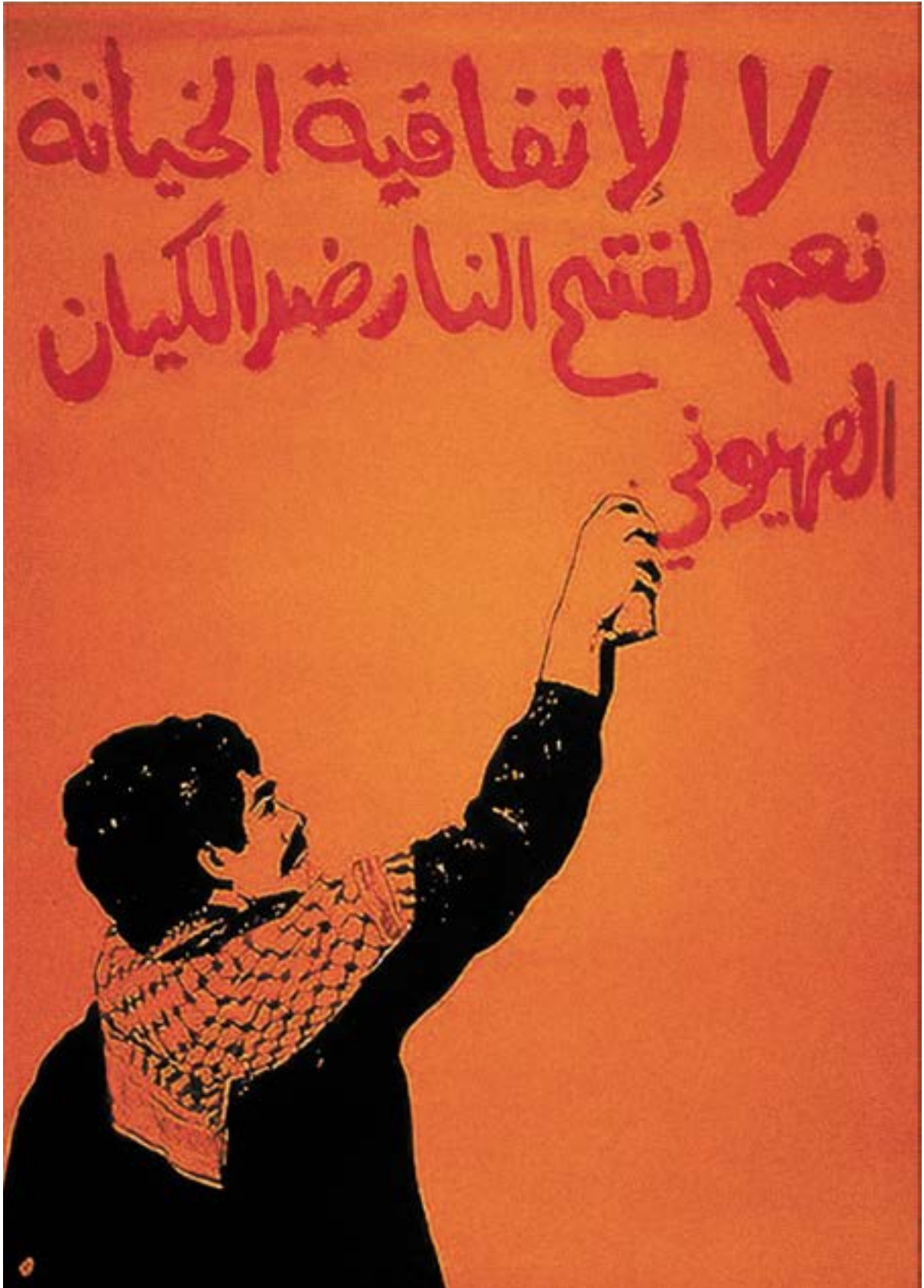
The Age of ‘Endings’ Isn’t Over

The student movement was born at the end of an era. It was destined to turn the page on a cherished, expiring past and to usher in a new and oppressive historical moment. It missed the opportunity of opening up a real path to independence for our people — and maybe this was exactly what was never meant to be in the first place.

When the bourgeoisie finally decided on its course of action and, exploiting the war’s ‘momentum’, radically transformed the state’s socialist and nationalist direction, there was no political force to oppose it on the ground. The student movement evaporated along with the new possibilities it had brought into being, and its leaders found themselves out in the cold, condemned to taste the same contempt they had heaped on the generation of the sixties. They too had become leaders without followers. We came to know the meaning of fatigue and despair. We witnessed the ‘betrayal’

of Marxist thought and the celebration of the most noxious ideas to come out of the declining bourgeoisie’s bag of tricks. We too were crushed by the wheel of historical transition. We thought it was our time and that we would change it, but we could not see clearly enough the ground on which our feet stood. It became apparent — yet again — that the time of true leaders had not yet come. In either case, the people remained defenceless, as did their intellectuals and militants. Heroes do not emerge in the absence of epics.

But the story continues.





THE BOYS: “Scenes like these are all too familiar to most of us by now. They stir a lot of emotions. They are iconic. They signify the Palestine we envision. Masked faces making acrimonious gestures as they throw rocks at entire armies, setting tires aflame, in with their whole bodies, into places most of us wouldn’t dare to be. They’ve come to represent the kind of resistance most are unwilling, or too afraid, to inhabit. So we cheer, we applaud, and we photograph. I took these photographs on January 19, the first of many nights of scheduled prisoners’ release in an exchange deal between the Zionists and the resistance. We stood not far from Ofer prison, waiting for the bus to arrive, carrying more than 90 of our freed hostages. For hours, the boys stood alert, moving together as if according to a plan that, in truth, did not exist. Perhaps it is easier to make them heroes and assign meaning in their gestures than it is to admit that they are children on the front lines, shouldering a weight no child should carry. They are not symbols. They are not abstractions. To call them children is not to strip them of agency or belittle their choices, but to acknowledge the cruelty of a world that has made their lives so precarious.”

