

Echoes of the Shackles

Ahmad Sa'adat

Dedication

To all those who have suffered and continue to suffer, or who have faced and continue to face oppression, injustice, tyranny, torture, isolation, and discrimination

Among them, my comrades along the path, both the martyrs and the living...

To my mother and father, my wife, my brothers and sisters, and my daughters and sons who have endured the hardship of my absence with me.

And especially to my martyred brother *Mohammad*, who was martyred standing tall and refused to be anything but an equal.

Joy Is Born from the Depth of Pain

Joy is born from the depth of pain, and words ring out from the heart of silence. The voice of Ahmad Sa'adat emerges from behind the cold, harsh door of a prison cell — a door the occupier intended as a tool to break the will of a fighter who believes in freedom and justice for all, without discrimination of any kind.

Through powerful, moving stories, he brings hope and joy to light up the darkness of solitary confinement. He gives new meaning to the words of Palestinian poet Taha Muhammad Ali: *"And the silence was as solid as a millstone."* In Ahmad Sa'adat's experience, the silence of isolation becomes a millstone that grinds pain and oppression until warmth is born from the stories of Hassan, Jamal, Marwan, Mahmoud, Ibrahim, Abbas — and even Yigal. Solitary confinement becomes a furnace of repression that melts down ethnic, cultural, and political differences to forge a human being who resists oppression, discrimination, and racism.

Ahmad chooses to share a personal experience of nearly three years in solitary confinement through the stories of those he encountered in isolation — stories and events that reflect the details of this punitive policy, which has long ceased to be a seasonal punishment and instead become a pillar of a systematic structure of physical and psychological torture. This system has been developed over decades by the Israeli Prison Service to break the spirit of Palestinian political prisoners and force their submission.

He details how this policy is implemented, along with other accompanying punitive measures against those held in isolation: denial of family visits, banning of books and newspapers, prohibition of fresh food, refusal to allow prisoners to purchase necessities from the prison canteen, banning of communication with other inmates — especially when held in solitary confinement — and other forms of torment that

have been refined by torturers to the point of absurdity, often enacted by a foolish officer or official seeking to satisfy a sadistic urge for revenge.

This is not a personal memoir, but the intimate stirrings of a heart that beats with love for life. Ahmad does not dwell deeply on the personal timeline of his harshest moments of solitude during those years. Instead, he prefers to speak collectively. And for those who know this stubborn and dedicated man, his avoidance of individualism is no surprise. Still, I believe he should eventually dedicate space to such a journey — into the depths of boundless silence — and take us through the corridors of a spirit unbreakable, even when imprisoned in the darkness of a cell hiding a snake inside.

The policy of isolation in the occupation's prisons is not limited to punishing a prisoner by placing them in a separate cell within a designated isolation ward. The Israeli occupation began isolating Palestinian prisoners from their reality when it decided to transfer all prisoners and detainees into prisons inside Israel — a violation of international humanitarian law. The Prison Service at times segregated specific groups of prisoners — separating Palestinians from '48 and Jerusalem from those of the West Bank and Gaza, isolating prisoners with life sentences in Nafha desert prison, and placing leaders of the prison movement or those deemed “dangerous” by the Prison Service in a special isolation section in Hadarim Prison.

The goal has always been to reshape the consciousness of individuals and groups within the prison movement — to encourage individualism, entrap prisoners in their personal struggles, and dismantle the unity of the prison movement as a collective resistance against the jailer's oppression.

But the Palestinian prisoner movement has proven innovative in developing methods of communication and resistance to counter these policies, safeguarding the psychological and physical well-being of both the individual prisoner and the

collective, and continuing their struggle against all the grave violations committed by the Israeli Prison Service against thousands of Palestinian detainees.

The reality of the Palestinian prisoner movement is no different from the reality of Palestinians outside prison walls, where the prison extends across the Gaza Strip — home to more than a million and a half Palestinians who have been isolated for years. Thousands of families have been cut off from their land and surroundings by an apartheid wall in the West Bank.

And yet, we continue to dream of a better tomorrow — of a day when the prison walls will fall, when we will embrace the sun of freedom, and bask in the warmth of joy.

Sahar Francis

Addameer Prisoner Support and Human Rights Association

Ahmad Sa'adat lives the prison, but the prison does not live within him. He writes about everyone — yet never about himself. Though deeply entangled in the inferno of the occupation's prisons, he witnesses Israeli fascism as it relentlessly practices repression and brutality, seeking to crush the imprisoned human being and strip their life of meaning.

He is the imprisoned comrade and struggler Ahmad Sa'adat, Secretary-General of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. He penned these words from behind bars, drawing from his experience in the solitary confinement cells in which he was thrown for many long years — shedding light on one of the most brutal forms of torture practiced against prisoners: solitary confinement. This is not a simple disciplinary measure, but a punitive and vengeful policy aimed at eroding the prisoner's national spirit, their identity as a struggler, and their very humanity.

