

FREEDOM, BY FORCE.

الحرية خاوة



SOLIDARITY SCREENINGS GLASGOW
at FALASTIN FILM FESTIVAL

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الشعب

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الجمهورية الجزائرية الديمقراطية الشعبية
Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine
Front Populaire pour la Libération de Palestine
فلاح 21 مارس التحرير للفلاح

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Poster commemorating the date of Ze’evi’s Assassination. Translates to *October 17 the rule of the people is implemented*. By the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

Solidarity Screenings Glasgow Manifesto

This manifesto is a guiding document that outlines Solidarity Screenings Glasgows' objectives, principles and strategy. It is aimed at our audience, team and collaborators.

Solidarity Screenings is a film screening initiative based in Glasgow, Scotland. (Re)building genuine solidarity through the medium of film is our contribution to the cultural front. We hope to further the growing revolutionary movement in Glasgow.

Presentations, booklets, the Solidarity Book Exchange, shared meals and discussions accompany our screenings. The screenings are free of charge to remain accessible to our audience.

Our work is an act of solidarity with liberation struggles internationally. It began in response to Al-Aqsa Flood in October 2023 in support of the Palestinian struggle for national liberation. Initially our primary focus was Arab cinema. We have since broadened our programming, although Palestine always remains our compass. We uphold Al-Thawabet, the fundamental principles of the Palestinian struggle.

The aim of our work is to confront our audience with educational and agitational screenings that move us towards liberation. Glasgow has a rich history of solidarity with movements worldwide. By highlighting under-recognised struggles, we want to build on this history - celebrating with and learning from them. Capitalism instills a pervasive nihilism in every facet of society. We oppose this. We are revolutionary optimists who are guided by anti-imperialist feminist working-class principles.

Solidarity Screenings is rooted amongst its audience. Our programming is oriented around what educates and agitates the people - rather than the curators' subjective ideas of 'taste'. Moreover, we aim to create a space that fosters transformative and revolutionary discussion. Guiding questions inform the free-flowing dialogue post-film. The films are only the first step; we must release them from the confines of the screen. Ultimately, our audience teaches us how to continuously improve each event through active engagement and constructive criticism.

A few things remain pertinent in our practice: Each screening comes with a particular purpose and theme. The presentations are the medium that conveys this most clearly. Accordingly, it is crucial to orient ourselves around liberatory and revolutionary movements. We recognise colonialism as an ongoing reality, rather than an evil of the past. We must expose it and uphold the right to resist by all means necessary. Through this we oppose imperialist narratives and disinformation that attempt to put a wedge in our solidarity.

Solidarity Screenings is a collective effort. Collaboration is an essential pillar of the project. We are always keen to have more people involved, whether as a volunteer or guest curator. If you align with this manifesto and would like to join our efforts or collaborate organisationally, please contact us at solidarity-screeningsglasgow@gmail.com.

Solidarity Screenings upholds the The Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of 'Israel' (PACBI). We urge our collaborators to join us in amplifying and publicly endorsing PACBI. For more information please see: <https://tinyurl.com/45y-bcnyk>.

“Gaza will never carry the white flag of surrender” - Statement to Lannemezan

Georges Abdallah

October 26, 2024

Georges Abdallah issued the following series of statements to the demonstration, which was read out to widespread cheers and salutes from the crowd:

Dear comrades, dear friends,

Years, very long years, behind these abhorrent walls, yet the same determination and enthusiasm always echoes in your solidarity-driven mobilization...

Knowing you are gathered here today, confronting these barbed wires and watchtowers just a few meters from my cell, fills me with strength and warms my heart. Yet, what emotion, comrades, friends, to see that, for the first time in so many years, it is not our tireless Suzanne reading this short statement. As you know, our dearly beloved Suzanne passed away a few weeks ago. Certainly she lives on forever in our hearts and memories as a vibrant flame, especially in such circumstances.

Dear comrades, dear friends,

Your solidarity-driven mobilization leaves no one here untouched; you see, the atmosphere in these dismal places, this entire prison environment, changes when the echo of active life strikes the lifeless routine of a deadly prison existence... Thus, some social fellow prisoners discover, as if by magic, even if only for a brief moment, the beauty and strength of inherently selfless human relationships, solidarity despite so many years behind bars... survivors in cultural and emotional deprivation, without real contact with society for years, this awakening of enthusiasm and humanity does not go unnoticed; it is seen in their eyes and revealed in their often sincere yet fleeting spontaneous comments.

Comrades and friends, the echo of your slogans, your

songs, and everything else, passes beyond these barbed wires and watchtowers, it resonates in our minds and transports us far from these bleak places.

Dear comrades, dear friends,

At the dawn of this forty-first year of captivity, finding you here, in the diversity of your commitment, offers a resounding rebuke to all those who counted on the waning of your solidarity momentum. It underscores that the shift in the balance of power in favor of incarcerated revolutionary protagonists always depends on the solidarity mobilization on the field of anti-capitalist/anti-imperialist struggle.

Thus, we can say without the slightest hesitation that the most meaningful support we can offer our imprisoned comrades is rooted in real engagement in the ongoing struggle. Only by embracing solidarity on this ground does the imprisonment of our comrades start to weigh heavier than the potential threats tied to their release.

Comrades and friends, in this time of global capitalism's crisis and the exacerbation of all its contradictions—this era of war, large-scale massacres, repression, fascism, propaganda and manipulation, of great struggles and mobilization, and especially of the inspiring surge of active youth amid the inherent barbarism of dying capitalism... for the first time in human history, millions of people are actively witnessing an ongoing genocide. For over 380 days, the genocidaires continue to wreak havoc in Gaza and the West Bank, now expanding their war to Lebanon with the active support of the main imperialist powers in the West. Yet, thanks to the heroic resistance of the Palestinian popular masses and their fighting vanguards, and thanks also to the massive solidarity mobilization around the world, Palestine resists and, more than ever, reclaims its rightful place at the forefront of the international scene.

With this in mind, dear comrades, dear friends, it may be useful to remember that active international solidarity is proving to be a an indispensable weapon in the fight against the ongoing

settler colonialism in Palestine and the genocidal war deeply inherent to it. It is always through this active solidarity that we can participate in changing the balance of power here, in the belly of the imperialist beast, and elsewhere in building the “Historical Bloc,” a global framework and potential subject of the Palestinian national liberation movement.

Dear comrades, dear friends,

Of course, it is urgent to do everything possible to counter and stop the Zionist barbarism under way in Gaza, the West Bank and Lebanon. The fact remains, however, that despite the genocidal, large-scale aggression against Gaza these days, in which tens and tens of thousands of martyrs and wounded have been added to the terrible widespread destruction of Gaza’s entire living space, the resistance remains unshakeable, protected and endorsed by the Palestinian popular masses. Gaza will never raise the white flag of surrender. Neither the Zionists nor any other criminal force will ever succeed in breaking the will of the resistance in Gaza.

Shame on all those who, in the face of genocidal Zionist barbarism, call for us to look the other way!

May a thousand initiatives flourish in support of Palestine and its glorious resistance!

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

Together, and only together, we will win!

Palestine will live, and Palestine will certainly win!

To all of you, comrades and friends, my warm revolutionary greetings.

Your comrade,
Georges Abdallah

Poster for George Aballah’s release from prison.
. Published by @peacebeupontheaxis (Instagram)

LONG LIVE THE PALESTINIAN STRUGGLE!
LONG LIVE INTERNATIONALISM!



FREEDOM FOR
GEORGES ABDALLAH

LIBERTÉ POUR
GEORGES ABDALLAH

الحرية لجورج عبد الله

Excerpts from Towards A Third Cinema

Fernando Solanas and Octavio Getino

March 19, 2025

[...] As a rule, films only dealt with effect, never with cause; it was cinema of mystification or anti-historicism. It was surplus value cinema. Caught up in these conditions, films, the most valuable tool of communication of our times, were destined to satisfy only the ideological and economic interests of the owners of the film industry, the lords of the world film market, the great majority of whom were from the United States. [...]

Culture, art, science, and cinema always respond to conflicting class interests. In the neocolonial situation two concepts of culture, art, science, and cinema compete: that of the rulers and that of the nation. [...] There exist our culture and their culture, our cinema and their cinema. Because our culture is an impulse towards emancipation, it will remain in existence until emancipation is a reality: a culture of subversion which will carry with it an art, a science, and a cinema of subversion. [...]

The intellectual must find through his action the field in which he can rationally perform the most efficient work. Once the front has been determined, his next task is to find out within that front exactly what is the enemy's stronghold and where and how he must deploy his forces. It is in this harsh and dramatic daily search that a culture of the revolution will be able to emerge, the basis which will nurture, beginning right now, the new man exemplified by Che – not man in the abstract, not the 'liberation of man', but another man, capable of arising from the ashes of the old, alienated man that we are and which the new man will destroy by starting to stoke the fire today.

The anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples of the Third World and of their equivalents inside the imperialist countries constitutes today the axis of the world revolution. Third cinema is the cinema that recognises in that struggle the most gigantic cultural, scientific, and artistic manifestation of our time, the great possibility of constructing a liberated personality with each people as the starting point – in a word, the decolonisation of culture. [...]

Ideas such as 'Beauty in itself is revolutionary' and 'All new cinema is revolutionary' are idealistic aspirations that do not touch the neocolonial condition, since they continue to conceive of cinema, art, and beauty as universal abstractions and not as an integral part of the national processes of decolonisation.

Any attempt, no matter how virulent, which does not serve to mobilise, agitate, and politicise sectors of the people, to arm them rationally and perceptibly, in one way or another, for the struggle – is received with indifference or even with pleasure. Virulence, nonconformism, plain rebelliousness, and discontent are just so many more products on the capitalist market; they are consumer goods. [...]

At this time in Latin America there is room for neither passivity nor innocence. The intellectual's commitment is measured in terms of risks as well as words and ideas; what he does to further the cause of liberation is what counts. The worker who goes on strike and thus risks losing his job or even his life, the student who jeopardises his career, the militant who keeps silent under torture: each by his or her action commits us to something much more important than a vague gesture of solidarity. [...]

Real alternatives differing from those offered by the System are only possible if one of two requirements is fulfilled: making films that the System cannot assimilate and which are foreign to its needs, or making films that directly and explicitly set out to fight the System.

When they [intellectuals and artists] have not been openly used by the bourgeoisie or imperialism, they have certainly been their indirect tools; most of them did not go beyond spouting a policy in favour of 'peace and democracy', fearful of anything that had a national ring to it, afraid of contaminating art with politics and the artists with the revolutionary militant. [...]

[...] Vietnam can be mentioned, but only far from Vietnam; Latin America can be mentioned, but only far enough away from the continent to be effective, in places where it is depoliticised and where it does not lead to action. [...]

Our time is one of hypothesis rather than of thesis, a time of works in progress – unfinished, unordered, violent works made with the camera in one hand and a rock in the other. [...] ‘Knowledge begins with practice. After acquiring theoretical knowledge through practice, it is necessary to return to practice.’ Once he has embarked upon this practice, the revolutionary filmmaker will have to overcome countless obstacles; he will experience the loneliness of those who aspire to the praise of the System’s promotion media only to find that those media are closed to him. As Godard would say, he will cease to be a bicycle champion to become an anonymous bicycle rider, Vietnamese-style, submerged in a cruel and prolonged war. But he will also discover that there is a receptive audience that looks upon his work as something of its own existence, and that is ready to defend him in a way that it would never do with any world bicycle champion.

In this long war, with the camera as our rifle, we do in fact move into a guerrilla activity. [...] A revolutionary film group is in the same situation as a guerrilla unit: it cannot grow strong without military structures and command concepts. The group exists as a network of complementary responsibilities, as the sum and synthesis of abilities, inasmuch as it operates harmonically with a leadership that centralises planning work and maintains its continuity. [...]



Guerrilla film-making proletarianises the film worker and breaks down the intellectual aristocracy that the bourgeoisie grants to its followers. In a word, it democratises. The film-maker's tie with reality makes him more a part of his people. [...]

This cinema of the masses, which is prevented from reaching beyond the sectors representing the masses, provokes with each showing, as in a revolutionary military incursion, a liberated space, a decolonised territory. [...]