— Dina Salem, photographer

The Path of Most Resistance

By STUDENTS ALLIED FOR FREEDOM AND EQUALITY
AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Organizing under repression is the legacy of our movement. We know that criminal charges, disciplinary proceedings, and FBI raids are not the exception, but the default response to any liberatory struggle. Through almost two years of livestreamed genocide in Gaza, while we watched nearly daily massacres and we recited the names and stories of Hind Rajab, Sidra Hassouna, and Hossam Shabat, our universities poured billions of dollars into the Zionist entity. Our movement is being targeted because Palestine can no longer be ignored on our campuses and across the world. This struggle has cemented itself as a popular mass movement, with thousands of people, students and workers, globally refusing complicity or complacency. So, the fight on our campus persists, not just in spite of repression, but because of it.

The University of Michigan, like many higher education institutions across the country, is ideologically and financially invested in Zionism. It attempts to normalize both the occupation of Palestine and the university’s own encroachment into surrounding communities through its academic ties and endowment investments. Speaking at a conference organized by the openly Zionist “Anti-Defamation League” earlier this year, ex-UMich president Santa Ono bragged about responding to calls for disclosure and divestment by “invest[ing] even more.” Activists estimate \$6 billion of our endowment is tied up in occupation and genocide.

Since October 2023, the University of Michigan’s Board of Regents has escalated their repression of our movement through every available channel. Protestors have been arrested, brutalized, banned from campus, held in jail overnight, and forced to undergo retaliatory criminal and student disciplinary proceedings. The Regents have spent over \$4.15 million on private security for 24/7 surveillance, hiring outside consultants to discipline students and suspend SAFE, and creating full-time “activism response” positions. They worked hand in hand with the Michigan State Attorney General Dana Nessel, a vocal Zionist to whom many of the Regents have close personal, professional, and financial ties, to bring about baseless and unprecedented criminal charges after the UMich encampment raid and subsequent demonstrations. In April, Dana Nessel, still in collaboration with the Regents, escalated the situation by sending the

FBI to raid the homes of UMich activists, citing only “multijurisdictional acts of vandalism” (a crime that does not exist!). The intent is clear: to isolate us from the broader movement for Palestine, and to instill fear not only in activists, but in our families, our communities, and anyone thinking of joining the fight.

This repression is coordinated and deliberate. It is meant to disorient, isolate, demobilize, and distract us from the compass of our movement—Palestine. Instead, the Regents’ desperate attempts underscore the potency of our organizing, the urgency of our work,

Even the combined strength of the university and the state cannot break a movement with history on its side.

and the inevitability of our victory. Every time the university and the state have attacked us, we’ve built deeper connections. When the university sent police from 10 different units to brutalize protestors at a sit-in in November, hundreds of protestors stayed outside the building for hours until everyone was released. After the protest, those same students and community members reached out to students to get more involved. The actions of the university’s armed agents, designed to deter, instead galvanized the crowd to further action. The morning of the FBI raids in April, people in our neighborhoods and across our networks showed up at their homes as early as 6am to keep each other safe. When a student was held in jail for four days after a university-hired surveillance company alleged that they violated bond conditions (by being on campus to attend classes, an exception their bond allowed for), people rallied through the night for their release and organized a community meal to welcome them home. While Dana Nessel pressed felony and misdemeanor charges against encampment protestors, people across the state autonomously disrupted her events, town halls, and panels until she was forced to drop the charges. At every turn our community has continued

to show up to ensure that the fight for Palestine continues on our campus. As we begin a new school year, and the third year since the beginning of escalated genocide in Gaza, it is more important than ever to counter repression by building community and being fluid in our tactics. Even the combined strength of the university and the state together cannot break a movement with history on its side. The repression we face today is not new. Rather, it is part of a decades-long pattern of targeting, waged by those who fear the anti-imperialist awakening that comes with Palestine solidarity in the West. Once awakened, this consciousness cannot be put back to bed. We now know the history of those who refuse to stray from the fight for liberation and return. We see Georges Abdallah, one of the longest-standing political prisoners for the Palestinian struggle, declaring that he will “return to the path of resistance until Palestine is free” immediately upon his release from French prison this past July. We see Milad Daqqa, daughter of Walid Daqqa, representing the unconquerable nature of this struggle. Her birth represents a people who continue to choose life. Even here in the U.S., we see Mahmoud Khalil released from ICE detention, despite the fascist administration’s best efforts to detain him for anti-Zionist organizing, after a public pressure campaign. This is the tradition we organize in. We do not mistake repression for defeat. The urgency of this movement has only heightened alongside the ever-mounting attacks by our universities and the state. While UMich continues to pour resources into surveilling and criminalizing protest, the genocide is only escalating. Children are starving to death in Gaza as a manmade famine intensifies. Palestinian journalists are assassinated while livestreaming the massacres. Healthcare workers and rescue teams risk their lives every day to provide care, making impossible choices amidst the collapsing healthcare system with only five major hospitals still partially functional. Every university in Gaza has been reduced to rubble while our university spends millions to stifle calls for divestment. We will not be debilitated or distracted. The intensity of the repression we face is not only a measure of the cowardice of the Regents, but also a testament to the righteousness of our cause and to the threat we pose to the rulers of the day, whose time, unlike Palestine’s time, is not infinite.

Toward Whose Victory?

By UMASS AMHERST STUDENTS
FOR JUSTICE IN PALESTINE

This past spring, a handful of us painted mock apartheid walls for our next event, a university-permitted vigil. As we painted, memories of the year before burned in our minds: masses of people carrying the shared idea of inevitable victory. The difference between then and now was night and day. Collectively, we began to ask ourselves: What’s next?