Comrade Sa'adat shines a light on what takes place in those tombs known as isolation cells. He exposes the occupation state as one that violates all humanitarian and legal norms. He opens the doors of solitary confinement to reveal the martyrs who died in its silence and darkness, and the prisoners who developed psychological and neurological illnesses after years of isolation. He tells stories of extraordinary resilience — of isolated prisoners who found companionship in the moon, in birds, in rays of sunlight — breaking their isolation and the occupier's plans. Sa'adat writes that solitary confinement is a policy of plunging the prisoner into another world, surrounded and fenced in by harsh procedures, with the goal of devouring the body itself — causing it to fade, vanish, fracture — until the prisoner becomes a victim of the guards' whims, reduced to nothing more than a number.

From this remote grave, comrade Sa'adat tells us that solitary confinement is a systematic Israeli practice since the beginning of the occupation. It is a guillotine for executing prisoners psychologically and socially, fully sanctioned by the

occupation government and its judiciary — a tool for crushing the will of freedom fighters, stripping them of their humanity, and humiliating them. It is more grotesque than war crimes defined as torture. It is a form of slow killing — inflicted throughout the prisoner's time in isolation, buried beneath harsh, degrading procedures that target the prisoner's dignity and treat them as less than human.

Comrade Sa'adat lives in prison, but the prison does not live in him. He has given his suffering a new meaning — one of life. He has not allowed them to shut his inner self, his principles, and his convictions, even though they have locked him away and deprived him of light and air. As a struggler, he has distinguished himself by always pointing toward something greater — something beyond himself. He has risen above his own ego, for a human being is more than a soul, more than breath — we are capable of resistance. And that is why the policy of solitary confinement has failed to break the determination of the prisoners. On the contrary, it has become a site of confrontation with the jailers and torturers — and the prisoners have achieved tremendous victories in their defiance of this policy.

Comrade Sa'adat addresses international human rights organizations and calls on them to visit the hidden frontlines of the occupation state — to go deep into the isolation cells that are not just places of separation, but of continuous punishment: denial of family visits, newspapers, purchases, communication — even with nature itself. He urges them to witness the place where the jailer seeks to transform the prisoner into a mechanical being, devoid of life — or at best, a mere biological entity, through a regime of daily prohibitions.

In his writing, comrade Sa'adat exposes Israeli racism, as well as the madness and stupidity that have turned many Israelis into automated beings, stripped of any ethical or human dimension in their treatment of Palestinian prisoners. These Israelis, consumed by obsession and fear, see every prisoner as a threat to their security and existence, inventing hellish methods to erase, silence, and target the

prisoner — nationally, politically, and humanly. Comrade Sa'adat, who calls upon us to uphold national unity, to strengthen our revolutionary convictions in the face of Israeli policies, to boycott the occupation's courts, and to intensify international pressure and media campaigns in support of the prisoners and in exposing Israeli policy toward them on all levels and platforms — believes firmly that the beast of solitary confinement will never devour a people striving for freedom, dignity, independence, and liberation.

Comrade Sa'adat has lived the prison, but the prison has not lived within him. He has not allowed their bayonets to pierce his chest and reduce him to lifeless matter. He has not let the prison seep into his soul. He draws strength from his convictions, which tell him that, at every difficult juncture, he does not represent only himself — but all his people. For a human being, through their belonging, their values, and the justice of their cause, is stronger than the jailer and all the instruments of repression and disintegration. Comrade Sa'adat lives the prison, but the prison does not live within him. A human being is capable of preserving their spiritual freedom and the independence of their mind even in the most horrific conditions of psychological and physical pressure — refusing to be molded by the occupier's system inside the prison walls.

As Comrade Sa'adat confronts solitary confinement as a system of execution and annihilation against prisoners, he tells us: the inner strength of the imprisoned person can elevate them above the limits of their physical reality. There is meaning in suffering and pain — they are a part of life, and without them, human life is incomplete. Sa'adat does not see the outside world or the future through the eyes of a broken or dead man, as the jailer would hope, but rather through the eyes of a free and rebellious human being.

Issa Qaraqe

Head of the Commission for Detainees and Ex-Detainees Affairs

Introduction

The Zionist movement — and later, the State of Israel — left no method of oppression unused against our people. Its history is inseparable from bloody massacres and a policy of ethnic cleansing, used to establish and solidify its racist entity. This record, written in blood, was preceded decades earlier by the massacres committed by the Nazi movement against the Jews during World War II.

Yet, the world — which claimed victory in the name of freedom over fascism and Nazism — forgot this disgraceful legacy built upon the skulls of innocents. That same world, under the banner of freedom, stood at the United Nations and declared and blessed the establishment of the State of Israel in a tragicomic spectacle. The so-called free world shed tears over the victims of the Holocaust, while donating Palestine as a homeland for the so-called victim — a homeland and a state with no rightful place in the geography or human history of the region.