The decolonisation of the film-maker and of films will be simultaneous acts to the extent that each contributes to collective decolonisation. The battle begins without, against the enemy who attacks us, but also within, against the ideas and models of the enemy to be found inside each one of us. Destruction and construction.

The unabridged version can be found on <https://unityoffields.net/towards-a-third-cinema/#zine>

Sulafa Jadallah and Hani Jawhariyyeh, 1967-1968. Courtesy of Khadijeh Habashneh.



I am Gaza

Yemen's Abdussalam Al-Qahoum

I am Gaza, where fire and triumph reside,
I'm the one who made small foes taste their pride.
I'm the lioness of my own terrain,
A revolution challenging the siege's chain.

I'm a herald of hope for the world's embrace,
Carrying the noblest victory to Jeraslum's grace.
I belong to the Hashemite line,
A sanctuary for the oppressed, like a sign.

I am Gaza, where fire and triumph reside,
I'm the one who made small foes taste their pride.
I'm the lioness of my own terrain,
A revolution challenging the siege's chain.

In Khazaa, I'm the Prophet's victorious quest,
I'm Haider, bearing the word of the best.
Civilisations were unveiled as they declined,
Nurturing the fires within every child's mind.

I am Gaza, where fire and triumph reside,
I'm the one who made small foes taste their pride.
I'm the lioness of my own terrain,
A revolution challenging the siege's chain.

The world's nation's grew, strong and inspired,
As their human spirit rebelled and aspired.
So alas to those who bought and sold my plight,
Their hopes in submission, dwindling from sight.

I am Gaza, where fire and triumph reside,
I'm the one who made small foes taste their pride.
I'm the lioness of my own terrain,
A revolution challenging the siege's chain.



We Will Not Surrender

Ansar Allah Ensemble

Our flag will not fall, we will not surrender,
 We will respond multiple and more,
 Our flag will not fall, we will not surrender,
 We will respond multiple and more.

We Yemenis, who carry Allah's sword,
 On Haidra's part, he is Ammar and Al-Ashtar,
 Children's blood is a fire that I will set,
 And turn it into a volcano against tyrants.

History has never written that I lived defeated,
 I am the history, miracles and peaks,
 !O all the world, listen,
 I swear I won't submit,
 I will write your victory, my people,
 Be patient my people and do not be suspicious.
 We Yemenis, who carry Allah's sword
 On Haidra's part, he is Ammar and Al-Ashtar.

Examples of Zawamil. A short-form of oral poetry from Yemen's tribal heritage. They are often played or performed at weddings and other social occasions, as well as resistance propaganda by Ansar Allah.

Panorama of Ze'evi's Assassination

Basil Al-Araj, translated by Resistance News Network

October 17, 2024

The month of October is a testimony that the Palestinian resistance against the Zionist occupation is ongoing, from October 7th, with Al-Aqsa Flood of 2023, to today, the 17th of October which marks the 2001 assassination of Rehavam Ze'evi.

The operation was executed by Majdi Al-Rimawi, Hamdi Qu'ran, Basil Al-Asmar, Ahed Abu Ghalama and led by Secretary General Ahmed Sa'adat as a rapid response to the assassination of Abu Ali Mustafa.

In honor of the 23rd anniversary of the 17th, the day which demonstrated "An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, a head for a head," RNN has translated and published a short story written by the martyr Basil Al-Araj, published on Al-Hadath, which follows the four comrades of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, painting the story of the operation from their point of view from start to finish, titled "The Panorama of Ze'evi's Assassination."

The anniversary of the October 17 operation... Martyr [Basil] Al-Araj wrote "Panorama of Ze'evi's Assassination."

Palestinian Event

Today, October 17, 2001, marks the 18th anniversary of the assassination of "Israeli" Minister Rehavam Ze'evi, which was carried out by three members of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). They successfully killed the "Israeli" minister using a silenced weapon.

The operation was a rapid response to the assassination of the PFLP's Secretary-General at the time, Abu Ali Mustafa, whom the military wing of the PFLP is named after [Martyr Abu Ali Mustafa Brigades]. Despite the many years that have passed since that operation, the "Israeli" occupation continues to detain the Secretary-General of the PFLP, Ahmad Sa'adat, who is serving a 30-year sentence, along with 40 other leaders who are serving various sentences. Only 40 days after the assassination of Abu Ali Mustafa by the bombing of his office in Ramallah, the PFLP decided to retaliate and take revenge, and Minister Rehavam Ze'evi was the target.

The assassination of Ze'evi, the former general in the occupation army, the minister who advocated for the "transfer" policy against Palestinians, and one of the key founders of "Israel," was a significant blow to the "Israeli" establishment due to the rapid response and the high-profile nature of the target.

Here, we republish an article written by the martyr Basil Al-Araj, titled *Panorama of Ze'evi's Assassination*:

On this day a few years ago, that young man spent his day going up and down the stairs of the Regency Hotel in Al-Quds, measuring how much time he would need to withdraw after carrying out the assassination.

He wore his best clothes, deliberately choosing uncomfortable shoes to emphasize the injury he sustained during the Intifada. He placed the Red Cross documents, which proved he had spent several months in prison, in his pocket. He searched for the keffiyeh adorned on one end with the Movement's [PFLP] emblem and headed to the Movement's office to get a membership card.

He found the rank: "Justifier" (from justification). He became angry, objected, and cursed. They told him: "Accept your fate, others have taken the rank of 'sahij' [bootlicker]."

That young man and his comrades received the order to execute assassination, along with two pistols equipped with silencers. The tasks were divided, the target was revealed to them, and they held the final meeting before the execution.

The handsome young man stood in front of the receptionist at the hotel; she smiled at him. The reception staff had grown accustomed to him from the previous days. He requested a room reservation.

He took the key and headed to the elevator. He inspected the three elevators in the hotel as required, then proceeded to his room. He had parked his golden Kia in the hotel parking lot — still unsure where Majdi had gotten it from. He sat down to check the accuracy of the fake ID card that Majdi had also given him. To avoid arousing suspicion, he picked up the phone and asked the receptionist for the numbers to girls of the night.

At the same time, Hamdi was inspecting the eighth floor. He measured the distance between Ze'evi's room and the stairs and was struck by the accuracy of the information: *Yes, just as they told me, only five meters.*

The other members of the cell had rented a car, a Punto, with Jerusalemite plates and a forged identity and were practicing the escape route from the hotel to Ramallah. They also rented another car under the name Louay Awda to be used as a monitoring vehicle after the operation was carried out.

At that moment, Hamdi had finished inspecting the hotel and decided to swim

for a bit in the hotel pool. Afterwards, he checked out of the room, paid the bill, and returned to Ramallah. Upon arriving in Ramallah, Hamdi Qur'an met with his comrades Basil Al-Asmar and Majdi Al-Rimawi at the Arab cafe.

Hamdi asked: "Basil, what have you done?"

Basil replied: "I prepared the van and loaded it with the combat equipment you gave me — several hand grenades, three pistols, and a Scorpion submachine gun. I also checked the route from the hotel to Ramallah and from the hotel to Al-Eizariya."

Hamdi: "And you, Majdi, did you secure the house in Al-Eizariya?"

Majdi Al-Rimawi: "I secured the house that will be used as a safe house in Al-Eizariya."

"We have been tasked by the General Commander of the military wing of the Popular Front to assassinate Rehavam Ze'evi in retaliation for the assassination of Abu Ali Mustafa. Ze'evi is the father of four children, 75 years old, holds the position of Minister of Tourism, and is the architect of the transfer project. He stays at the Hyatt Regency Hotel on the eighth floor. At 6:30 AM, he leaves his room for the breakfast hall, and then after fifteen minutes, he returns to his room. That's when — **boom, boom.**

"I will be the one to shoot Ze'evi, and you, Basil, will be with me in case someone is accompanying Ze'evi. And you, Majdi, will wait for us at the hotel entrance with the prepared car

"If the plan fails, we will move to the backup plan. We need to open a front in East Al-Quds using the weapons we have as part of a series of operations in response to the assassination of Abu Ali.

We need to head to the hotel now."

The three arrived at the safe house in Al-Eizariya. Hamdi inspected it, checking the entrances and exits. He instructed Majdi to provide candles, food, and a radio, and to get rid of his mobile phone for good.

Hamdi and Basil got into the car and headed to Bab Al-Amoud in Al-Quds, making sure to visit the Musrara bakery to savor the taste of the city. Meanwhile, Majdi Al-Rimawi locked himself inside the house, turned off all the lights, and closed the curtains and windows. The house belonged to another comrade named Mohammed.

The house must not raise any suspicions at all.

Majdi Al-Rimawi, born in 1966 in the Souf Refugee Camp in Jerash, has four daughters and lives with his wife and daughters in Beit Rima near Ramallah. He was an auto electrician, a skill he learned during his service in the Jordanian army.

We will never truly know how Majdi spent his night alone, what he was thinking, or how much he missed his daughters. But let us try to paint some of the details of that night ourselves.

On his way there, he passed by a bookseller on Rukab Street, near the Cookers. He stopped and browsed through the books, noticing that one of the novels was introduced by [George Habash] Al-Hakim. The novel *The Trinity of Fundamentals* was his companion that night. Yes, it was the best choice for someone who had made vanishing his constant companion.

Of course, the revolutionary poems of Nooh Ibrahim had to have played a part in his night. He sang them more than once. They were three men racing towards death, their feet rising above the neck of the executioner.

Weakness tried to creep in through thoughts of his wife and daughters, but he quickly pushed the idea away. He tried to imagine the elation on the face of every Palestinian when the breaking news would appear on Al-Jazeera. His determination then grew stronger.

Majdi tried to imagine the upcoming Friday sermon and found nothing more fitting than the verse, "If you are suffering, they too are suffering just as you are, but you hope from Allah what they do not hope for."

This is how the Imam delivered the sermon in our village on that day.

Hamdi and Basil approached the reception desk at the Hyatt Regency. The same receptionist from the previous days greeted them. She said, "Welcome, Mr. Samer Shehadeh, it seems you've been enjoying your stay with us."

Casually showing her the remaining \$1,000 that Ahed Abu Ghalama had given him as the budget for the operation, and flashing a few of his bank cards, he replied: "I'd like a room with two beds, please. I hope it's on the third floor, as I don't like heights."

At 8:00 AM, the beautiful receptionist finished all the check-in procedures. It seemed she tried to stall, perhaps hoping this handsome young man might invite her on a date. She handed him the key to the room on the third floor.

Hamdi said to Basil, “Go to the room, then take the stairs up and down several times to get familiar with the route to the eighth floor. Five meters from the emergency stairwell door, you’ll find room 816, where the target is staying.”

Hamdi headed to the hotel’s parking lot. Yes, the target was in the hotel; the white Volvo designated for the minister’s transportation was parked in its place. He then returned to sit in the hotel lobby, waiting for his comrade Basil.

Basil Al-Asmar, a 29-year-old, arrived at the room on the third floor. He was single, with a sharp temper, and surely had a lover waiting for him. He entered the room, glanced around its corners, and then stepped out onto the balcony overlooking the occupied city. He placed the bag he was carrying under the bed; inside were two pistols equipped with silencers.

Basil left the room, mimicking the movements of undercover operatives he had seen in movies. He glanced right and left, closed the door, and stepped away slightly. Then he returned to make sure the door was securely locked, as he wasn’t used to electronic keys. He thought to himself, “Our keys are different from yours,” and headed toward the emergency stairs.

Basil reached the eighth floor, which was off-limits to the public, using the emergency stairs designated for hotel staff. He walked past the target’s room.

He went down and up the stairs from the eighth floor to the parking lot three times, running down and calmly walking back up. Can I imagine the sweat dripping down his cheeks, his heartbeat growing more intense with each step, and his relatively long, smooth black hair falling over his eyes like that of a noble steed?

He was certain now that he could descend the stairs with his eyes closed.

As Basil ran down the stairs, he encouraged himself by repeating the phrase, “Death is sweet, death is sweet, death is sweet,” all the way down.

And as he ascended, breathless and exhausted, he repeated:

“Palestinian, Arab, internationalist.
Palestinian, Arab, internationalist.”

That quiet, courteous man with hair streaked with both white and black was sitting there — his name was Ahed Abu Ghalama. He had been assigned by the leadership to head the military wing in the West Bank due to his extensive military experience, numerous encounters with imprisonment, and his sharp

intelligence, keen eye, and quick wit. He was an engaged intellectual in every sense of the word.