Frustrated at our perceived lack of action, some ideas flickered between us. Could we do a building occupation or perhaps vandalism? We were in pursuit of any action that could meet the moment. Having watched the genocide in Gaza unfold for almost two years, we grasped desperately for any way to transmute our grief and rage into a meaningful act of resistance. As students, we did this during the encampments, but it had been a year since—one riddled with repression and co-optation that included visa revocations, arrests, and disciplinary sanctions. Lost in the nostalgia of the recent past, we began to succumb to adventurism.

The adventurist demands, first and foremost, that we act. Regardless of the conditions, they push us to try a new tactic, promising that this will finally be the one that works. However, the terrain has shifted; repression and counterinsurgency have set us back. Yearning for the glory days of the encampments, when conditions had been made ripe for tents to spread from campus to campus, is at best distracting, and at worst harmful. Our actions last year exposed the contradictions between the state and the masses. The state’s repressive forces will violently shut down any protests that meaningfully challenge imperialism. Knowing this, we must act strategically. Our movement cannot afford more repression.

In the hours before a recent anti-ICE action, a number of would-be participants reached out to organizers. We were prepared for this concern, responding to them with a detailed safety plan. However, no amount of planning was enough to fully satisfy the alarmists. Their demand was for total passivity.

It is natural to want to protect oneself, and creating thorough safety plans for actions is also essential to ensuring the longevity of the movement. However, this does not impress the tailist. The tailist cries, “Action will bring about repression,” all while fascism hardens its grip on our people. Fascism does not require our resistance to grow; the imperial logic of the state will expand it regardless. The decision we are left with is simple: Act and be repressed or don’t act and be oppressed. Avoiding

repression at all costs will not win us anything, and it definitely will not sustain our movement. Those who are too scared to act and those who demand continuous reckless action are two sides of the same individualist coin. They center themselves in the battle against empire, thinking of their own desire to keep themselves safe or to be seen as “doing something” before considering what is actually needed in the moment.

To meet the moment is to meet the masses.

The adventurist cries that we must make all possible sacrifices for Palestine, but cannot explain how these sacrifices will change material conditions. The adventurist sees the people of Gaza as a token, and can only comprehend Palestine as a monolith of armed resistance. The adventurist, like the colonizer, dehumanizes the victims of imperialism by centering their own selfish desires.

The tailist fears that the state will crack down harder, but cannot see the communities that the state has already violently repressed. The tailist centers their own comfort amidst the violence they claim to condemn. The tailist, like the colonizer, maintains the rhetoric of obedience leading to safety.

To move beyond colonial individualism, we must ground ourselves in the decades-long struggle of Palestinians. In this moment, our role is not simply “to win,” but to persevere towards liberation. Thus comes the difficult part of organizing: sustaining the movement. It would be a disservice to anchor our organizing to the encampments — or any single tactic — when Palestinian resistance is the decades-long culmination of multivalent forms of struggle. It is the resistance fighter, but it is also Hossam Shabat, the journalist who gave his life in the name of exposing the truth of the Israeli occupation. It is Dr. Hussam Abu Safiya, the doctor still imprisoned for the sole crime of treating his patients. It is Khalida Jarrar, the feminist and Palestinian activist who was imprisoned five times for fighting injustice.

We must also acknowledge the activists who have worked for decades to make Palestine a mainstream issue in the West and look upon this legacy with gratitude and humility. To claim the militancy of the current wave of

organizing as solely our own is unfair to the steadfastness of Palestinians on the ground resisting Zionist aggression and those in the diaspora confronting the global acceptance of Zionism.

We organize around the conviction that liberation is inevitable, but we will not be Palestine’s liberators—her people will be. We must not organize like we are heroes, but accept that we are neither the first, nor the last to do so; rather, we are part of the masses of people keeping the movement alive. We can defeat tailism and adventurism with humility. First, we recognize that we are one of many in a struggle. Our actions build upon previous ones, and future actions will also build upon ours. Secondly, we recognize that no matter how seemingly insignificant we may be, the struggle is composed of all of us. Our personal failures do not lead to the movement’s failures, but our successes move us closer to liberation.

In practice, humility is steadfastness. We feel the burnout from never-ending meetings, but we remain intentional in continuing to build plans for the future. Rallies fall short of our expectations, but they hone our analyses, nonetheless. For every ten people we canvass, nine will remain indifferent, but one will join our struggle. Both the adventurist and the tailist have little faith in the masses. The adventurist believes it is impossible to raise class consciousness to the level of mass struggle. To believe this is to rush the revolution, disrespecting the decades-long movement work that gave us the theory to act on, and rushing the revolution will lead to failure. The tailist believes the masses cannot protect themselves and sabotages any attempt at changing the status quo, ignoring that it is the masses — us — that keep us safe, not any legal or state structure. The tailist prioritizes their perceived safety over the thousands murdered by the war machine, disrespecting the people who have already sacrificed so much for the promise of a better world.

To meet the moment is to meet the masses. With humility, we maintain our principled stance for the liberation of Palestine. With humility, we continue to educate the masses about the Zionist occupation and genocide. With humility, we lead the masses closer to revolution. We are in a difficult moment in our struggle. To give up is to look at the generations of people who struggled before us for a free Palestine and tell them that their work was not worth it. Victory will not be ours alone; it will belong to an intergenerational steadfastness of which we are all a part.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE’S UNIVERSITY

Continued from page 1

Universities cracked down in response. Administrators called on police to brutalize and arrest students. This made it increasingly clear that the university is not an incubator of ideas, but instead an ideological extension of the state that requires police in order to maintain the neoliberal status quo.

While the encampments succeeded in mobilizing the masses on campus, unfocused action and an overreliance on popular support that followed prevented students from building on these wins to effectively target the university.

Students struggled to focus their efforts. Some kept their attention on student governments, while others engaged with defunct mechanisms offered by their universities as forms of pacification, such as task forces and meetings with administrators. Others took to repetitive direct action that failed to exploit contradictions that had already been laid bare.