Through the language of humanity and its values, the international community rewarded a new criminal and fascist power, and punished the true victim — stripping it of its identity and political existence. It continued to enable Israel's aggression and ever-growing crimes. The international community, both theoretically and practically, gave legitimacy to this new racist, fascist state — a state born wielding a sword in one hand, and international law (burned to ashes) in the other.

Within this context, and under the sanction of the so-called free world, our people — including Arab and Palestinian prisoners — have been scorched by Israel's arrogant, racist policies, steeped in hatred and contempt for every human value and international law that guarantees prisoners their rights and dignity. Israel has

practiced extrajudicial killings against many prisoners, whether during arrest or in the dungeons of interrogation — and the names of these martyrs are not unknown, though some have been buried in what are referred to as the "cemeteries of numbers."

In these pages, we will examine one of the harshest forms of torture inflicted upon prisoners — the policy of solitary confinement, through which Israel has violated every standard, law, and international agreement that prohibits torture and defends human rights. These practices are recognized as war crimes under international law.

This study attempts to shed light on the features and dimensions of this policy, which has been used against dozens of prisoners in Israeli prisons. Yet, it must be emphasized that the scope of the occupation's practices against our people is far broader. Today, every village, city, and refugee camp has become isolated — surrounded by fences, the apartheid wall, or concrete roadblocks. Sadly, despite its escalating violations and contempt for international law, Israel continues to receive support and backing — or at best, its crimes are met with silence or timid criticism. Some countries, closely aligned with this entity, have gone so far as to justify these crimes as part of Israel's "natural right" to defend itself.

In this degraded and cynical global political climate, silence or support becomes complicity in Israel's crimes, encouraging its impunity. All claims of defending freedom, human rights, and innocent lives collapse under the weight of hypocrisy. These declarations become no more than propaganda used to justify wars against peoples, nothing but deceit and destruction of the human values upon which a balanced, peaceful, and war-free future should be built.

Anyone following Israeli policies, particularly those targeting our people and our prisoners, and anyone examining the details of solitary confinement, will realize

that Israel's tools and strategies fall within its desperate attempts to prolong an existence it knows — deep down — cannot last. Its hateful, racist behaviors have become standard practice, routine behavior by soldiers and prison guards, carried out as if it were a sacred national or moral duty. Israel remains the spoiled child of the global capitalist order — an entity that holds the power, legislation, and absolute judgment, deciding what is good and evil, virtue and vice. It fears no punishment as long as it serves the imperial interests of a world cloaked in the slogans of freedom.

Although solitary confinement has affected only hundreds among the hundreds of thousands who have passed through Israel's prison gates, this study cannot capture every fact or restore the full truth of its reality. Perhaps that opportunity will come when the stories of all those subjected to this policy are gathered — when their daily experiences are told in detail to present a more comprehensive and accurate picture of their suffering.

Through these pages, we will address this experience as part of the broader context — as yet another dark chapter in the record of Israel's racist, ethnic cleansing policies against our people. The suffering of this people must no longer remain hidden in silence, while the perpetrator and his tools remain safe and unaccountable.

Chapter One

A General Historical Framework of the Policy of Isolation

Since Israel completed its occupation of the rest of Palestine—that is, with its occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip in 1967—the Palestinian national prison movement began to take shape, becoming a continuation of the existence of prisoners that preceded this date. The prisons left behind by Jordanian and Egyptian authorities in the West Bank and Gaza were already full, in addition to the detention centers established during the British Mandate in the part of Palestine occupied in 1948.

In the early stages, Israel resorted to arresting people in search of weapons or to gather intelligence files left by Egyptian and Jordanian authorities in the West Bank and Gaza. It began pursuing members of political parties and individuals from the Palestinian Liberation Army in Gaza. With the launch of the resistance movement, Israel widened its campaign of pursuing fedayeen fighters who crossed borders from Jordan or Egypt, as well as local cells formed from party members, organized groups, and student bodies.

Within just a few months of the new occupation, the prisons became full. In its policy framework, Israel relied on British emergency laws, which gave it the authority to detain anyone suspected of having ties to the resistance or of being involved with political parties—regardless of the nature or scale of their activity. Whether there was enough evidence to prosecute them or not, administrative detention (based on the British Mandate's emergency regulations) awaited them with no delay.

There were no legal standards in place. A suspect could spend many months in interrogation cells without access to family visits, lawyers, or even the Red Cross. Judges were permitted to extend the detention of any suspect appearing before them for one month at a time, renewable for up to three months. In some cases, interrogation periods could be extended for up to six consecutive months.

Detainees were often brought before the courts without legal representation, especially since the Jordanian Bar Association had at that time issued a binding resolution requiring its members to boycott Israeli courts. Furthermore, the Israeli authorities used administrative detention without any limitations—even if there were some indications of guilt, but not enough to issue severe sentences.