He ordered his coffee, which he usually preferred without sugar. But that night, he wanted to remember the comrades in Cuba, so he told the young worker at the café, "I want it with extra sugar."

He had not met the three of them before, save for the meeting that brought them together in that secluded café near the park in Ramallah. He stared at them and saw in them Ali, Hussein, Abu Dharr, Spartacus, Lumumba, Omar Al-Zein, Che Guevara, Wadie Haddad, the heroes of Munich, Izz El-Din Al-Qassam, Mustafa Ben Boulaïd, Carlos, Mohammed Boudiaf, Sbeitan Awad, Yahya Ayyash, George Al-Yatim, the peasants of Vietnam, the tobacco farmers of the South, Ali Shoaib. Yes, yes, yes, they were closer to Habib El-Shartouni.

He smiled and said, "All revolutionaries share one face in my soul." He must have been reading Frantz Fanon.

Basil returned to join Hamdi in the hotel lobby. They took a walk around the hotel to review the security procedures and ensure that everything was in order.

They went up to their room to spend the night. Hamdi and Basil arrived at the room. Hamdi secured the hallway in front of the room, and then they entered.

We don't know how they spent their night, but let's paint the details ourselves:

Basil laid down on the bed with his shoes still on.

Hamdi stood in front of him and began to sing a verse from Sheikh Imam's song "Yaish Ahl Baladi" [The People of My Homeland Live] for that young man, a graduate of the industrial college in Al-Khalil.

"Poor people of our country
Oh farmer, oh maker
Oh grease of the water wheels
Oh coal of the factories."

Hamdi finished the song while Basil smiled. "Even the press will write about your case. And publish pictures of your uncle and aunt. And songs will be sung about you, Basil. Your name will be heard in the cafés. Moshira and the girls of Al-Jazeera will adore you. And your love story will spread through the alleyways."

Hamdi noticed the smell coming from Basil and said to him, “Go take a shower.” Basil responded with a laugh, “I’m not taking a bath until I’ve avenged Abu Ali.”

Basil jumped off his bed in an acrobatic move, making a loud noise, which prompted Hamdi to reprimand him with a stern look. Basil got up and pulled the bag out from under the bed.

He opened the bag.
He gasped.

“Basil, there’s no weapon. Where’s the weapon? Have we been exposed? Were we tricked?”

Hamdi smiled and said, “Do you think I’m so naive as to bring the weapon into the hotel and leave it in the room?”

Hamdi wasn’t a graduate of military or security schools, nor had he ever been formally trained, and the same went for Basil and Majdi. Instead, they relied on the intelligence of the Palestinian farmer, shaped by centuries of experience.

Hamdi continued, “The weapon is in the car. I already prepared a hidden compartment for it.”

The yellowish tint left Basil’s face, turning into a deep red out of embarrassment.

The two sat down by the small table. Hamdi took hold of a pen and paper, making sure the surface was solid to avoid leaving any trace of what he was about to write or draw, as a security precaution. He began to redraw the plan and map out the movements, repeating it aloud for Basil. This was the last time they would go over the plan.

Hamdi finished explaining, then lit the paper on fire and used it to light a fine cigarette. He said, “This feeling of luxury might just kill me — a five-star hotel, delicious coffee, and fine cigarettes.”

Hamdi slipped into his bed, and so did Basil.

Hamdi was still thinking, his mind occupied with the mechanics of the silencer. How could a 10-centimeter tube muffle the sound of a gunshot? He remembered that Basil was a graduate of the industrial college and thought,

He must have some knowledge of physics. He asked Basil, “Hey Basil, how does the silencer work?”

At that moment, the last thing on Basil’s mind was the laws of physics. All he knew and cared about was the historical responsibility resting on his shoulders — this was Abu Ali’s revenge.

Basil replied with a laugh, “Tomorrow, I’ll make sure your silencer sings.”

Both Hamdi and Basil fell silent, trying to sleep. Hamdi was still running through scenarios in his mind, thinking about what he would say to Ze’evi at the crucial moment.

Should I say to him: “The revolution has sentenced you to death, in the name of Allah and the people, in the name of the infants of Ain al-Hilweh, in the name of the blood of the revolutionaries in Jerash, in the name of the prisoners in the jails, in the name of Wadie Haddad, in the name of Ahmed Daqamseh, in the name of Suleiman Khater, in the name of Tal al-Zaatar, in the name of the years of slavery endured by Africans, in the name of the Native Americans, in the name of the people of Tasmania, in the name of the severed fingers of the Indians, in the name of the plundered fields of Sri Lanka that give you your afternoon tea, in the name of the comrades in the Japanese Red Army, in the name of the empty stomachs of the comrades in Ireland, in the name of Bobby Sands, in the name of those executed by Franco in Spain, in the name of the million martyrs in Algeria, in the name of the medical experiments on the children of the Congo.”

He realized that if he tried to list all the reasons why Ze’evi deserved to be killed, he wouldn’t finish even for many years.

Basil and Hamdi fell into a deep sleep — Basil exhausted from climbing up and down the stairs, and Hamdi, having not tasted sleep for several days. Meanwhile, Majdi tossed and turned, sleeping a little and then waking up, afraid that sleep might steal time from him and cause him to miss his appointment.

Ahed returned home, picked up a pen and paper, and tried to write the communiqué for the operation. A thousand thoughts raced through his mind. He looked at the wall opposite him and saw a picture of Ghassan Kanafani, and immediately knew what to write: **“All that we do is merely compensatory measures for the absence of arms.”**

If these three armed men are the communiqué, then their actions will be the announcement. I’ll simply release the news to a few media outlets with brief

words, nothing more.

Ahed stood up, moved his head from side to side in a stretching motion, smiled, and tried to imagine the sight of Ze'evi covered in his own blood.

His smile grew wider as he looked at the picture of Abu Ali, thinking to himself, What would the zionists' reaction be if they knew that the one who set the target list for the military wing and identified Ze'evi as a future target was none other than Abu Ali himself? It somewhat comforted him to know that Abu Ali had avenged himself before his own martyrdom.

The clock now strikes 5:30 AM on the morning of October 17th. Majdi Al-Rimawi woke up, grabbed the Škorpion submachine gun, and checked it. The air was a bit chilly, and the feel of the weapon gave him a sense of exhilaration. He left the house of his comrade Saleh Alawi and headed to the hotel in the rental car from Arabi Car Rentals in Al-Quds, under the name Louay Awda, also known as "The Frenchman."

The clock now reads 5:45 AM. Basil woke up and called out to Hamdi, trying to wake him. As soon as Basil whispered, Hamdi responded, "Does someone with vengeance sleep?"

Basil replied, "All night, I've been thinking about something: How did Ahed get all that precise information about Ze'evi's movements, his room, and even the number of his Volvo?"

Hamdi said, "That's something I don't know, and no one will ever know." (This question remains unanswered within the zionist security circles to this day, and no one has found an answer. Ahed did not and will never speak.)

They stood up and put on their shoes. Hamdi heard Basil quietly humming, **"Palestinian, Arab, internationalist."**

It was now 6:30 AM. Hamdi and Basil had prepared themselves. Ahed stepped into the hotel lobby and made sure that Majdi was waiting in his car across the street. He nodded to him, then noticed Ze'evi's car still parked in its spot. Ahed returned inside the hotel and entered the breakfast hall. For the first time, he saw Ze'evi, and their eyes met. Ze'evi was with his wife, Yael, having his last breakfast before Hamdi would send him to hell.

Hamdi returned to the room and said to Basil, "Let's go." The two of them went down to the parking lot, with caution, vigilance, and readiness dominating the atmosphere. They reached the rented car registered under the name Samer Shehadeh with a forged identity. Hamdi stood guard while Basil took a quick walk around the parking lot to ensure there was no ambush. They then

approached the car, and Hamdi opened it, retrieving the bag that contained the weapons. He pulled out the pistols and attached the silencers, saying, “Sorry, Naji.” Each of them hid their pistols within their clothing, and they headed back to the emergency stairs.

The two comrades ascended the stairs to escape to the eighth floor. They stood in front of the elevator, drew their pistols, checked them, and each loaded their weapon.

Hamdi decided not to kill Ze’evi until their eyes met.

Basil hoped that someone would accompany Ze’evi so he could have a bigger part in taking revenge.

The elevator’s indicator light showed that it was on its way up.

1
2
3

Ze’evi finished his breakfast with a glass of juice made from oranges stolen from Yaffa. He returned to retrieve his briefcase — perhaps it contained plans for his transfer policy, and certainly, it held a proposed tourist brochure that distorted history and twisted the narrative. He stood in front of the elevator. A blonde girl passed by him, and he stared intently at her curvy figure. He then entered the elevator and pressed the button for the eighth floor.

Hamdi asked Basil to stand by the door of the emergency stairs. Basil obeyed, smiling.

The adrenaline surged higher with each passing number on the elevator’s electronic display. Pupils dilated, airways expanded, a tightening sensation gripped the pit of the stomach, the throat grew dry, muscles tensed, and the pulse quickened.

As the number reached 7, Hamdi held his breath to ensure precise aim and readiness. A long reel of trials and memories played in his mind — there was no room for numbers, for they were not just numbers. Faces, names, stories, families, homes, and trees all flashed before Hamdi.

The wailing of women mourning Abu Ali rang in his ears, and the sight of fists raised in the air, vowing revenge at Abu Ali’s funeral, gave him even more determination. He saw himself as a person that has been entrusted by every Palestinian with this mission.

The elevator stopped, and the alarm sounded: *Beep, beep, beep*. The elevator doors began to slide open slowly. Hamdi moved his head from side to side, trying to get the best angle to see who was inside. A large figure emerged. Hamdi was certain that the scene was only missing a sneer from this embodiment of racism.

He called out to him by his nickname, “Hey, Gandhi.” This was what Hamdi had always wondered — how could such an ugly thing be named Gandhi? Ah, how much they’ve stolen from our East. Their eyes met, and Ze’evi stared into Hamdi’s eyes, seeing determination. He realized that this was the man who would carry out his “transfer” to hell.

Hamdi saw in Ze’evi’s eyes the extent of his frailty, weakness, and cowardice. The oppressor is nothing more than an illusion in the mind of the oppressed. These are the only legitimate encounters between us and them, exactly as Hamdi had envisioned, planned, and hoped for.

Three bullets to the upper half of the body, each carrying the collective sighs of the oppressed on earth. The struggle between liberation and colonization was encapsulated in that moment, as Hamdi never took his eyes off Ze’evi’s.

Hamdi looked at him, lying there groaning in his final moments. He realized the mission was complete — Ze’evi had finally drawn his last breath.

Hamdi turned around and his eyes met Basil’s, and in those eyes, he saw all of Palestine.



Heroic prisoners of the October 17th operation.
Published by Resistance News Network.

Live Like A Porcupine, Fight Like A Flea

Basil Al-Araj, translated by Al-Rifaq

April 10, 2025

This essay is by the Palestinian writer, teacher, and activist Basil al-Araj, from his book I Have Found My Answers which was published posthumously in 2018 after his martyrdom in March 6, 2017.

In 1895, the psychologist James Mark Baldwin used the term “social accommodation” to refer to a biological adaptation in which a social equilibrium is created as a form of adjusting to the surrounding conditions. “Social accommodation” is generally defined as a social process that aims to reduce or avoid conflict. It’s a process of social conformity that leads to the end of conflict between groups because it reinforces either temporary or permanent peaceful interaction.

As for the psychological aspects of social accommodation, he refers to how individuals and groups respond to conflict by avoiding all forms of hostility. Economic, social, and psychological compensations are granted to one of the minority groups. Sociologists differentiate between “adaptation” and “accommodation”, where “adaptation” is used when the surrounding conditions are natural or organic.

Accommodation can be achieved through several means: coercion, arbitration, settlement, or even the ability to endure. Later, Ernst Haeckel used the term “ecology” to refer to the relationship between the organism and its organic and non-organic surrounding environment. Ecology studies the interdependent relationships between organisms and their surrounding environment.

I do not know when nor why a strange relationship developed between the Palestinian (I’m referring broadly to people of the Levant region and not just Mandate Palestine) and the porcupine. Was it because of the desire to hunt these porcupines, with its delicious flesh and myths about its therapeutic properties and the

virility it bestows, or was it related to the porcupine's destruction of the peasants' crops?