This only served to burden SJPs and send them underground in response to repression, sometimes alienating their base. Many focused on administrators themselves as the antagonists. However, administrative staff are mouthpieces of a larger university bureaucracy, not those with the actual power to implement change. Our efforts have been blocked at the highest level by the Boards of Trustees. The outright refusal of university boards to divest from genocide and honor the will of the students unveiled the institution as a critical tool of imperialism.

Only by dismantling the Board of Trustees can the masses expropriate the university’s infrastructure for the creation of a popular university.

The Boards of Trustees, often composed of corporate and state actors, represent the ruling class on our campuses and are extensions of imperial power, capitalist accumulation, and the police state. It has become clear that student resolutions and shows of support can only take us so far.

In order for us to advance our struggle on campus, we must move past building popular support as its own end. The Board does not uphold popular sentiment, it upholds imperialism. Any action we take must be strategic. We must harness popular support to systematically target and dismantle the Board of Trustees.

Who Rules Our Campuses?

In its earliest forms, the university operated as an overtly bourgeois institution meant to “culture” bourgeois youth and foster a sense of class solidarity. By the 1970s with the rise of

neoliberalism, the university had become a petty-bourgeois pipeline. It now serves to funnel students into the managerial class by promising positions at Google or Lockheed Martin. While the structure of the university has been malleable, its function is not. In all its iterations, the university has served to reproduce the capitalist-imperialist system that continues to fuel the genocide and occupation of Palestine.

Universities use the banner of liberal education to conceal their role in imperialism. But the Board of Trustees is not concerned with the university’s academic affairs. It instead ensures university operations work in tandem with capitalist interests. Boards of Trustees members are often the direct financiers and profiteers of Zionism, imperialism, and genocide.

Ronald D. Sugar, a member of the University of South California’s Board of Trustees, is also the former CEO of Northrop Grumman. Ohio State University trustee Gary R. Heminger served as the former CEO of Marathon Petroleum Corporation. In Canada, University of Waterloo board member John Saabas served as president of Pratt & Whitney, before moving onto working at Bombardier as the Head of Engineering and Technology and acting as chairman at defense company MagniX. The connections are endless.

The ruling class that oversees the university funnels its investments to sustain war economies, fuel systems of extraction from the Global South, line the pockets of the political and corporate elite, and sustain neoliberal accumulation. Under the supervision of the Board of Butchers, the university functions as a self-renewing pool of research and investment in Empire.

As the university becomes more deeply ingrained in maintaining capitalism and empire via corporatization, the prospect of divestment from key imperial endeavors, such as the occupation of Palestine, becomes a threat to its core premise.

The Role of the Student

Following the ideological advancements made during the encampments, students must continue to critically analyze the conditions on campus and exploit the contradictions present to strengthen the political capacity of their base. We must highlight the Board as the enemies of the students, faculty, staff, and the masses, and create a united front to delegitimize its power over the university. We must attack the Board on all fronts.

Facing struggles with divestment, many students have moved to community initiatives in order to elicit change. Forfeiting the campus as a battleground only helps the university, which can continue to abet the genocide unhindered. Other students have isolated communities outside the university in favor of the student movement. We must build coalitions and work alongside other sectors, not just rely on student action as the end in and of itself. We can learn from the encampments to construct a popular university through our coalitions and build alternate structures that consolidate power in the hands of the masses. We must strive to make our education collective, through both theory and praxis.

What is demanded of us in the face of heightened repression and dorman-

cy is to innovate towards new and creative ways to dismantle the Board of Trustees and, thereby, the university. We must maintain faith in our struggle towards divestment for Palestinian liberation and demonstrate that commitment through our actions. The Gaza solidarity encampments were unique not only because they were the furthest the student movement had escalated since this current phase of the genocide began, but also because they reclaimed the university, a fundamentally Zionist institution, for the people fighting for revolution.

Towards a Popular University

The goal of NSJP’s Popular University campaign during the Spring 2024 encampments was to undermine universities’ legitimacy by constructing counter-spaces on campus. This was done through sustained popular pressure and disruption, repurposing the institution into a base for grassroots political education that could grow the struggle for Palestinian liberation both on and off campus.

While the encampments imagined the popular university as a physical space, its framework relies on the idea that knowledge should be moved from the people to the people in order to raise their consciousness and maintain our struggle. The martyred intellectual, Basel al-Araj, a Palestinian revolutionary and writer, was heavily involved in the original Popular University in Palestine, which revived the masses’ understanding of revolutionaries and acts of resistance.

In the context of our current fight against the Board, the popular university serves as an alternate structure that students can tangibly create as we struggle against the university’s proliferation of genocide. It acts as a model under which we can unite faculty, staff, and community to strategize on how to seize power from the Boards and put it into the hands of the masses.

In our campaigns calling out the Board of Trustees, we must consolidate power through our connections with each other and delegitimize university functions — such as the propagation of knowledge and the production of research — by countering them with our own. Through organizing ourselves this way, we can attack the university more precisely and effectively, turning popular support into mass power.

In order to remove the university as an imperial actor, its structure as it exists must be rebuilt. We must mobilize all sectors on campus—students, staff, and faculty—and work alongside the community to remove the ruling class from our campuses.

Only by dismantling the Board of Trustees can the masses expropriate the university’s infrastructure for the creation of a popular university as Basel imagined it.

We will reclaim the university as a place for critical learning, political clarity, and collective liberation, born from the masses, built for them, completely divested from the machinery of genocide and oppression. The destruction of the university bureaucracy will cement divestment and prevent any half-promises that cut ties to genocide in one area only to reestablish them in another. The Student Intifada has torn open the floodgates for the campus to be permanently transformed.



University of Louisville students at a Nakba Day rally on campus in the spring of 2024. Melody Peace

Zionism in the Deep Red

The Unique Conditions of the Student Intifada in Kentucky

By UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE STUDENTS FOR JUSTICE

In the past two years, the student movement has exposed how Western universities act as weapons of the state, directly and indirectly reproducing imperialist and Zionist ideology. The entry points for thinking about this dynamic often include the university’s role as a real estate enterprise through its displacement and gentrification in vulnerable communities, its employment of riot police to beat down students, and its appointment of unelected and unaccountable boards of trustees that prioritize the interests of the capitalist class.