These measures were taken within a broader preconceived plan to carry out mass deportations. Between 1970 and 1971, hundreds of Palestinian activists who were held under administrative detention were deported to Jordan.

As the resistance movement expanded and became more structured, the number of Palestinian and Arab detainees in Israeli prisons began to increase steadily and dramatically.

In implementing this policy, Israel resorted to solitary confinement for extended periods, often lasting several months, with the purpose of continuing interrogation of detainees. Multiple facilities were used for this, including police stations within the Green Line, Shin Bet (intelligence) centers in what were referred to as *governorates*, as well as military centers formerly under Jordanian or Egyptian control, which had been occupied. In addition, some military prisons were used to interrogate those considered high-risk resistance fighters, particularly members of commando units who had crossed the borders from Jordan or Egypt.

Detention centers such as Sarafand, Atlit, and Nabi Saleh military prisons were used. In these facilities, detainees were held in extremely harsh isolation conditions, subjected to various forms of torture, including:

- Hanging by the hands from the ceiling
- Beatings of all kinds
- Electric shocks
- Exposure to cold or scalding water
- Use of attack dogs
- Deprivation of food and sleep
- Stress positions (shabeh)

...and many other methods that interrogators perfected—some stemming from their own experience, and others imported from global repressive intelligence systems, such as the SAVAK (Iran under the Shah) and apartheid South Africa.

As the prisoner movement grew, the Israeli Prison Authority began to apply various forms of collective isolation based on the detainee's case file and sentence. For instance:

- Detention centers in Palestinian cities were designated for detainees serving less than one year.
- Nablus Central Prison was used for detainees from that governorate serving less than five years.
- Beersheba Prison was designated for sentences between five and ten years.
- Ashkelon Prison was assigned to those sentenced to ten years or more.
- The latter was reserved for those with very high or life sentences.

Upon arrival, prisoners faced the harshest forms of torture from day one. They were placed in solitary confinement cells for varying durations to break their spirit,

humiliate them, and force submission. Detainees were even required to address their interrogators with "Sir" after every response. For example:

"What is your name?"

"Mohammed, Sir."

"Where are you from?"

"From Ramallah, Sir."

Simultaneously, detainees from Jerusalem and from the part of Palestine occupied in 1948 were segregated in Ramleh Prison, which had been specially prepared for this purpose. Additional detention centers were used as well. This isolation policy remained in effect until 1978.

As for solitary confinement legalized under Israeli law, it functioned as a preventative and punitive measure. One notable case is that of Kozo Okamoto, the international revolutionary and member of the Japanese Red Army, who was subjected to solitary confinement for nearly ten years in a specially constructed underground cell in Ramleh Prison. He was held alongside a Palestinian militant—whose name I can no longer recall.

Another case was the martyr Ibrahim Al-Ra'i, who was placed in those same isolation cells in 1988 after enduring nearly six months of resistance under interrogation and receiving multiple life sentences. He was later assassinated in the same cell after being accused of leading the military wing of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine in the northern West Bank and being responsible for several military operations against soldiers and settlers. His assassination in the isolation cell occurred just months after sentencing.

The Prison Service, under direct orders from the Shin Bet (Israel's internal intelligence agency), would also isolate leaders of the prisoner movement after each collective hunger strike staged by Palestinian prisoners. These leaders were

confined either in solitary cells in Ramleh Prison, which had been specifically equipped for this purpose, or in prisons holding criminal prisoners.

This policy was notably enforced after the Ashkelon hunger strike in 1977, which lasted around 45 days, leading to the isolation of:

- Mahdi Bseiso
- Abu Ali Shahin (from Fatah)
- Abdullah Al-Ajrami (from the Popular Front)
- Jabr Omar (from the Islamic current)
- Omar Al-Qassem (from the Democratic Front)

Earlier, 40 political prisoners in Beersheba had been isolated in a special section following waves of protests and strikes in 1974, with the isolation lasting several months under extremely harsh conditions.

With the deepening and expansion of the struggle of the prisoner movement in defense of its rights, Israel worked to develop its isolation policy. In March 1978, it isolated approximately 80 prisoners whom it considered influential cadres in Beersheba Prison following a crackdown there, and transferred them to Tulkarem Prison, which had been emptied and prepared for this purpose. Some of them spent more than four years in that prison.

In late 1979, as part of its attack on the leadership of the prisoner movement, the Israeli Prison Directorate began setting up a special prison to isolate what it called the "hard core" of the prisoner population. This measure targeted 80 detainees at the beginning of 1980, who were collected from several prisons and isolated in a newly built prison in the desert area of Mitzpe Ramon in southern Palestine. This prison was called Nafha Prison. Israel viewed this prison as a means to pressure the leadership of the prisoner movement by placing them

in harsh conditions in small cells that housed only eight prisoners each, with extremely severe treatment and living standards.