The Indian crested porcupine (النيص) is a mammal of the rodent species, closely related to the hedgehog but bigger in size. It has several common names. It is referred to as al-shayham (الشيهم) in standard Arabic, and its scientific name is "Hystrix indica". It carries short and long quills ranging between 10 and 35 centimetres, and it uses them for self-defence. It weighs between 4 and 16 kilograms. (It has very tasty meat, and I recommend not missing it if you get the chance)

The porcupine is a nocturnal animal that lives in a burrow underground. The burrow is relatively large and has many long tunnels with entrances and exits and what look like resting spots. When getting in and out of the burrow, the porcupine uses several specific and determined routes, as if carefully planned. It has a strange sense of paranoia, or what we Palestinians refer to as the "security sense". (One of the main researchers who studied the porcupine was S. H. Prater). The species found in our lands are strictly herbivorous, and they mostly feed on colocynth (الحنظل) [also commonly known as Abu Jahl's melon, bitter apple, and bitter cucumber]. It's not recommended to shoot it when hunting as its spleen and liver could burst, making its meat taste very bitter.

The porcupine has a strong presence in Palestinian popular memory and stories. In Palestine, peasants have spun endless stories around it, describing the porcupine as a strange creature that cries and wails and, like human beings, has wishes and hopes. Like us, when a porcupine gets angry, it will throw the quills it carries on its neck and back at the enemy, accurately hitting them. At night, it roams alone, slowly and meditatively, and is attracted to smells, fruits, and roots. It is a private, silent being, but also a crybaby. It is a lonely, unique being. Its pain runs deep and its grudges, even deeper—just like its hunter.

Learning the behaviour of your prey is the first lesson in hunting. Palestinians closely observed these porcupines and learnt everything about them. (In my life, I have gone on two porcupine hunting trips, and we were blessed with an abundant catch that we did not share with anyone). The hunter needs to adapt (and not to accommodate himself) to the life and behaviour of its prey to be able to catch it. But what happened is that the Palestinian so completely adopted the porcupine's traits and tendencies, especially when in danger, that he ended up living like a porcupine.

On one Eid al-Adha holiday, my family sacrificed five sheep, and I was allowed to slaughter some of them and help in skinning and cutting the meat. The sheep were infested with fleas that attacked me. I tried many times to kill a flea on my body without any success. The only outcome of my attempts was that I got tired and paranoid. The only thing that helped was taking a full and thorough bath where I combed my body using hot water and soap, leading to a decisive victory.

The flea is a small flightless insect of the "Siphonaptera" species. It mostly lives as a parasite on a host, often a mammal. Its length ranges from 1 to 4 millimetres, and it moves by jumping using its two long hind legs. The flea bites its host, and the bites leave slightly raised, very itchy red spots.

The flea has an impressive combat strategy and fascinating tactics and techniques. It stings and jumps, then resumes stinging and skillfully avoids the hand or foot trying to crush it. It does not aim to kill its opponent (in the sense of fully eliminating the enemy system, for example, a dog) but rather to exhaust it, feed off it, disturb, and provoke it, preventing it from resting while damaging its nerves and morale. To achieve this, the flea needs time to reproduce. What starts as a localised infection will eventually become a widespread epidemic as the fleas multiply and sting areas closer and closer together.

Mao Zedong said: “When the enemy advances, we retreat. When they camp, we harass. When they are tired, we attack. When they retreat, we pursue them.” Zedong’s theory of guerrilla warfare resembles what could be described as a “flea war”.

Mao solved the dilemma, “how can a non-industrial nation defeat an industrial nation?”. [Friedrich] Engels saw the nation with more capital as being more capable of defeating its enemies. He thought that economic power is what determines the outcome of battles—it can provide the capital needed to manufacture arms.

Mao’s solution emphasised the intangible elements. Powerful nations with big armies typically focus on tangible elements like weapons, logistics, and soldier count; however, Mao, according to [Edward L.] Katzenbach, focused on the elements of time, space, and will. Going back to Mao’s previous quote, he avoided battle by giving up territory and, in doing so, exchanged space for time and used time to cultivate will. This is the essence of guerrilla warfare.

To return to our analogy, guerrilla forces engage in war exactly like fleas. The powerful, highly organised enemy suffers from the same vulnerabilities and weaknesses of the host with fleas: they have a large area to defend from a very tiny, very mobile enemy, who is spread everywhere and is hard to capture. If the battle lasts long enough, the host will eventually collapse on the battlefield from fatigue and blood loss, without having found anyone to attack.

Robert Taber explains it this way: “In practice, the dog (or the host) does not die of anemia. He merely becomes too weakened—in military terms, overextended; in political terms, too unpopular; in economic terms, too expensive—to defend himself. At this point, the flea would have multiplied to a veritable plague of fleas through a long series of small victories, each drawing its drop of blood.”

So live like a porcupine and fight like a flea!

Critical Reflections on Movement building in Glasgow

Anti-Imperialist Movement (AIM)

May 2025

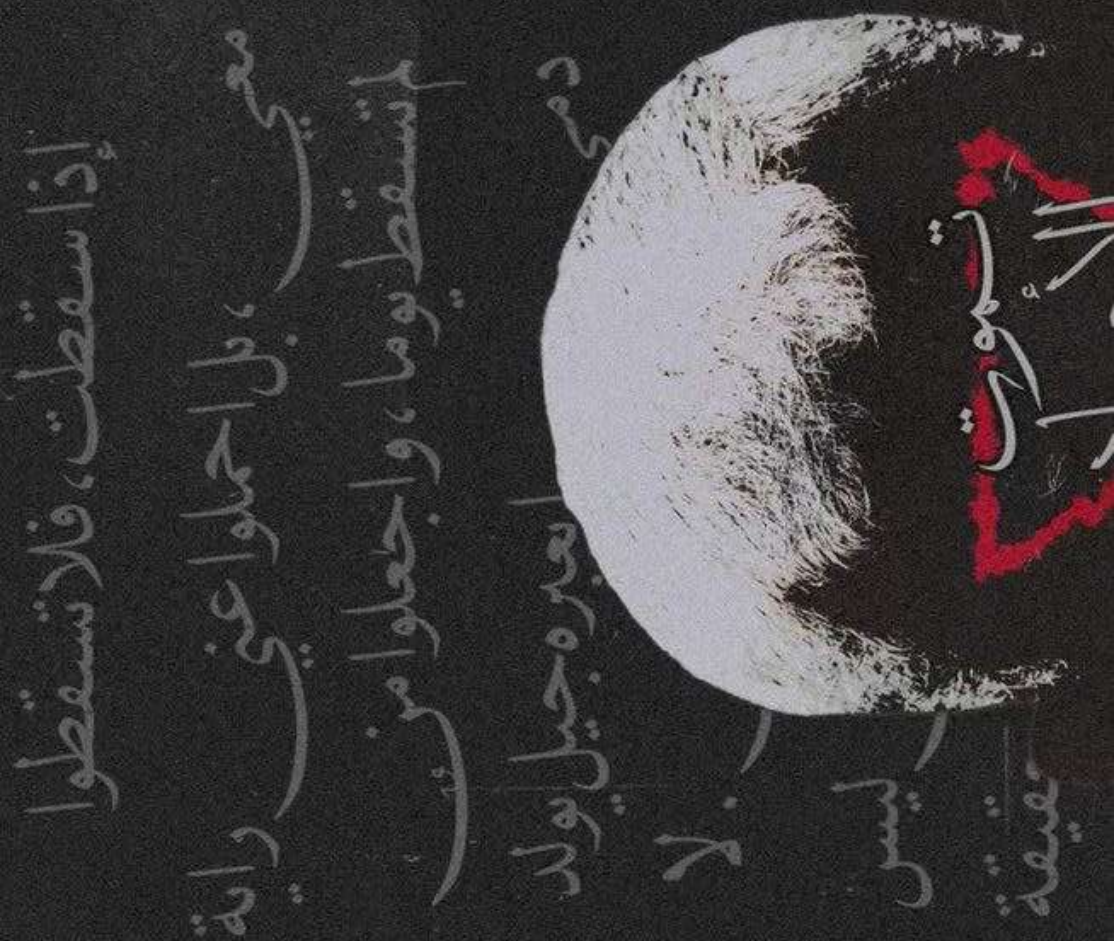
TARGET LEIDOS: a Campaign by Anti-Imperialist Movement (AIM) to kick Leidos out of Glasgow!

Leidos is a US Fortune 500 arms company that specialises in surveillance and information technology (IT). They have branches across the world for defence contracts, from the Zionist entity to right here in Glasgow.

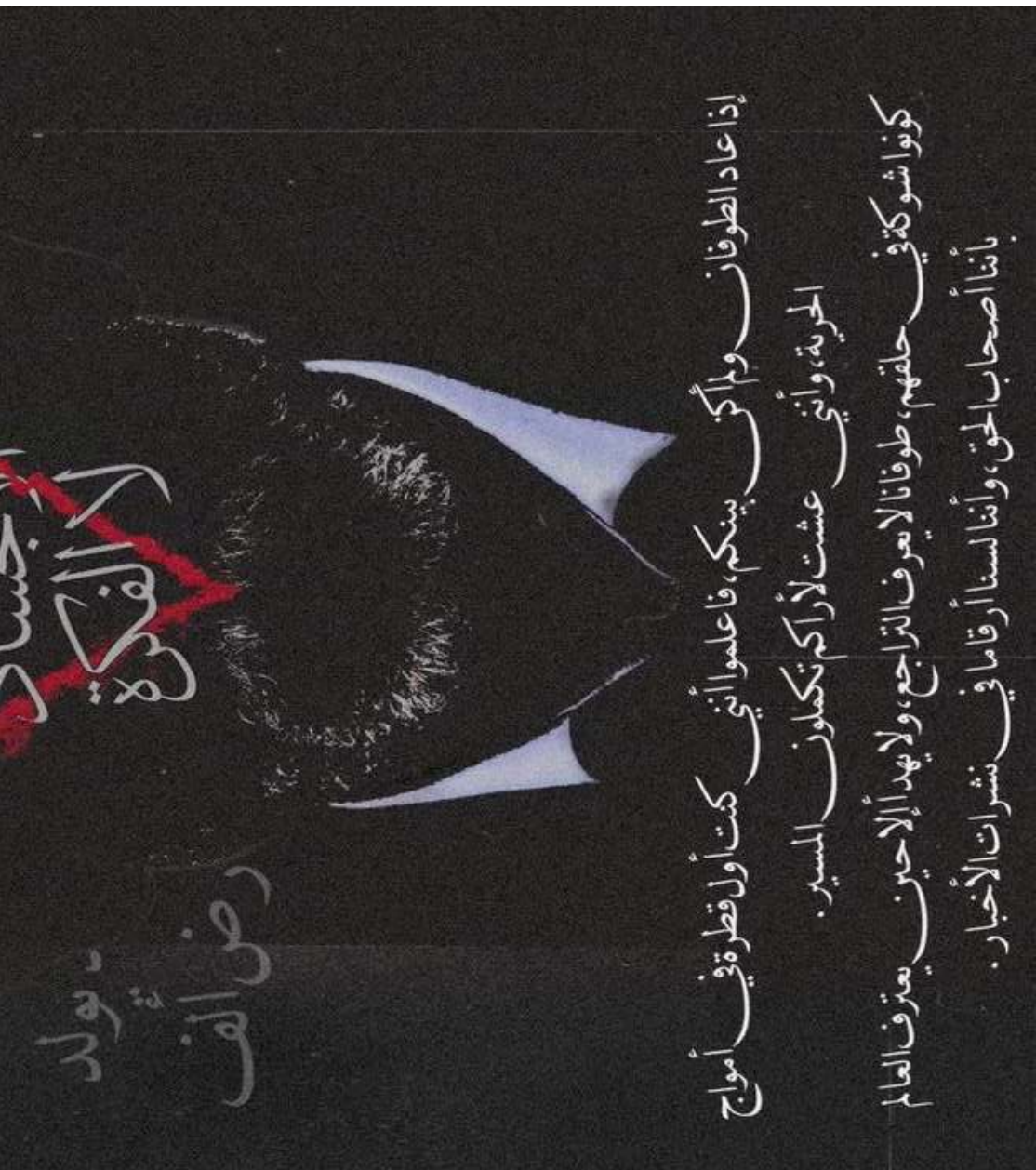
In the entity, Leidos are facilitating genocide and ethnic cleansing within the entity in 2 primary ways:

- 1. Full body scanners** ('ClearView' and 'Pro:Vision 2') **in the military checkpoint system** across occupied Palestine (e.g. Beit Hanoun, Qalandia, Bethlehem, etc.) and in the entity's airports.
- 2. Telecommunications systems** within 'Metzudat David' (Fortress of David), the Israeli Occupation Forces (IOF) principal fortified data centre, **for direct military use** (e.g. firing systems, military intelligence, command and control, etc).