Organizing with Students for Justice in Palestine at the University of Louisville has been a tumultuous experience. We’ve had to understand first, the unique position of Kentucky and its residents regarding displacement, gentrification, and police brutality; second, how to organize for Palestine in a state without long-term organizing infrastructure for Palestine; and third, the role the ruling class plays in Kentucky concerning Zionism, both historically and in the present.

Kentucky has continually been abandoned by the American left, particularly the Democrats, for many reasons, including classism and extreme wealth gaps between the ruling and working classes. All of this despite the fact that Kentucky and Appalachia at large have seen some of the most overt instances of popular struggle in the 19th and 20th centuries, including America’s largest labor uprising, the Battle of Blair Mountain. The area also hosted an important abolitionist network across the Ohio River in the 19th century. A leftist lack of consideration has created a power vacuum in the state, allowing it to become a hotbed for conservative ideology and turning it deep red.

Kentucky’s robust tenant unions have a more recent history of standing in solidarity with the fight for Palestinian land and life. Kentucky’s record of displacing residents in the West End, a historically Black sector of Louisville, mirrors the displacement of Palestinians in the West Bank. During the 2020 Breonna Taylor uprisings, organizers here called Palestinians in the West Bank to learn techniques for fending off the tear gas shot at them by the Louisville Metro Police Department. Protesters in Palestine had experience with these U.S.-made tear gas canisters, which not only speaks to the U.S.-Israeli exchange in tactics of violence and suppression, but also the international connections between protesters and struggles, and beyond borders.

Louisville Mayor Craig Greenberg, a devout Zionist, has complied with the Trump administration, recently allowing the Department of Justice to revoke Louisville’s status as a sanctuary city. Greenberg has made many statements supportive of the Zionist entity, attended Zionist events, and visited the Zionist entity on numerous occasions with his family. He has

also increased Louisville Metro Police Department’s funding by \$25 million for the 2025–2026 fiscal year. Through these developments, we begin to understand just how thoroughly Kentucky is invested in oppression, imperialism, and Zionism. And this extends to academia in Kentucky — particularly, the University of Louisville (UofL).

This analysis will speak to our experience organizing with Students for Justice in Palestine at the University of Louisville; however, UofL is just one of many universities across Kentucky that plays a role in reproducing Zionist ideology, including the University of Kentucky to the east and North Kentucky University to the north. Overt examples of UofL’s complicity with Zionism include its investments in and partnerships with weapon manufacturers and war profiteers, including

ing firmly against this.

UofL named its law school after one of the most dedicated Zionists of the 20th century, Louis D. Brandeis. An advisor to Franklin D. Roosevelt, Brandeis also helped form the first American-established kibbutz in Occupied Palestine in 1937 and financially and ideologically supported the Zionist entity throughout his life. Today, Craig Greenberg’s sister, Jennifer Tuvlin, serves as the senior director of development for the Brandeis School of Law. Tuvlin is a trustee of the Jewish Heritage Fund, an organization implicated in the Zionist entity’s continued occupation of Palestine: It gives financial assistance to Jewish youth to visit the Zionist entity and provides ideological cover and continued support for the genocide in Gaza.



From the West End in Louisville to the West Bank in Palestine, Zionism and imperialism will fall.

Boeing, Remington Arms, Honeywell, and other companies that UofL has relationships with through its Consortium partners. UofL’s complicity is also maintained by study abroad programs with the University of Haifa in Occupied Palestine.

As the university profits from war and genocide, UofL prides itself on the legacy of boxer Muhammad Ali, born in Louisville, who consistently took a stance in support of Palestine. It also prides itself for being one of the first universities to divest from apartheid South Africa. These are not, in actuality, UofL’s accomplishments, but rather feats of the Louisville community for which the school takes credit.

We must pay attention not only to the university’s investments and financial ties but also to the university itself as an imperialist institution. For UofL, this manifests in many ways, including a lack of education on Palestine and a deep entanglement with Zionism. Some of the institutions with the longest history of Zionist affiliation at UofL include the J.B. Speed School of Engineering and the Louis D. Brandeis School of Law. UofL’s administration and its board of trustees have functioned as Zionism’s shield, ensuring Zionism remains prevalent on campus despite the masses stand-

This September, J.B. Speed School of Engineering will commemorate its centennial, marking its legacy as an institution where weapon manufacturers and war profiteers flourish. Among the J.B. Speed School’s trustees, two are affiliated with Raytheon (Rudolph Lewis and Sean Riley), and one is affiliated with the U.S. military (Monica Greenwell). What interest would war profiteers have in serving on the board of trustees at UofL? The question seems confusing when we assume that UofL’s role is simply to serve as an academic institution; however, the answer becomes clear when we consider the university’s role as a tool for the ruling class to increase their firm grip on the broader community. UofL, like universities nationwide, has exposed itself as an enemy of the masses and students, a benefactor of Zionism, and an institution that serves the ruling class.

In our decisive moment, despite the repression we continue to face, we must recommit ourselves to the struggle for Palestinian liberation. It is our compass. As Ghassan Kanafani tells us, “History is not produced by a magic wand but is transformed by the masses who understand it and are determined to change it. This path is difficult and arduous but deserves the blood of those who fight valiantly for the sake of victory.”

Over the past two years we have seen that students in the imperial core have the power and potential to put the state into a mode of crisis. Students have also revealed the entrenched Zionism that permeates our campuses. We must continue our popular struggle through creative tactics and strategies. We must continue through collective engagement in a mass movement within our communities and aimed toward Palestinian liberation.

From the West End in Louisville to the West Bank in Palestine, Zionism and imperialism will fall.