But, as the saying goes, the spell backfired on the sorcerer: this group ended up forming a genuine leadership nucleus for both the prisoner movement and the popular movement in the occupied territories. Less than three months later, the prisoners in Nafha launched a general hunger strike to improve both their personal and collective living conditions in the prisons, and they prepared for it thoroughly.

The strike shook the ground under the feet of the occupation and ignited a wave of popular uprising that lasted for over a month. During the strike, the two prisoners Rassem Halawaa and Ali Al-Ja'fari were martyred, and later, Is-haq Maragha (Abu Jamal) also died from internal injuries sustained during forced feeding attempts by the prison guards, who tried to force-feed him after the third day of the strike.

The occupation resorted to forced feeding using tubes inserted through the nose to the stomach, administering what was known as the "Zonda meal," which consisted of milk, eggs, margarine, salt, and sugar. One can imagine the physical damage this caused, particularly as it was carried out while prisoners were resisting.

In short, the policies and procedures of the Prison Directorate began to shift toward a gradual implementation of the solitary confinement policy. After Nafha Prison failed to break the will of the "hard core" prisoners, the authorities established a collective isolation wing in Beersheba Prison, and linked this measure to legal regulations setting the isolation period at three months, subject to automatic renewal.

It is well-known that isolation prevents prisoners under such conditions from interacting with the rest of the prisoner movement, except in rare cases such as medical transfers, court hearings, or being moved to another facility.

This policy was further reinforced with the establishment of an additional isolation wing in Nitzan Prison in Ramleh. Later, Hadareem Prison was built with a special architectural design, where no cell holds more than two prisoners. Although Hadareem included multiple wings categorized by degrees of isolation depending on the prisoners' classification, Wing 3 was the harshest, and it remains designated for political prisoners to this day, while the other sections have been converted to hold criminal prisoners.

Chapter Two

The Policy of Isolation Before Legislation and Expansion

The practice of solitary confinement against some activists began to take root within the ranks of the Zionist intelligence administration and the prison directorate. Activists such as Kozo Akumoto were detained, whom the Israeli security authorities saw as a universal ideological phenomenon capable of shaking the security and stability of their racist entity if it spread, and would form the nucleus of a new revolutionary epicenter against oppression, arrogance, and capitalism in the world. Therefore, this epicenter had to be crushed in its cradle. The forces of darkness in the world conspired against the sources of this approach, starting with Che Guevara in Bolivia and Wadie Haddad in Palestine. Thus, the penalty of isolation was tightened against Akumoto as a first example, as well as against the Jewish nuclear scientist Mordechai Vanunu. We can imagine the conditions the two lived under, especially Kozo Akumoto, who did not know Arabic or Hebrew—before he learned them alone in isolation—and at the same time was ignorant of the environment he lived in, neither Japanese nor English. Added to this was the nature of the isolation section, both climatically and socially. The climate of the Ramla area is saturated with high humidity, and because the section is located several meters below ground level, the natural living conditions were harsh and unpleasant.

On the social level, his place of residence was determined to be a solitary confinement cell surrounded by a number of prisoners, the vast majority of whom were criminal offenders and collaborators who had fled from other prisons and were referred to as 'protection seekers,' along with one Palestinian freedom fighter

from the Shamout family. He was suffering from neurological and psychological disorders due to the harsh conditions of his isolation.

If we also take into account Okamoto's psychological suffering due to the martyrdom of his comrades during the operation and his own survival — something that, in his view, conflicted with his martyrdom-oriented beliefs — we can understand the magnitude of the hardships he faced in solitary confinement. According to Israeli media claims, Okamoto had demanded a pistol to end his life in exchange for talking during interrogations.

In addition to all of this, the prison administration imposed a series of fascist procedures to deal with him, starting with denying him recreation time and only allowing him to leave his cell for one hour a day, during which he was shackled by both hands and feet — allegedly because he had assaulted a police officer. The prison administration also refused to remove his restraints even during his brief outings to the prison yard.

Despite these harsh conditions, the only break in his isolation came either when another prisoner was brought into solitary confinement, or during his transport to court — which allowed for limited social interaction. Freedom fighters who met him in isolation recounted that he never lost hope or trust in his comrades and their efforts to free him. Despite the hateful suffering he endured, he maintained a strong will and high morale, which was evident after his release, when he returned to his revolutionary activity, eventually leading to an attempt to re-arrest him in Lebanon."

Another example of fascist, racist treatment was the case of the freedom fighter Mordechai Vanunu.

It is well known that this humanitarian Jewish fighter of Eastern (Mizrahi) origin had worked as an expert at the Israeli nuclear reactor. His ideological convictions were incompatible with Israel's pursuit of nuclear weapons, particularly as he had

suffered from racial discrimination due to his class background and his origins among Eastern Jewish communities. He was also aware of the colonial role of the Israeli state and its crimes against our people.