In Britain, Leidos have done £millions of logistical work for the imperialist UK Ministry of Defence while making sinister attempts to develop AI usage in their military technology. Their main UK headquarters are right within reach to be targeted: Glasgow Skypark, 8 Elliot Street, Glasgow G3 8EP. For more details with sources on Leidos, refer to our linktree on the final page.



Poster of the Mujahid Martyr Brother Yahya Al-Sinwar. Translates to: If I fall, don't fall with me, but carry for me the flag of freedom, and that I lived to see you complete the journey. Be a thorn in the eye of the owners of the right, and that we are



إذا عاد الطوفان ولم أكن بينكم، فاعلموا أنني كنت أول قطرة في أمواج
الحرية، وأني عشت لأراكم تكملون المسير.
كونوا شوكية في حلقتهم، طوفانا لا يعرف التراجع، ولا يهدأ إلا حين يعترف العالم
بأننا أصحاب الحق، وأننا لسنا أرقاما في نشرات الأخبار.

a banner that has never fallen... **Bodies die, not ideas.** If the flood returns and I am not among you, know that
their throat, a flood that knows no retreat, and that will no calm down until the world acknowledges that we are
are not numbers in the news bulletins.

AIM follows in the footsteps of previous and current mass organisations, from the imperial core to the global periphery, in building oppositional power to challenge



imperialism from within. However, we are aware that this kind of power cannot be expressed without making links to leaders within our communities and raising the collective understanding of Palestine's central role in leading the anti-imperialist struggle.

For example, Al-Thawabit ('constants') provides the red line for any viable anti-imperialist movement that supports the national liberation of Palestine from the settler-colonial entity. These fundamental principles include:

1. The right to armed resistance.
2. The right to self-determination and self autonomy.
3. Liberation from the river to the sea, free from occupation.
4. Al-Quds as the capital of Palestine.
5. The right of return for all Palestinians.

We highlight the first principle of Al-Thawabit: supporting the right to armed resistance, in whichever particular form this takes, must be the fundamental basis of our relationship to a future where Palestine will be free. Historically, this predominantly took the form of communist and Arab socialist groups, while post-Oslo, its modern form is predominantly the political Islam of the Axis of Resistance, led by Iran.

Any movement within the West that compromises on supporting this most fundamental of principles risks integrity, complicity and irrelevance: is it any surprise that the British state selectively applies the Terrorism Act to dehumanise and silence support for Palestinian resistance groups and the Axis of Resistance who only pose a threat to the illegitimate Zionist settler occupation?

This does not mean we are uncritical about our support for the Axis of Resistance: no group is without its own internal debates, conflicts of interest, and differing organisational principles. But we should be honest as those who benefit from and are born complicit in the imperialist world system: what right do we have to police Palestinians (or the Lebanese, Yemenis, and Iranians) from the comfort of the imperial core? Do these shallow criticisms make us less compatible with Zionism or more compatible with Zionism? Have we struck blows against the entity equivalent to the Lebanese resistance, Ansarallah, or the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps of Iran? If not, why not? Doesn't Britain have more historical complicity in Zionism than any other country in the world?

As we observe the variety of Palestinian perspectives being shown during this film festival, let us reflect upon our own perspectives and how we can add our own drops in the great Flood of Al-Aqsa that shall sweep away the occupation, from the river to the sea.

Finally, a quick how-to guide/self-reflection on the past 4 months of setting up AIM. After all, our perspective inevitably will be one amongst many; we would encourage all readers here to join organisations that share a commitment to the principles of Al-Thawabit but if none are currently suitable to you, why not set up a new organisation?

AIM arose out of a (continuing) anti-imperialist study group. Of course, everyone there was already involved in various other organising efforts, from Living Rent to student politics to the wonderful Solidarity Screenings that is organising this film festival, but we were all keen to learn more from anti-imperialist theory and history and apply them to our various contexts.

On relating to old groups and founding new groups, quote from *Blood in my Eye* (1971) by martyr George Jackson:

*“We recognize and appreciate the decades of hard, sometimes dangerous work done in the name of revolution by the older socialist parties. Perhaps we wouldn’t exist at all were it not for their efforts. It is our sincere wish to operate in complete harmony with these older groups. **But we must create new impetus and greater intellectual and physical energy if the forces of reaction are not to win another extended reprieve.** A joint effort will make the task of overwhelming our common enemy all the simpler. **But if our present differences cannot be reconciled by an honest and fearless search for the correct way, then we will be forced to take the foundation of correct ideals and theory into our own hands and build a positive and more practical superstructure applicable to the circumstances surrounding our lives.** In his *Guerrilla Warfare* Lenin wrote: “New forms of struggle, unknown to the participants of the given period, inevitably arise as the given social situation changes, the coming crisis will introduce new forms of struggle that we are now unable to foresee.”*

After one year of the study group’s consistent, fortnightly development of a collective knowledge base, sharing homemade meals together and lively discussions reaching deep into the night, a basic organisational culture (a collective understanding for solving problems) had developed: Al-Aqsa Flood and the subsequent genocidal response from the flailing entity added an increased sense of urgency to undertaking political action. As this collective culture became stronger, several members of the study group began to share some key understandings regarding existing groups in our wider movement:

We wanted to see more escalation and innovation in anti-imperialist tactics and strategy, yet what we observed was either repetition of mass protests (which still have their place) or the British state attempting to punish and isolate more dissenting direct-action groups (i.e., Palestine Action and the Filton 18) for their highly effective but also higher risk tactics.

To push the movement forwards, we need to escalate our social understanding of Palestinian liberation and armed resistance, legitimising and normalising direct-action groups, increasing support to political prisoners, humanising the Axis of Resistance, and expanding our political base from already-committed activists to significant sections of sympathetic communities that are currently unused to taking collective political action. That is the ambitious role that we founded AIM to achieve.

To this end, we formed 7 key points of unity for our political work:

1. We are principled anti-imperialists.
2. We aim to build a mass-based organisation.
3. Our strategy is to organise in order to escalate.
4. We support the international anti-imperialist struggle.
5. We uphold self-determination and liberation for all oppressed peoples and nations.
6. We combat the patriarchy and uphold the liberation of women and queer people.
7. We commit to being a militant organisation.

More explanation on each of these points is provided in our IG (@aimglasgow). If you share these basic points of unity then please come speak to us at any time during the film festival, we will have a stall there to explain the Target Leidos campaign!

We are currently building towards a public meeting on Saturday 5th of July to begin collating ideas from the community to disrupt Leidos and putting pressure on them to get out of Glasgow. If you want to get involved in this campaign, we have three main working groups:

- Propaganda-outreach (posters, pamphlets, stalls, social media).
- Events (logistics, materials, PACBI-compliance).
- Research (strategic and tactical information gathering and synthesis).

Finally, we have a small committee to ensure required organisational tasks are completed/delegated instead of allowing significant executive decision-making. All significant political decisions are discussed in monthly General Meetings of the entire organisation, then voted upon by the membership.

As always, freedom for Palestine, glory to the martyrs, victory to the resistance!



Spring 2025 Student Encampment at University of Glasgow.
Published by: Billy Knox.

Encampments One Year on and Escalating the Scottish Palestine Solidarity Movement

Twine

In April and May 2024, people pitched encampments across the globe in solidarity with Palestinians being genocided in Gaza. Encampments at prestigious Western universities gained particular media attention. However, a non-student encampment outside the German parliament in Berlin (torn down within only a week by police, with 75 people arrested) led to the first encampment in Scotland. Inspired by their Berlin comrades, the Gaza Solidarity Camp Scotland began with a group setting up tents on the greens outside Scottish Parliament at the end of April and a single hunger striker. By May, a further encampment had been set up within Edinburgh University's Old College by the Edinburgh University Justice for Palestine Society, renamed "Balfour University" in recognition of the University's imperialist ex-chancellor, Arthur Balfour, and the hunger strike was extended, leading to a cumulative 42-day hunger strike. Glasgow University Justice for Palestine Society had a weeklong encampment, as well as hunger strikes in March of 2025.

Having been involved with all three encampments, I remember many deeply powerful and impactful moments facilitated by the environment and energies of the encampments - and yet the bitter reality of their material ineffectiveness is one which leaves no space for romanticisation, as 'israel's' settler-colonial machinery continues obliterating the land and bodies of Palestine with unfathomable brutality a year later. None of the demands made on either a university or Scottish government level by either encampment have been met - be they as symbolic as recognising the 'war' or 'conflict' as a genocide, or as material as divestment from arms companies. It is therefore essential to analyse critically how the wider Palestinian solidarity movement has played out in Scotland, so we can push beyond an essentially symbolic solidarity towards a liberation-oriented movement.

Though Columbia University is often cited as the point of origin of the encampments, we must recognise that the encampments were a wave that followed the surge of Al Aqsa Flood, the flood which breached the walls of Gaza and spilled onto the world stage on October 7th, 2023. Palestinian resistance denied the invisibility of 'israel's' structural genocide masquerading as 'peace'. Al Aqsa Flood and the life of every martyr were the shocks of electricity awakening the rest of the world to the mortal urgency of its own gruesome links to Zionist imperialism. No one could claim to not be aware of Palestine anymore, yet were Scottish movements ready to respond to this impulse?

At their peak, the encampments were a realisation of the resistance concept of the 'unity of fields'—the alignment of geographically and politically separate parts of the struggle towards a unified goal, adapted to the specific obstacles and contexts of their environment (Kassir 2023). The repression they faced globally - violent, blatant and fascist police repression, with the full force of the state brought down on activists found to be involved in these movements - is indicative of their alignment with the unity of fields. Though incomparable with the repression faced by Palestinians, these movements pushed up directly against instruments of the state - and in the imperial core, it is the state itself which inseparably represents the continuation of the global imperial order and Zionism.

Therefore, one shortcoming of the encampments in Scotland was the failure to apply meaningful political pressure. Both the parliament and university encampments were able to exist for around a month each with little interference, at which point issues of activist-based sustainability and capacity to maintain the encampments led to their ends. Without arguing that our movements should carelessly act until we face police repression, nor attempting to glorify arrestable actions above other ones - if the institutions we are attempting to confront are able to ignore us, this is a clear sign that our tactics wield insufficient power

and threat to the continued function of these systems and must be rethought. Similarly, the continued weekly protests' very ability to be sustained over such a long period of time with no notable repression between Glasgow and Edinburgh - though heartening and having mobilised genuinely impressive turnouts throughout last year - reveal their political ineffectiveness.

By this same logic, the direct actions of Palestine Action and the pickets of arms factories such as Leonardo's and BAE seem to be the answer, triggering unprecedented levels of state repression for Scottish standards. However, the progression of these pickets and the repeated arrests of actionists proved unsustainable, and exposed that our current movement culture was unequipped to face this level of repression, and was - at least initially - based on the calculation that arrests would not happen at all. That bubble has clearly been popped. However, due to the isolated, covert, and high-risk nature of these direct actions, these tactics have not been a viable means to widen public involvement in this level of direct disobedience of the state, and the momentum of Scottish pickets has seemed to fizzle out substantially. Though court support of arrested actionists have remained consistent, and are an important avenue of anti-carceral community support, these actions tend to be limited to the same few people that are already the most engaged in Palestine organising. It is in this place that, with its flaws, the encampment bears valuable tactics to bring into the future in order to expand the wider public involvement and liberatory potential of our movement.