MAY 2024: Students and comrades occupy a building at Columbia University for three days in protest of the school’s investment in the Zionist entity. Unity of Fields



MAY 1974: Students at the American University of Beirut occupy every building on campus for over a month in protest of, among other things, a tuition increase. As-Safir Archive

The Written Resistance is the only newsletter directly serving the student movement. Published quarterly by National Students for Justice in Palestine, it is a platform for student experiences and analyses, designed to foster discussion and help us unite the student movement for Palestinian liberation. Like what you’re reading? Feel inspired? Submit your work today!



Sabri Jiryis on Digging for Truth Under Zionism’s Foundations

Sabri Jiryis is a Palestinian scholar, lawyer, and writer who lived through the Nakba as a child. A citizen of '48, he graduated from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and dedicated his life to the study of the Palestinian cause and Zionism. He served in the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as director of its Research Center. He was also a member of the Palestine National Council and the Fatah Advisory Council and served as an advisor to Yasser Arafat.

Jiryis is the author of *The Foundations of Zionism*, which examines Zionism's ideological and political origins from the 19th century through the British mandate in 1923. Newly translated into English by his daughter, Fida Jiryis, the book is forthcoming in October 2025 from Ebb Books and Liberated Texts.

In this interview with Louis Allday, the founding editor of *Liberated Texts*, Jiryis explains his life's work.

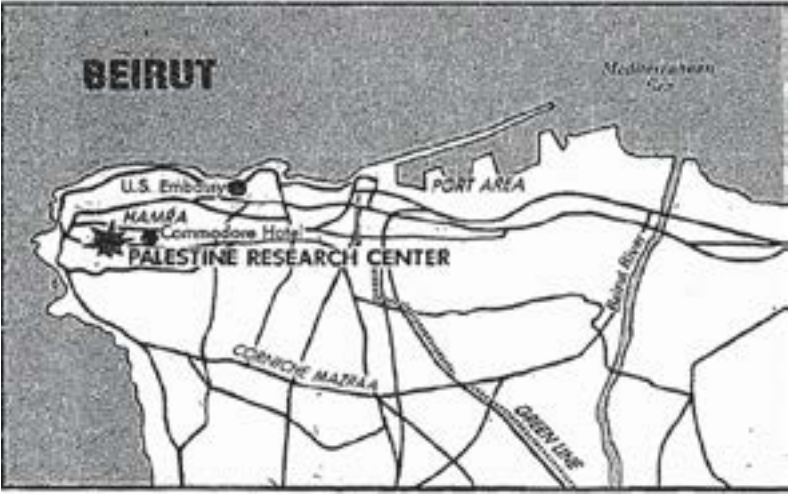
Louis Allday: Thank you for agreeing to do this interview, Sabri. For those unfamiliar with the Palestine Research Center, could you please explain what it was, how you came to run it, and its central role in cultural resistance to Zionism at the time?

Sabri Jiryis: The Palestine Research Center was established by the PLO in 1965, in Beirut, as the cultural arm of the organization, and to research and document all matters relating to Palestine and Israel, especially after the wholesale destruction of Palestinian culture during the Nakba.

I was born in 1938 in the Galilee, in Mandatory Palestine. My village was occupied in 1948 and I became a citizen of the new Israeli state. I grew up to study law and became a political activist, as a result of which I was forced to leave the country in 1970. I worked for a few years at the Institute for Palestine Studies in Beirut, then joined the Palestine Research Center and eventually came to direct it. At the time, the Center was a thriving hub of research and publication. It produced the monthly Arabic-language journal *Shu'un Filastiniyya* (Palestine Affairs) and published dozens of books and periodicals on the Palestine question and on Israel, compiling whatever it could of books and documents into a library — which was seized by Israel during its invasion of Beirut in September 1982. Five months later, a car bomb planted by pro-Israeli agents destroyed the Center and killed several of its employees, including my wife, Hanneh, who had worked with me as a researcher of Israeli affairs. Some weeks later, I was arrested by the Lebanese authorities and expelled from Lebanon with my two young children.

The loss of the Center was a huge, bitter blow to Palestinian culture. In the wake of this, the PLO made a decision to move its cultural institutions to Cyprus. The Center was reopened on a smaller scale, and a number of its employees also came to join it from Lebanon. A year later, as part of a prisoner exchange deal, the contents of the Center's library were returned by Israel to the Palestinians via Algeria.

Forty years later, the Center has been reopened in Ramallah, though I am long retired. Its library is en route from Algeria to this new location. Although the current environment is far from Beirut in the 1960s and 1970s when the Center was at the forefront of revolutionary struggle, there is an ongoing attempt to revive some of our work in research and publication.



At a time when many feel despair and are demoralized by the genocide in Gaza and Zionist expansionism elsewhere, why does empirical research remain important? What can it contribute to the struggle against injustice generally and the occupation of Palestine specifically?

Jiryis: Documenting history, and especially racist atrocities, is very important. It gives future generations accurate information on the events that have transpired and will greatly help, one day, to restore the rights to their owners. Also, it provides a lesson to all those with good intentions on how to prevent such atrocities in the future. And it may help stop their recurrence.

There is a deep trend of digging into history and geography to uncover the truth of all nations and countries — a worldwide body of research that only keeps growing as various nations try to come to terms with their past.

One should never give up: Silence on such atrocities is, in itself, a crime and a failure to perform one's duty. In the case of Palestine, all that has happened in the past two years has been comprehensively documented, due to modern technology, in a way that has never happened before in our history; it can never be unseen or obliterated. Future research will have an abundance of material to draw on, to expose the Israeli and Zionist crimes against the Palestinian and Arab people.

All that has happened in the past two years has been documented like never before in our history.

It is hard to imagine now, but your study 'The Arabs in Israel,' originally published in Hebrew in 1966, was so seminal in part because there was such a profound lack of awareness about the repression faced by '48 Palestinians. In the six decades since, how have things changed for this internally oppressed Palestinian population?