When he tried to end his work, Israel fabricated a charge against him — that he had leaked secrets about the nuclear project. He managed to leave the country before Mossad agents tracked him down, kidnapped him in a European country, and brought him back to Israel. There, he was tried on charges of leaking nuclear secrets and contact with a foreign agent, and was sentenced to 18 years in prison under the pretext that he posed a threat to state security.

He was held in complete solitary confinement for 11 years, followed by restricted conditions until his release in 2004. Initially, he was placed in the solitary wing at Ramleh prison and was transferred between all solitary units in a special wing under extremely harsh conditions. Police subjected him to daily harassment and deprivation of his rights as a prisoner. All these measures were intended to psychologically, socially, and physically break him, and push him toward suicide — as happened with agent X in 2010.

The fascist, racist, imperialist mentality, steeped in hatred and devoid of any humanitarian impulse, justifies to itself any act or crime against any freedom fighter, as long as it serves its colonial project — even if the target is a Jew.

While the conditions of comrade Kozo Okamoto's detention allowed him some limited interaction with newcomers to the section — provided they spoke English — Vanunu was denied even this basic right. His cell was equipped with cameras tracking his every movement, and he was banned from meeting with any prisoner.

Anyone who followed his situation after his release would recognize the severe psychological and neurological damage he suffered due to solitary confinement.

The third example was recorded by Comrade Martyr Ibrahim Al-Ra'i, whom his comrades nicknamed the "Fucik of Palestine" (after the Czech anti-fascist journalist Julius Fučík), as he became a symbol of legendary steadfastness in interrogation chambers. He was interrogated in various cells and detention centers continuously for six months after being accused of leading the military wing of the Popular Front in the northern West Bank and of being responsible for organizing and motivating several daring operations against the occupation and its settlers.

The intelligence services used every possible method of interrogation against him, including arresting his family members — his brothers, sister, and mother — but he remained unbreakable. After failing to extract a confession from him, they presented him for trial based on confessions obtained from others, and he was sentenced to multiple life sentences. The Israeli intelligence services then transferred him to solitary confinement in Ramleh Prison — a decision that seems to have been the beginning of a plan to assassinate him, a decision previously made and prepared for.

When the Israeli intelligence claimed that Al-Ra'i had attempted suicide by hanging himself in one of the Moskobiya detention center's cells, it was later revealed that there were deep bruises on his body — evidence of torture that led to his death.

It is worth mentioning that this method had previously been used by Israeli intelligence to assassinate many freedom fighters during interrogations. To honor them and their spirits, and to remain truthful to their memory, the following list — published by the Palestinian Prisoners Club and the Commission of Detainees and Ex-Detainees Affairs — names those who were martyred as a result of torture in Israeli prisons:

1. Yousef Al-Jabali – Nablus – Martyred on 04/01/1968 due to torture in Nablus Prison.
2. Fathi Abdel-Fattah Al-Natsheh – Hebron – Martyred on 28/07/1968 in Sarafand Prison.
3. Younes Mubarak Hussein Abu Sbeitan – Deir al-Balah – Martyred on 11/10/1968 in Sarafand Prison.
4. Qassem Abdullah Abu Aker – Beit Hanina, Jerusalem – Martyred on 23/03/1969 in Moskobiya Detention Center, Jerusalem.
5. Ahmad Muslim Abu Amira – Gaza – Martyred on 15/08/1969 in Gaza Prison.
6. Qassem Abu Khadra – Acre – Martyred on 04/11/1969 due to brutal torture.
7. Awn Saeed Hussein Al-Ar'eer – Gaza, Shuja'iyya – Martyred on 10/03/1970 in Majdal Prison.
8. Othman Badawi Othman Al-Bahsh – Nablus – Martyred on 28/08/1970 in Nablus Prison.
9. Deeb Mousa Nassif Shteiyyeh – Salfit – Martyred on 25/10/1970 due to severe torture.
10. Hashem Ibrahim Hashem Kareem – Al-Shati Camp – Martyred on 22/12/1970 in Ramleh Prison due to torture.
11. Salem Al-Haj Mahmoud Hassan Safi – Dura – Martyred on 01/06/1971 in Hebron Prison.
12. Mustafa Mohammad Aqil Al-Darabe'e – Dura – Martyred on 22/02/1971 in Be'er Sheva.
13. Mohyeddin Suleiman Al-Awri – Ramallah – Martyred on 02/03/1971 in Ramallah Prison.
14. Mohammad Hassan Mahmoud Wishah – Al-Bureij Camp – Martyred on 01/09/1971 in Gaza Prison.