The encampment was a fundamentally social and community-based space, reliant on the cooperation of many individuals, and sustained by food, blankets, tents, chargers, and innumerable other forms of support from the wider community, alongside the individuals taking time out of their lives to maintain the camp. Especially during the parliament camp, people from across Scotland came to the camp to show their support, sometimes for an event and often with donations of supplies, of which

there was an overabundance by the end of the encampment. The encampments were bubbles of an anticolonial reality. These bubbles built a culture outside of the one we currently live in - built on colonial exploitation and genocide - and carried currents of a future in which the liberation of Palestine and of all oppressed peoples is possible. These spaces enable collectively moving our consciousnesses towards a deeper understanding of the Palestinian cause - which cannot be treated as a single-issue politics.

Palestine is the breaking point of the liberal order. Demands as simple as recognising the full-scale decimation of Gaza as genocide prove to be the impassable barrier of our movements. These demands provide the possibility to radicalise and move beyond this demand - to recognise that Palestine and imperial domination lay at the core of the way our institutions function, and our duty to create new structures outside of the ones that already exist. Beyond the daily exploitation and dehumanisation faced under capitalism, we are seeing fascist tendencies across supposedly democratic governments, with fields such as the arts and education being the first victims of militarisation, while the political and legal rights of minorities and migrants are stripped away. Building and sustaining alternative structures, committed to militancy and unconditionally supporting each other in the face of the state, become increasingly relevant to our own survival. In these efforts, there are innumerable things we can learn from the strength and sumud (steadfastness) of the intergenerational and international Palestinian resistance in all its forms. To properly align with the resistance through the unity of fields, and combat encroaching fascism at home, we must recognise the failures and victories of our own movement, and build the spaces and solutions to the contexts we face here in our opposition to empire, towards liberation.

The Quiet Captivity: How Comfort and Fear Cripple Revolutionary Will

Resistance Archives and A. Tahrir

April 30, 2025

*"A man who has nothing to lose is the most dangerous man on earth."
— George Jackson*

In the heart of empire, where wealth and power have been built on centuries of conquest and extraction, the idea of revolution feels strangely hollow. Liberation is talked about often - in classrooms, in books, across social media - but the material struggle behind those words has faded. Those who suffer most under capitalism are trapped in survival, forced to navigate a system that leaves them little time or space to organize. Those with enough comfort to study revolution, to imagine something different, often find themselves unwilling to risk what they have. Comfort turns into a quiet form of captivity.

Meanwhile, in places like Palestine or Kashmir, where loss is not a distant fear but a daily reality, struggle and revolution are not a choice. They are survival. They are faith. They are life itself.

The Material Trap of Survival

For those crushed under the weight of survival, revolution is not a question of unwillingness but of exhaustion. Capitalism ensures that the most brutalized, the working poor, the unemployed, the precariously housed, are caught in a daily fight just to live. Time, energy, and imagination are consumed by the basic need to stay afloat.

George Jackson understood this trap well. He argued that in the heart of empire, it would not be the formal working class that led the struggle, but those who had been pushed entirely outside the system's promises: the lumpenproletariat. They have no illusions to lose, but they also carry the heaviest chains. In a society where survival itself is revolutionary, organizing becomes a luxury many simply cannot afford. The system is designed to

isolate them, to strip away the breathing room needed to imagine anything beyond the next meal, the next paycheck, the next emergency.

It is not apathy that holds back the masses, but the slow violence of daily survival.

The Psychological Trap of Comfort

At the same time, the people with enough stability to think about change are often the ones least willing to risk it. Comfort, even when it is modest, becomes a quiet captor. A steady job, a roof over your head, access to healthcare, the chance to own a home, the easy promises of consumer goods; these things are dangled as proof that the system can work if you just play by its rules.

Antonio Gramsci's idea of cultural hegemony shows how deep this trap runs. Through schools, media, and the everyday noise of society, people are taught to believe that their small comforts are natural and permanent, not temporary illusions built on someone else's suffering. Consumerism has replaced the dream of collective freedom with private ambition, and solidarity has been traded away for individual survival.

The fear of losing what little you have becomes stronger than the anger at injustice. This fear paralyzes those who might otherwise act. It dulls urgency, fractures solidarity, and turns revolutionary energy inward, into safer, private ambitions.

Theory Without Sacrifice

In the heart of the West, revolution survives mostly in theory. It is debated in universities, passed around in books and podcasts, thrown into slogans and branding. But without material sacrifice, theory is nothing.

Herbert Marcuse warned of this phenomenon when he spoke of repressive desublimation, the system's ability to absorb radical language and aesthetics without threatening its foundations. In a society where even rebellion can be marketed and sold back to us, the sharp edge of revolutionary thought

is dulled. We live in a world where outrage is not a threat but a product. Anger is turned into spectacle. Radical words are packaged into careers, personal brands, and performances that leave real power untouched. The institutions that claim to stand apart - the universities, the nonprofits, and the media - have always served the system in the end. Now they openly reward a performance of dissent that changes nothing and protects everything.

Talking about liberation replaces fighting for it. Revolution becomes something we consume, not something we build. Without the willingness to step beyond discourse into action, even the most sophisticated analysis collapses into another pillar of the system it claims to oppose.

Palestine and the Spirit of Survival

Palestinian youth resist during the First Intifada, 1987.

In Palestine, the idea of revolution has never been an academic exercise or a lifestyle choice. It is a necessity born from survival, faith, and an unbroken connection to the land. During the First Intifada in 1987, Palestinians rose up with stones, strikes, and mass mobilization, facing one of the most advanced military machines on earth with nothing but their bodies and their will. During the Second Intifada, the brutality escalated, but so did the refusal to submit. Resistance was lived daily, in the streets, in the refugee camps, and in the prisons. Today, under siege and genocide in Gaza, the same spirit endures. There is no illusion to protect, no private sanctuary to retreat into.

When material comfort is stripped away, when loss touches every home, the willingness to fight becomes clear and absolute. Revolution in Palestine is not romanticized. It is survival. It is faith carried through generations, collective memory made flesh, and the unbreakable refusal to be erased.



Palestinian youth resist during the First Intifada, 1987.
Published by The Resistance Archives.

Structural Paralysis in the Imperial Core

The traps of survival and comfort are not accidents. They are the result of a system that has adapted to neutralize revolutionary will before it can take form. After the mass uprisings of the 1960s and 70s, the empire understood that brute force alone would not be enough to contain rebellion. It learned to absorb the language of change into safe reforms, to offer symbolic victories without surrendering real power, and to bind people to the system with the quiet seductions of comfort and opportunity.

Capitalism in the imperial core offers just enough to keep the majority compliant and punishes those who dare to step outside the lines. It isolates the poor in endless cycles of exhaustion and cloaks the comfortable in fear of losing what little they have secured. Survival and privilege, though seemingly opposite, are woven together into a structure that holds the whole society in place.

Even when injustice is visible, even when the urge to resist stirs, the path to action feels sealed off. Power is maintained not only by force but by a careful management of hopes, fears, and expectations. Breaking free from this paralysis means recognizing that both survival and comfort are weaponized against us.

Confronting Fear, Rediscovering Sacrifice

If revolution is to have meaning again in the heart of empire, it must move beyond theory and reclaim the courage to sacrifice. It must confront the fear that clings to comfort, the fear that survival will be harder if we resist. True change has always demanded risk, loss, and the willingness to stand firm even when the ground shifts.

Comfort is not freedom. It is the quiet reward for obedience, the gilded chain that binds potential to stagnation. The examples of struggle from places like Gaza remind us that when everything is stripped away, what remains is not despair but an unbreakable will to live with dignity. Revolution demands that we remember what matters beyond survival and beyond comfort. It demands that we live, not just speak, the struggle we claim to believe in.

We cannot theorize our way out of the chains we are too afraid to break. We cannot speak of struggle while defending the small comforts handed down by the very system we claim to oppose. Every privilege that binds us is a weapon turned against the world we say we want to build. Empire does not fear our anger. It fears our willingness to give up everything we were taught to hold sacred. To fight for the future demands that we let go of the illusions that tie us to the present. It demands a life lived with clarity, with courage, and without apology.

The question of Hamas and the Left

Abdaljawad Omar

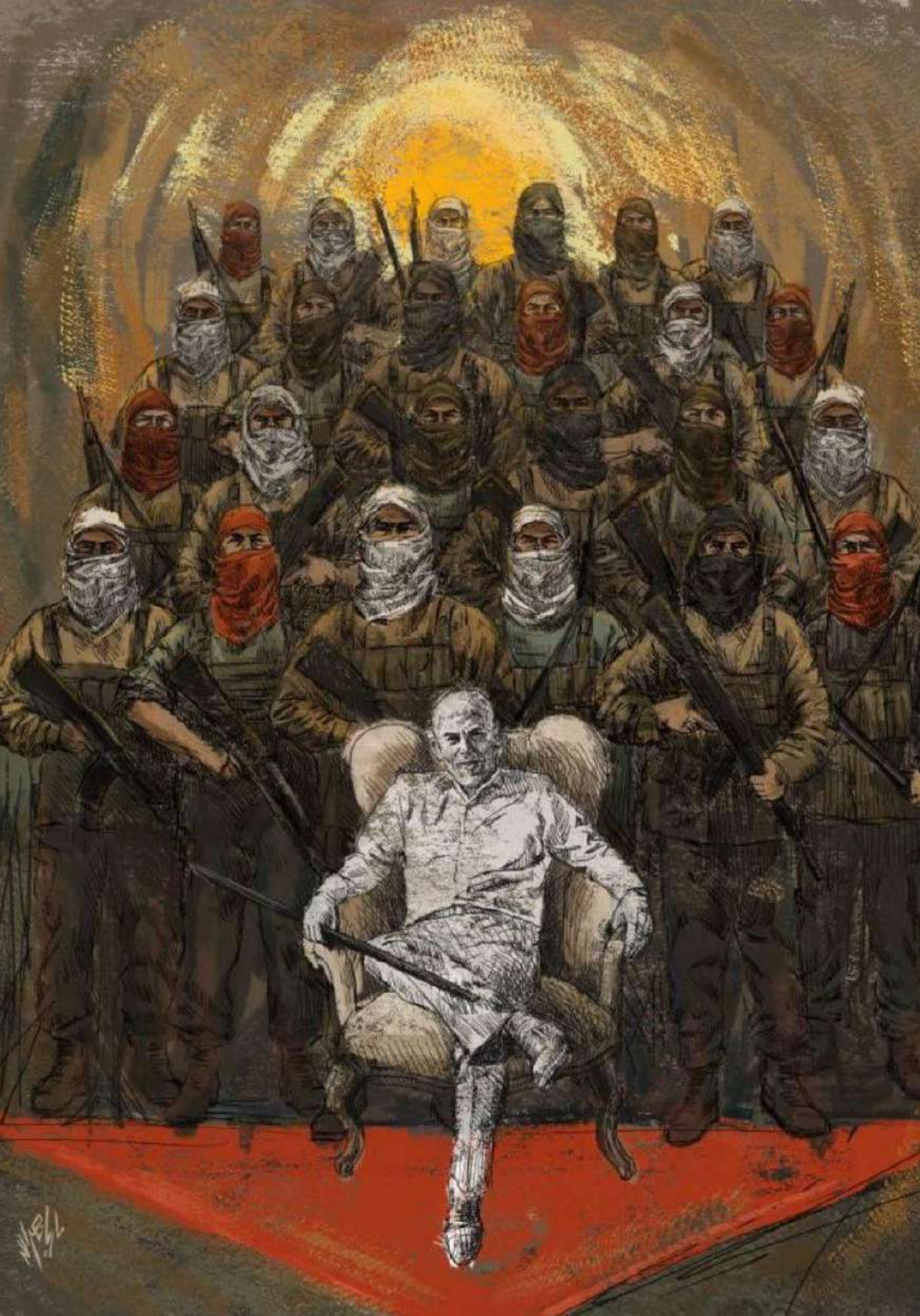
May 31, 2024

Recently, a rash of articles has surfaced criticizing the Western left for “celebrating” Hamas. Most of these critiques say that reducing support for Palestinian resistance to supporting Hamas is a disservice to Palestinians because Palestinians represent a multiplicity of voices with different political dispositions. Instead, these arguments call on the Western left to reckon with the complexity and diversity of Palestinian politics.