Jiryis: Israel's attitude towards its Palestinian Arab citizens has not fundamentally changed. Since 1948, we continue to be considered second-class citizens. The difference is that, in the first years after the founding of the state, the measures were vulgar and openly oppressive — a practice which was transferred, since 1967, to the West Bank and Gaza. After the Nakba and the founding of Israel, its remaining Palestinians whom it did not manage to expel were immediately placed under direct military rule, where their movements were restricted, their sphere of

work was limited, and their means of resistance were tightly curtailed. The change came after 1967 and the occupation of the remainder of Palestine (the West Bank and Gaza), when Israel moved its repressive measures from its own Palestinian citizens to those in the newly occupied territory. The main aim was to prevent a situation in which the Palestinians in Israel would identify with their brethren in those areas, thus keeping the Palestinian citizens of Israel isolated and forbidding the formation of a natural unit or a united front against the occupation.

How do you think the experience of the Palestinian youth in '48 today differs from your own experience growing up?

Jiryis: Israel's oppression against them now is simply more sophisticated. It takes the form of cleverly concealed laws of discrimination, trying to contain this population. But times have changed. The Arab minority of 170,000 in 1948 has grown to be more than two million, with a big change in their social structure. There are thousands of professional and intellectual Palestinians in Israel, in all walks of life, and it is difficult for the regime to ignore them. One example is very striking: the ratio of Palestinian Arabs in the medical system, which exceeds their ratio among the population. Palestinian Arab pharmacists, for example, dominate the pro-

fession in Israel. During the COVID-19 pandemic, it was said that if the Arab employees in the Ministry of Health went on strike, the state would collapse. However, a mass uprising among the Palestinians in Israel has not transpired. The livelihood of this community is intricately woven into its status as Israeli citizens and many fear backlash.

Since the war on Gaza, the Israeli state has built a complete web of repression: People have lost their jobs and schooling or been imprisoned for voicing dissent. Israel has also worked hard — and seemingly succeeded — in breaking up the pillars of the Palestinian community and creating a sense of separation among Palestinian citizens of the Israeli state from their brethren in the West Bank and Gaza. Many Palestinians in Israel are bitter and enraged about what is going on, but have no avenue to voice their feelings.

At the same time, these Palestinians,

born after the founding of Israel and who grew up as citizens of it, have a deep awareness of the discriminatory laws and find multiple ways of circumventing them. Far from my time as a young man, when people were afraid of the military rule and largely ignorant of the calculated government policy, the Palestinian Arab citizen in Israel has changed, openly coming forth to challenge these policies and practices.

The Foundations of Zionism, originally published in two volumes in Arabic in 1977 and 1986, has a fascinating back story. Can you talk a little about the research behind it? What did you hope would come of it then?

Jiryis: Since my days as a university student, I was struck by the prevailing Arab ignorance of Israel and Zionism. I thought that researching and writing about them in Arabic would serve the Palestinian cause and the Arab one. There was no shortage of material on the subject, and I was greatly helped by having studied at an English high school in Nazareth, then in the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, such that I had a knowledge of the three languages in which the sources of Zionism could be found: Hebrew, English and Arabic.

The oppression I experienced at the hands of the Israeli regime was a main motive for me to discover the perverse Zionist mentality and its manifestations in the founding of this regime. An opportunity presented itself when the regime internally expelled me to Safad, in the Galilee, in 1965, because, with some fellow activists in the al-Ard movement, I had "dared" to want to run for a seat in the Knesset. The expulsion order separated our group and prevented us from organizing or taking part in elections. I was forced to remain in Safad for three months. While walking in the town, which had been completely depopulated of its Palestinian people during the Nakba, I chanced upon a small bookstore, in which the Jewish owner sold some books by the founding fathers of Zionism. These books helped me to fill the gaps in my knowledge and the notes I made formed the blueprint for my book.

And what do you hope can come of the book now?

The aim of this English translation is to expose the Zionist fallacies and correct their forgery of history. The first point rebuffs the Zionist claim of being a national liberation movement and describes it as it is, namely, a Western colonialist movement that crystallized during the peak of Western imperialism in the second half of the 19th century. The second point explores the Zionists' role in selling themselves as agents of Western colonialist powers and their attempts at hegemony in the Middle East. A third point refutes their claims that the Jewish people, for millennia, yearned for Palestine, or the "Land of Israel" as they term it. In fact, for 17 consecutive centuries, no Jewish group anywhere made an attempt to return to this land. Zionism arose out of an exclusionist, separatist tendency among the Jews of Eastern (and later Western) Europe, who feared their assimilation with the peoples among whom they lived and took their religion to classify themselves as a separate "nation."

My hope is that this book will reveal these Zionist conspiracies with colonialism, as *The Arabs in Israel* revealed the treatment by Israel of its Palestinian citizens.

POEM

‘YOU HAVE THE WATCHES, WE HAVE THE TIME’

By JANNAH JIHAD

You put your faith in ticking things.
Gears, teeth, faces of glass: an empire
built out of seconds, mistaken
for eternity.

We bury our clocks in orchards.
Let them rot under figs and stone.
Learn to tell time by the way dust
settles after bombing, the silence
just before the adhan, the shadow
of a child running to safety
from the sniper's sights.

Our time counts survival by decades.
The olive tree remembers
a great-grandmother's hands.
The soil keeps every name
we ever whispered into it.

Our time is not passive.
It sharpens itself in silence,
grows wild between the checkpoints,
hums beneath skin like prayer.
It does not forgive,
but it outlives.

You think victory is measured
by how long you hold a hill.
But hills do not move. They wait,
watching men lose their heads,
passing secrets into the fig roots,
teaching patience to children still
crawling through rubble.

So, when your watch fails,
and it will—rusting, teeth rotting,
hands stopped on a broken wrist,
We will still be here,
waiting with the hills,
marking our calendars in stone,
measuring hours by the smell of bread
rising after siege.

You have the watches.
We have the time.