15. Hassan Al-Sawarka – Al-Arish – Martyred on 27/03/1972 in Ashkelon Prison.
16. Issa Mutlaq Abdel-Hamid – Qabalan – Martyred on 09/06/1972 due to torture.
17. Mustafa Al-Awawda – Hebron – Martyred on 27/07/1972 in Hebron Prison.
18. Nasreddin Fahmi Mohammad Al-Shakhshir – Nablus – Martyred on 02/05/1973 in Ashkelon Prison.
19. Fareez Hosni Asaad Tashtoush – Nablus – Martyred on 27/09/1973 in Nablus Prison.
20. Omar Shalabi – Aleppo, Syria – Martyred on 22/10/1973 in Ashkelon Prison.
21. Salem Mohammad Mustafa Abu Sitta – Khan Younis – Martyred on 13/10/1974 in Gaza Prison.
22. Fouad Mohammad Salama Hameed (Abu Hadeed) – Jabalia Camp – Martyred on 19/01/1976 in Ashkelon Prison.
23. Ahmad Deeb Ahmad Dahdoul – Salfit – Martyred on 21/03/1976 due to torture.
24. Mohammad Yousef Al-Khawaja – Ni'lin, Ramallah – Martyred on 02/06/1976 due to torture, then executed post-arrest.
25. Yousef Ahmad Hassan Kareem – Khan Younis – Martyred on 13/07/1978 in Gaza Prison.
26. Saeed Abu Sitta – Khan Younis – Martyred on 18/01/1979 in Gaza Prison.
27. Ya'qub Mohammad Dabbabesh – Gaza, Al-Nasr – Martyred on 28/10/1982 in Ashkelon Prison.
28. Hamza Omar Othman Abu Shoaib – Jama'in – Martyred on 25/02/1983 in Tulkarm Prison.

29. Khalil Ibrahim Abu Khadija – Ramallah – Martyred on 05/04/1983 in Ramallah Prison.
30. Qandil Kamel Abdel-Rahman Alwan – Jabalia – Martyred on 24/02/1988 due to medical neglect – Ashkelon Prison.
31. Ibrahim Mahmoud Al-Ra'i (Abu Al-Muntasir) – Qalqilya – Martyred on 11/04/1988 due to torture in isolation cells at Ramleh, followed by execution.
32. Nabil Mustafa Jameel Ibdah – Beit Hanina, Jerusalem – Martyred on 10/08/1988 in Moskobiya Interrogation Center.
33. Ibrahim Yasser Al-Motour – Hebron – Martyred on 21/10/1988 in Dhahiriya Detention Center.
34. Mahmoud Yousef Aliyan Al-Masri – Rafah – Martyred on 07/03/1989 in Gaza Prison.
35. Jamal Mohammad Abdul-Aty Abu Sharakh – Al-Shati Camp – Martyred on 03/12/1989 in Gaza Prison.
36. Khaled Kamel Sheikh Ali – Gaza, Al-Rimal – Martyred on 12/12/1989 in Gaza Prison.
37. Atiyah Abdul-Aty Al-Za'anin – Beit Hanoun – Martyred on 13/11/1990 in Gaza Prison.
38. Ali Hassan Abdel-Halim Al-Shahid – Tulkarm – Martyred on 08/06/1991 in the Civil Administration Headquarters.
39. Sami Nouman Suleiman Zaarab – Khan Younis – Martyred on 22/08/1991 in Gaza Prison.
40. Mustafa Abdullah Al-Akawi – Jerusalem – Martyred on 04/02/1992 in Hebron Prison.
41. Mohammad Suleiman Hussein Baris – Khan Younis Camp – Martyred on 29/06/1992 in Ramleh Prison.

42. Hazem Mohammad Abdul Rahim Eid – Al-Am'ari Refugee Camp – Martyred on 09/07/1992 due to torture – Hebron Prison.
43. Mustafa Mahmoud Mustafa Barakat – Anabta – Martyred in August 1992 due to torture – Tulkarm Prison.
44. Samir Mohammad Khamees Salama – Rafah – Martyred on 15/02/1993 in solitary confinement cells of Be'er Sheva Prison due to torture.
45. Ayman Saeed Hassan Nassar – Deir al-Balah – Martyred on 02/04/1993 due to torture – Gaza Prison.
46. Mohammad Salameh Al-Jundi – Al-Arroub – Martyred on 10/05/1993 due to torture – Hebron Prison.
47. Abdul-Samad Salman Hareizat – Yatta – Martyred on 25/04/1995 due to torture – Moskobiya Interrogation Center.
48. Khaled Ali Ayyesh Abu Diya – Bethlehem – Martyred on 21/05/1997 due to torture – Moskobiya Interrogation Center.
49. Nidal Zakaria Abu Srouf – Aida Refugee Camp, Bethlehem – Martyred on 29/01/1998 due to torture – Moskobiya Interrogation Center.
50. Raed Mahmoud Ahmad Abu Hamed – Al-Eizariya – Martyred on 16/04/2010 after being assaulted in solitary confinement and left without medical care – Eshel Prison, Be'er Sheva.
51. Arafat Shaheen Jaradat – Sa'ir, Hebron – Martyred on 23/02/2013 due to torture in Jalameh and Megiddo prisons.
52. Raed Abdessalam Al-Jaabari – Hebron – Martyred on 09/09/2014 due to torture at Soroka Hospital; he had been detained since 26/07/2014 in Eshel Prison under interrogation.