Bashir Abu-Manneh’s article in Jacobin, “The Palestinian Resistance Isn’t a Monolith,” chastises what he claims is the left’s celebration of a “socially regressive” movement such as Hamas in an article that reads more like a hidden critique of armed resistance itself than of Hamas. Matan Kaminer penned a response to an article by Andreas Malm, both published on the Verso blog, stating that the global “solidarity movement must engage with the diversity of Palestinian politics,” in which he takes issue with “counter-systemic” forces like Hamas that lack a leftist agenda. In Boston Review, Ayça Çubukçu responded to Jodi Dean’s article, “Palestine speaks for everyone,” due to Dean’s suggestion that the global solidarity movement should stand alongside the organized left in Palestine in support of the current Hamas leadership for the struggle for liberation.

Of course, giving attention to Palestinian politics, its history, and its current conditions and multiplicity is imperative. Indeed, despite the relatively small number of Palestinians, and despite the fact that Palestine between the river and the sea is a small geography fraught with highly contested terrain, one can find a myriad of Palestinians who echo any number of fantasies or ideologies about the conflict — including Palestinians who readily affirm Zionist ideology.

A moment of Shakur and Pride - Mujahid Martyr Yahya Al-Sinwar and resistance fighters.
Credits: Unknown.



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But funnily enough, this is what Western leftist critics of Hamas get wrong. They fail to understand that the diversity in Palestinian society and politics also translates into diverging attitudes toward resistance to colonialism. While they call for a nuanced understanding of Palestinian politics, that nuance doesn't extend to an understanding of the dynamics and forces that both motivate and shy away from (or actively oppose) anticolonial resistance.

This ignorance of Palestinian politics is almost willful. It harbors a secret hostility to resistance — especially armed resistance — but claims to oppose Hamas on entirely different, perhaps ideological, grounds. Yet to truly understand intra-Palestinian dynamics and unpack the “monolith,” we have to actually understand how Palestinian political forces have evolved with respect to the very idea of resistance in the first place.

Fragmented geography, fragmented politics

Palestinians are subjected to various divisions meticulously crafted by Israel. In fact, it would be highly surprising if Palestinians were unified when their everyday lives are so radically different — dispersed across the globe and subjected to various governmentalities and modalities of Israeli control. These divisions are not only geographic but also entail different levels of privilege and exclusion imposed by the colonial state. I speak of Gaza, the West Bank, Jerusalem, the territories of 1948, and the diaspora.

Moreover, this radical fragmentation has led many Palestinians to begin questioning the very notion of our unity as a people, pondering whether the discrepancy in the capacity of Palestinians to resist is a sign of the weight of geographic divisions and various colonial governmentalities after 75 years.

The genocidal war in Gaza exposed the simple fact that Palestinians in their different localities — aside from Gaza — have been incapable of accumulating power, devising new tactics, forging new organizations, or building a new intellectual and material edifice for confronting the challenge that settler colonialism presents to Palestinian people everywhere. Nothing clarifies this failure more than the paralytic fear that has gripped Palestinian society outside Gaza and outside some of the more advanced articulations of the struggle and new modes of resistance that have risen in the past decade, including the primacy of tactics like atomized acts of resistance in the West Bank and '48 Palestine and the proliferation of armed self-defense zones in the northern West Bank.

This multiplicity is not merely a function of the variegated political ideologies amongst Palestinians that fall under different modes of structural control. Rather, it erupts within the very fabric of the individual Palestinian psyche. An intense internal dialogue unfolds where Palestinians are torn between the radical potentiality of resistance and their visceral dread of the relentless Israeli military juggernaut. Consider the paradox between the desire for liberation and the gnawing fear that any disturbance of everyday life — even one caused by resistance — could unravel the fragile semblance of normalcy. This is the true site of ideological struggle, not only in the public sphere but at the level of the individual, where the sublime possibility of freedom confronts the traumatic reality of potential annihilation by a superior military machine.

Each force, with its own demands, pulls the Palestinians towards an array of existential choices — revolution or resignation, emigration or steadfastness, symbolic effacement or the full affirmation of identity through acts of sacrifice. This silent internal dialogue manifests itself in diverse political articulations — in the oscillation between the stance of the intellectual and martyr Bassel Al-Araj, who declared that “resistance always has efficacy

in time,” and the more cynical resignation implied by positions like those of Mahmoud Abbas, which proclaim “long live resistance, but it is already dead and should be killed wherever it reappears!” But let’s not be fooled. The ideological machine tied to the Palestinian Authority that claims unmediated access to “bare reality” operates precisely by denying its own ideology. They boast of seeing the world free from ideological blinders, asserting that their clarity necessitates forging an authoritarian political system that views resistance to colonialism as a “farce” and cooperation with the colonizer as a “sacred” imperative. This realist-pragmatic stance ostensibly leads Palestinians toward a kind of negation — a symbolic, political, and material self-effacement, yet cunningly masking this erasure through pretenses of political representation and establishing a state.

Meanwhile, the ruling class, in its lust for continuity and control, perpetuates a “political realism” that conveniently overlooks its own class bias and social prejudices. A narrow elite from among the colonized profits. The ultimate aim of this pragmatism is to create a reality in which the very notion of resistance is lost in the annals of a compromised reality. But it is nothing more than sophisticated rhetoric justifying security and economic alliance with a settler colonial regime that replaces the colonized with the colonizers.

The result is a continuum in Palestinian politics with varying dispositions towards resistance. One could imagine figures like Mahmoud Abbas and Mansour Abbas on one end of the spectrum, and political formations like Islamic Jihad and Hamas on the other, with hardly any serious political force in the middle.

What all this tells us is that the main dividing line between Palestinian political factions isn’t over the schism between secularism and Islamism, the struggle over divergent socio-economic agendas, or the merits of a particular tactic in service of liberation. All those are important issues in their own right, but

what is actually causing a rift in the Palestinian political arena is the chasm between a politics of raw defiance, and a politics of accommodation, cooperation, and collaboration.

Ultimately, the Western left's quixotic search for a secular progressive alternative to Hamas overlooks a simple fact: **at this particular historical juncture, the political forces that are still holding onto and leading a resistance agenda are not of the secular left.**

None of this is by accident. Israel and its allies meticulously cultivate and mold a Palestinian leadership that aligns with their colonial ambitions, while at the same time arresting, intimidating, and assassinating alternatives.

This also isn't unusual for anticolonial movements, and being a member of the colonized does not automatically confer upon you fidelity to the anticolonial effort. In Palestine, a century of colonialism has created many distortions in the Palestinian body politic, transforming the once-revolutionary PLO into a Vichy-like regime that kills the nation in the name of the nation. Other Palestinians have embraced new affinities and identities, including identifying with Israel (to the extent that it's possible to identify with an entity whose main feature is Jewish supremacism). History has taught us that there are instances where people will also fight for their servitude, and one need not look beyond figures like Joseph Haddad and Mosab Hassan Yousef to understand what that means.

Yet, there's a deeper struggle at play: Palestinians have long battled not merely for the recognition of their plight but fundamentally for the world to acknowledge the imperative to resist. This necessity to resist and the right to such resistance becomes even more critical in a global context where the narrative of Palestinian resistance is manipulated — cynically used to justify and legitimize Israel's century-long assault on Palestinian existence and agency. It's a perverse scenario where the act of resistance, essential for survival and the possibility for

justice, is twisted into a justification for the oppression it seeks to overcome.

Hamas is an easy scarecrow here. It is an Islamist political group that both centers a politics of defiance and pushes a social agenda that seeks to reconstitute the Palestinian subject. Critics of resistance can easily point to shortcomings in Hamas's socioeconomic outlook or deride its "socially regressive" agenda. But they aren't really interested in undermining Hamas's social agenda. In truth, they want to undermine or distance themselves from the form of resistance that Hamas chose to pursue. But many of Hamas's critics offer nothing in their alliance system, in their forms of struggle, or even in their intellectual output that could match its work to accumulate power in the Gaza Strip and its opening of a strategic Pandora's box that has overflowed and deformed the colonial regime, providing a historical moment that includes among its many possibilities the potential for Palestinian liberation.

The politics of 'Muzawada'

"Muzawada" is a term in the Arab political lexicon that could crudely be translated to "political one-upmanship." It has a longstanding tradition of being wielded as a tool of disparagement among political rivals, and in practice, its primary function has been to defame and demoralize one's political competitor by exposing their hypocrisy, unrealistic discourse, or their inability to translate rhetoric into action. The Syrian Marxist intellectual Elias Murkus gave the example of how Syrian Baathists employed muzawada to undermine Jamal Abdul Nasser in the 1960s, pointing out the chasm between his rhetoric and his actions regarding the liberation of Palestine. But Murkus notes that this disparagement did not so much come from a genuine concern for Palestinian liberation as it did originate in the desire to erode Nasser's charismatic influence within Syria and Lebanon.

In this context, it is not surprising that Palestine historically

emerges as the prime theater for such political “outbidding” or “one-upmanship” in the Arab political landscape. Crucially, muzawada is not confined to rhetorical jousting, even though that is how it was historically employed. In Palestine, muzawada evolved from rhetorical outbidding to “actualized outbidding” in the 1990s, where political factions competed with one another through the ability to create and actualize resistance.

These dual manifestations — rhetorical and actualized muzawada— are pivotal for understanding internal Palestinian political rivalries. During the Second Intifada, the emergence of the figure of the “istishhadi” was one such form of actualized one-upping, as it transcended the traditional “fida’i.” The fida’i was a figure of self-sacrifice who would engage the enemy but might return to his base, whereas the istishhadi embodied the self-sacrifice of the fighter who did not plan to return to base, but kills and gets killed, thereby becoming a martyr.

The emergence of this new counter-hegemonic force at the turn of the century, largely at the initiative of Hamas and Islamic Jihad, saw the reformulation of resistance through the creation of new oppositional modalities and a new figure of sacrifice for resistance.

In the Second Intifada, “one-upping” meant outdoing one’s political rival through actualized resistance operations. This form of intra-competition saw the labor of resistance as the means of directing internal political grievances outwardly toward the colonizer. Palestinian factions were unified in the direction of their political actions but also competed to outdo their rivals through the actualization of different acts of resistance.

Yet the current nature of the disunity in Palestine is not a form of outbidding similar to the Second Intifada and is not based on the idea of outdoing one’s internal rival. Rather, it is a disunity that emerged once the PA elevated cooperation with Israel to

the “sacred” and saw the continuation of resistance as a farce. On the other end of this disunity, Hamas and Islamic Jihad emerged as the most proactive forces leading organized forms of resistance. The division took on geographic, ideological, and political forms.

In this form of outbidding, one side of the political equation employed Israel’s militaristic response to resistance to claim: “See? This is what happens when you resist!” It suspends the search for a politics of defiance, and in fact argues for political paralysis, stasis, and accommodation of Israel at the expense of the long-term ability of Palestinians to resist.

Within this telos, three leftist Palestinian responses have emerged. The first is a left that weds itself to the Palestinian Authority and comprador class on the basis of “secularism” and as a result of its organizational weakness — for example, the Palestinian People’s Party (formerly the Communist Party). Another left positions itself with Islamist forces on the level of shared resistance to anti-colonialism, but distances itself on the level of social agenda, like the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). A third left equates between Hamas and the Palestinian Authority in the hopes of being seen as an alternative to both, seemingly claiming that “they are both equally bad,” yet remaining incapable of organizing a social or political alternative, such as the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

The notion of being “socially regressive” or “socially progressive” in the current political landscape of Palestine is, to say the least, exceedingly complex. How, for instance, can we reconcile leftist parties that support forms of social regression and political authoritarianism in the West Bank like the current disposition of the remnants of the Communist Party? How do we even define “social regression” within the context of an advancing settler colonialism that seeks to erase an entire society?

Isn’t resistance to that colonialism in and of itself a

progressive act that will empower the dispossessed? And isn't collaboration itself a socially regressive force because it subordinates the colonized? Or is the proclaimed ideology of those who resist more important?

Where do we start articulating a socially progressive agenda in concrete situations like the West Bank, where the PA uses a mix of authoritarian practices, insists on forms of banking-education, employs traditional social structures such as families and clans, and sees in the internal foe the ultimate enemy, creating the condition for an ongoing civil war and division as Palestinians also attempt to fight back against colonial encroachment and effacement. On a strictly “Western” plane, there is no totally or fully progressive force in Palestine, but only progressive elements or dispositions — even within political formations that are dismissed as regressive.