Time with roots.
Time with nerves.
Time that waits,
and swallows empires whole.

THE YOUNGEST TRUE JOURNALIST OF GAZA



The author in his press vest and graduation robe. August 26, 2025.

By ABDULRUHMAN ISMAIL

To the future that still dares to exist,

Today, I wear my graduation robe after finishing my degree in Media and Mass Communication — a dream carved out through years of study, even as the ground beneath Gaza trembled with bombardment. Yet above this robe, I still wear the flak jacket of a journalist, the armor that has failed to protect so many of my colleagues.

I write not only as a student who has just finished his degree, but as the youngest true journalist of Gaza, only 23 years old, who has already covered wars, carried cameras through the

rubble, stitched together voices into documentaries, written biographies of the fallen, and listened to the cracked voices of the bereaved until their grief became my own. The people entrusted me with their stories, and in that trust I found both my vocation and my burden.

On the very day I graduate, blood was spilled at Nasser Hospital in Khan Younis. Four of my fellow journalists, Muhammad Salama, Hossam Muhammad al-Masri, Muath Abu Taha, and Maryam Abu Daqa, were executed in by the occupation in cold blood. We had walked together through ruins, shared the same notebooks, shouldered the same duty. Now their absence echoes louder than any anthem of achievement. My diploma is heavy with their

silence.

And yet, in this twilight of devastation, I remain relentless. For even as [the English nurse and anti-war activist] Vera Brittain once wrote that a candle flickers against the infinity of blackness, so too must we hold our fragile flame aloft. My weapon is not steel, but testimony. My ambition is not vengeance, but remembrance. My creed is not despair, but the idea of peace that we, the wounded generation, still dare to carry.

I write this as a historic letter, not to glorify my endurance, but to consecrate the truth: that Gaza's youngest journalist graduates not into ceremony, but into history's darkest pages, with pen and camera as his only inheritance.

And if there is a legacy worth claiming, let it be this:
That while bombs silenced lives, they could not silence stories.

That even in a world that abandoned us, I chose to document, to speak, to resist the erasure.

That amidst the ruins, a voice still rises, not to curse the darkness alone, but to proclaim that another dawn must be possible.

Signed,
A graduate of Gaza,
Journalist of the wounded land,
A witness at twenty-three.

Abdulruhman Ismail is a photojournalist from Deir al-Balah in central Gaza. He volunteers with the World Food Programme and other humanitarian organizations in the Strip.

This letter, originally posted to X on August 26, 2025, has been lightly edited for clarity. Follow Ismail on X: @a_abdulruhman.

The Martyr Anas al-Sharif

The day after Anas al-Sharif was martyred by Israeli occupation forces, reporter Mohammed Abu Salama shared his eulogy for his colleague and dear friend. "Anas was a mountain of a man," he said, and then said again: "One of the mountains of Jabalia. A mountain from Jabalia camp."

Al-Sharif, like so many of his brothers with cameras on the front lines, foresaw his own martyrdom. An hour before he was killed in a targeted Israeli airstrike outside Al-Shifa hospital, he gave us one last warning: "If this madness does not end, Gaza will be reduced to ruins, its people's voices silenced, their faces erased." He leaves behind his wife, Bayan; his one-year-old son, Saleh; and his four-year-old daughter, Sham.

Born in 1996, al-Sharif spent more than half his life under brutal Zionist siege. He was four years old when the Second Intifada began, 12 during Operation Cast Lead, 18 at the onset of the 2014 war, and 20 on the first day of the Great March of Return in 2018. At 28 he was buried, his body returned to the land he died protecting. Over the last two years, people of conscience around the world recognized his courageous, fearless, and unrelenting coverage of the genocide in Gaza. Despite the constant threats to his life and person, his sign-off remained the same, a defiant promise: "The coverage continues."

In December, after his colleague Fadi al-Wahidi was shot in the neck by the IOF and rendered paraplegic, al-Sharif wrote for The New York War Crimes about the necessity of securing a medical evacuation for his friend. He refused our payment, insisting that it was his duty as a journalist: to share the information, to tell the story. Al-Wahidi remembered his comrade as someone who "never left my side. Despite the army's threats to him, he would come to me and not leave me alone;

he comforted me, endured with me, and lifted my spirits."

The love al-Sharif possessed for his people was reciprocated, apparent in the footage of him reporting the news of a ceasefire in January. "After more than a year, we can begin to discuss the removal of this helmet that exhausted me ... this armor that was a part of my body," he said. The men around him removed his vest and hoisted him on their shoulders as he recited the names of his martyred colleagues: Ismail al-Ghoul, Roshdi Sarraj, Hamza Dahdouh. "We announce, from Gaza and Gaza City, the news of a ceasefire." Al-Sharif, over the months to come, often spoke of his desire to relieve those moments; we too convinced ourselves that he would live forever, and imagined his voice announcing not only the last day of this war, but the day Gaza is liberated from siege and Palestine is free.

"The Nazi Israeli army insisted in cold blood to assassinate Anas and Mohammad Qreiqeh, and all the fellow journalists," Mohammed Abu Salama tells us in this eulogy. "But from this position, in the wake of Anas' passing ... We will continue the coverage! We will continue the coverage despite the spiteful ones ... We will continue to cover it for the sake of all our fellow journalists, and whatever comes down from the sky, the earth will receive."

Anas al-Sharif was born in Jabalia and remained in Jabalia. "I will not leave Gaza unless it is to heaven," he wrote to a colleague who asked why he would not evacuate. It is this dedication to the land, to his people, and to the principle of liberation by which we remember al-Sharif. We must honor him by taking up this duty to truth and to struggle. And in his memory, we must never abandon Gaza.

Rest in power, Anas. Glory to the martyrs.



نحييا الانتفاضة الطلابية

LONG LIVE

THE STUDENT INTIFADA



THE NEW YORK WAR CRIMES X THE WRITTEN RESISTANCE
ISSUE 19: THE DISORIENTATION EDITION