Hidden critique of armed resistance

In these successive articles, we encounter a perplexing contortion that seeks to undermine support for resistance, particularly armed resistance. There's a growing recognition among many in the “West” of the necessity and efficacy of resistance, or at least that after decades of negligence in explaining its sources and necessity, one could start the process of grappling with its reality. This includes engaging with it without rendering it profane. This shift in the Western left does not mean that it has suddenly embraced Islamism, but it recognizes the nature of the condition in which Palestinians are ensnared — a ferocious settler colony that refuses to speak a political language with those it renders abject, that relies on excessive violence and diplomatic and legal impunity, and which employs a complex system of architectural, technological, and indirect forms of control.

But more troublingly, the persistence and evolution of armed resistance defy some of the Palestinian intelligentsia's operative

theories, interests, and political dispositions, including the anxiety of a true break in the colonial regime that permits the work of decolonization to commence.

These are the theories that have persisted for decades, utilizing a widely accepted talking point that Palestinians should refrain from armed resistance in order to cultivate a favorable image in the West, and on the global stage more broadly.

The prevailing notion is that armed resistance is fundamentally incompatible with garnering sympathy for the Palestinian cause. They fetishize a particular reading of the First Intifada as an exemplary model of a largely nonviolent and widespread popular revolt capable of conjuring support from the masses, civil society, and international legal bodies, thus appealing to the liberal sensibilities of mainstream Western societies.

Of course, such a reading also hides the psychic and ideological onslaught that Palestinians faced in the wake of the Second Intifada, which attempted to sear into Palestinian consciousness the notion that resistance is futile, that armed resistance will only bring about havoc, and that Palestinians cannot and should not confront Israel militarily due to the asymmetry in power. However, much like the Palestinian Authority, a defiant alternative built around “popular resistance” or “peaceful popular resistance” was only used as an ideological and psychic tool to sustain what Abu Mazen and the PA called “sacred security cooperation.” Very few attempts to organize popular resistance were conceived, and in many instances, they were also fought by the PA and its security system and were met with severe violence in both Gaza and the West Bank.

The notion that the Western left has suddenly become cheerleaders for Hamas is profoundly disingenuous. Jodi Dean did not celebrate Hamas, but perhaps she found something exhilarating in the act of defiance — the march to break the

colonial regime that encircles Gaza. She aligned herself with part of the Palestinian left that engages in resistance. Most Palestinians shared Dean's sentiment on that particular day, including many who later grew disillusioned or revised their views, either out of ethical considerations or due to Israel's carpet-bombing campaign and genocidal war, which led some to conclude that "it wasn't worth it."

Yes, there are many voices that detest Hamas in Gaza, the West Bank, and across the Palestinian polity — for a myriad of reasons. Among them are many on the Palestinian "left" who use their ideological differences and the Islamist-secular divide as a cover for their rejection of "resistance" altogether. **As Bassel Al-Araj said, if the left in Palestine wants to compete with Islamists, they should compete in resistance. Muzawada through action.**

Hamas, at the end of the day, is the contemporary articulation of a long history of resistance that folds within it the peasants of pre-Nakba Palestine, Palestinian revolutionaries in exile during the early years of the PLO, and the Islamists who took the wide-scale initiative in the 80s and beyond.

Many among the secular left have grown pale, rejecting Hamas's resistance not out of a conviction of its inevitable failure, but rather due to a deep-seated anxiety about its potential success.

This isn't merely an ethical opposition to the use of violence; it's a fear that the Islamists might actually prove to be more effective than their own, now largely melancholic and demobilized, political stance. Meanwhile, certain factions within the Palestinian elite gaze upon Israel as a beacon of modernity, and are driven by a profound fear of their own perceived "regressive" society — a telling indication of their ideological dispositions, ensnared in the lure of the Other and terrified of the emancipatory potential of the Palestinian masses.

To have political and ideological differences with Hamas and tactical disagreements, including ethical problems with its targeting or its war-making abilities, is one thing. But to undermine the minimum level of understanding of why Palestinians, in all their ideological formations and historical articulations, see resistance in all its armed and unarmed forms as a necessity, is another. In fact, it is nothing short of brash, especially in an environment that fires professors for voicing any emotion or symbolism of support for Palestinian resistance.

The world can indeed recognize the necessity of resistance and the efforts of individuals to fight and reclaim what they've lost. To do so moves beyond the concept of victimhood to which many liberals in Palestine and some within the left want us to confine our struggle — a form of Palestinian subjectivity that only elicits pity.

Resistance is pre-political

Even in the absence of formal armed movements or strict ideological formations, the West Bank witnessed the emergence of small, informal groups — trust circles, collections of friends, and small-scale armed units that transcended ideological boundaries. This means that any analysis must start from tangible realities. Projecting idealized, rigid frameworks on political groups is not only unhelpful but intellectually lazy and profoundly ignorant of the fact that this generation will continue to resist.

Resistance is a necessity, and even in its militarization, it grows from tangible material realities, rather than from ideological choices alone.

Resistance is pre-political. It exists organically among this generation of Palestinians who continue to be erased from their land and continue to lose their friends and loved ones. It is those

forces who do well in organizing that latent resistance and end up becoming a force to be reckoned with in Palestinian society. It is a necessity, and even in its militarization, it grows from tangible material realities, rather than from ideological choices alone.

The prevailing fear, as always, is that beneath the guise of significant ideological differences (which I also hold), our critique of resistance becomes an attempt to extinguish its very possibility.

Hamas represents only one of many political projects and historical attempts to break through the Iron Wall imposed by Israel. It might fail or it might succeed, but it hasn't done anything that other socially progressive forces in Palestine haven't tried. More importantly, Hamas in Gaza is not merely an external influence or importation; it is intrinsically woven into the larger social fabric and, at the very least, merits more than being summarily dismissed on simplistic grounds of being "regressive" versus "progressive."

Hamas isn't going anywhere in Palestinian politics. It is an energetic political entity that has astutely learned from the mistakes of its predecessor, the PLO, both in warfare and negotiations. It has meticulously invested its intellectual, political, and military resources into understanding Israel and its psychic center of gravity. Whether we like it or not, Hamas is now the primary force leading the Palestinian struggle.

The left must confront this basic fact. One cannot ground solidarity with Palestine on a politics that dismisses, overlooks, or excludes Hamas. This stance fails to grasp the complexities and contradictions inherent in the Palestinian struggle. In doing so, the left overlooks the dividing line between collaboration and resistance to its peril.

Point in Time / Linking International Struggle

Editor's Note

May 1, 2025

This booklet was curated at a moment of intensifying global resistance. During this time, we remain acutely aware of the international struggles unfolding around us. The Palestinian national liberation movement is at the forefront of the world revolution. One struggle, many fronts! From Chhattisgarh to Yemen, from the Phillipines to Tamil Eelam - movements are rising, interconnected, defiant and resistant.

“Imperialism has laid its body over the world, the head in Eastern Asia, the heart in the Middle East, its arteries reaching Africa and Latin America. Wherever you strike it, you damage it, and you serve the World Revolution”

- Ghassan Kanafani

The Indian state has greatly escalated its repression against Kashmir and the red corridor. Following the Pahalgam attack, a brutal, violent crackdown has begun in Kashmir. We also wish to highlight the red corridor in India - the storm center of the revolution. Led by the CPI (Maoist), the masses have fought for the past two decades for land and dignity. The latest genocidal campaign has seen the Indian state cut food, water and electricity to whole areas and refuse any talks of a ceasefire, no different to “israel”. The aggression will fail and the revolution will win.

Proud and resistant Yemen, led by Ansar Allah, has stood steadfast against British, American and Zionist aggression and aerial bombardment. The recent aerial blockade initiated by Yemen exemplifies the unity of the fields.

Let us also honour the Kabankalan 7 - martyrs of the Filipino revolution. We wish to highlight Ka Dahila, a transwoman, former student organiser and fighter of the NPA.

The blood of the martyrs water the soil of revolution, the Duterte-US regime will fall.

The protests in Tamil Eelam led by the Mothers of the Disappeared continue to resist Sinhala Buddhist chauvinism, the LCP In Brazil are elevating their struggle against the landlords and the Brazilian state, and the brave struggle of Kanaky shows us that an oppressed nation, no matter how small, will always rise against oppression.

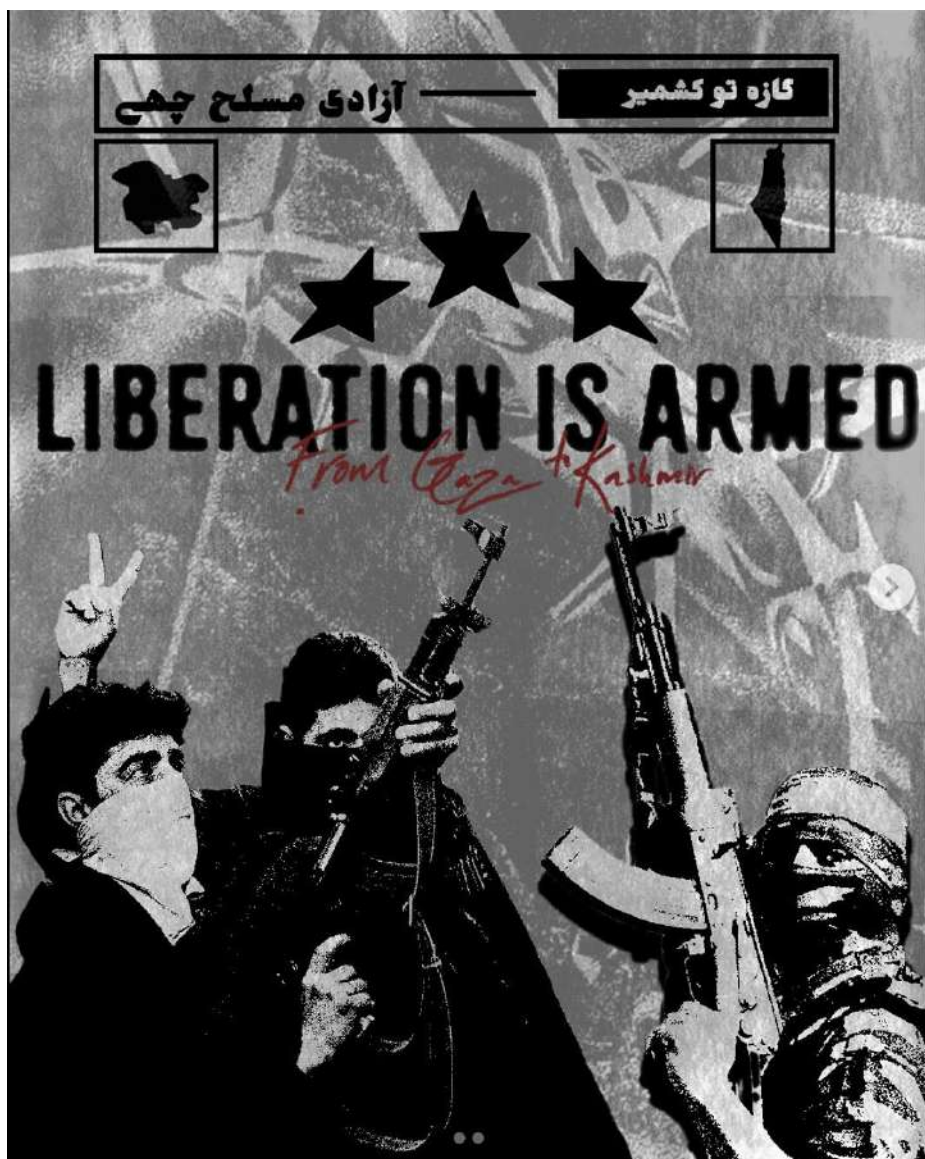
Long live the international anti-imperialist struggle!
Two, three, many Al-Aqsa Floods.



Still from Here and Elsewhere (1976)

Thank you for taking the time to read our booklet and for being part of the festival. Your presence was very appreciated! We've also gathered some extra resources and materials you might find interesting, along with the links mentioned throughout the texts in the booklet. You can find everything in our Linktree - scan the QR code here.





Front Cover Image Details:

From left to right, top to down: Leila Khaled, Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah, Sekou Odinga, George Jackson, Mutulu Shakur, Assata Shakur, 2nd Lieutenant Malathy, Naji Abu Seif ('Abu Hamza'), Yahya Sinwar.

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The Interconnected Revolution.

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