The Israeli intelligence (Shin Bet) repeatedly claimed that many of these deaths were suicides.

- In the case of Arafat Jaradat, they claimed he died of a heart attack, despite clear signs of torture.
- Similarly, the elderly and resilient Sheikh Mohyeddin Suleiman Al-Awri, from Beit 'Ur al-Tahta, who died in Ramallah's cells in 1971, was said to have died from a respiratory crisis.

Yet the list of such cases continues to grow.

What Does Solitary Confinement Mean?

Solitary confinement can be defined as placing the prisoner in a spatial environment marked by physical narrowness, devoid of all forms of life and reducing them to their absolute minimum—or even below that—especially when it comes to aspects of social and human life. The goal is to keep the prisoner under constant siege and isolation by reducing both physical and human dimensions to their lowest possible limits. This forced lifestyle of confinement becomes imposed on the body and senses, eventually aiming to besiege the prisoner's mental and cognitive abilities.

It involves detaining the prisoner alone—or with one other inmate—in a dark, cramped cell no larger than 1.5 by 2.5 meters. These are filthy, unclean cells, with walls that constantly emit dampness and mold. Inside the cell is an old floor toilet, from which rats and rodents emerge, and there is no separation between the toilet area and the rest of the cell.

There is a single window, more like a hole in the wall than an actual ventilation window. It is covered with a thick metal plate to prevent escape—or even the entry of fresh air. The cell is lit by a fluorescent bulb. The prisoner may spend a year, two years, or even eleven years or more in this place.

On top of this harsh punishment, further additional penalties may be imposed on the prisoner in solitary, such as:

- Being denied contact with other prisoners.
- Cutting off drinking water and preventing showers.
- Banning visits from family members and lawyers.
- Blocking the sending or receiving of letters.
- Denying access to the prison canteen.
- Confiscation of personal belongings such as books, papers, or electrical devices.
- Prohibiting outdoor time (recreation/foura).
- Imposing fines and disciplinary punishments.
- Beating with batons and firing tear gas.
- Storming the solitary cell, and chaining the prisoner's hands to the bed with iron shackles.

Solitary Confinement: A Proven Method to Break Wills

As the intensity of the Palestinian struggle increased and resistance operations expanded, Israeli repression intensified, including the policy of solitary confinement.

With the outbreak of the First Intifada in December 1987, the number of detainees rose sharply—reaching an average of about 13,000 prisoners at a time. Naturally, this led to an escalation in Israeli repression and an expansion in its methods, including assassination, arrest, bone-breaking, and deportation.

As part of this policy, the occupation authorities innovated new ways to suppress the prisoners' movement. New detention centers were opened:

- In Gaza: Ansar 2

- In the Negev: Ansar
- Megiddo, Dhahiriya, and Al-Far'a

The number of prisoners in Ansar 3 alone reached around 10,000 detainees, who lived under very difficult conditions, deprived of the most basic human needs—whether due to the harsh climate or the lack of essential life necessities (physical, social, family visits, food, medical care), in addition to systematic repression.

No significant improvement occurred in their living conditions until after 1992, and only due to their continuous struggle and legal efforts. Only then were monthly family visits allowed, and prisoners were permitted to bring in a limited variety of food items. They were also allowed to purchase a few essentials from the prison canteen.

As we've said, these improvements were the direct result of the prisoners' struggle, backed by mass movements, unions, human rights, legal, and political support from outside the prisons.

As for the central prisons where detainees expected to receive sentences longer than five years were transferred, the Israeli Prison Service intensified its repressive measures to prevent them from participating in directing or leading the popular uprising from within prison.

Within this framework, the policy of solitary confinement was formally implemented against key figures of the Palestinian national movement and field leaders of the Intifada.

To avoid confusion between the application of this policy against Palestinian freedom fighters, whom Israel considers leaders of the national or prisoners' struggle—believing their presence among other detainees poses a threat—and other cases where the prison administration was forced to isolate individuals

for reasons unrelated to those of isolating political activists, the following distinctions must be made:

1. The prison administration was sometimes compelled to isolate prisoners who had escaped from shared prison rooms, for security reasons. Some of these individuals were later investigated and convicted of collaborating with the Israelis, while others sought protection from the administration fearing retaliation or interrogation by fellow prisoners, due to certain behavioral concerns noted about them. There were also a few cases involving ethical or moral failures, where individuals were unable to adhere to the rules of communal living and the internal regulations that govern prison society and the prisoners' movement. It's important to note that some of those who sought protection from the prison administration—whether for security or moral reasons—did so before being definitively judged guilty or innocent. Some of them had even been present since the early stages of the Palestinian prisoners' movement.

The Israeli intelligence services used some of these individuals as informants, assigning them various tasks such as:

- Extracting confessions from newly arrested prisoners
- Attempting to recruit detainees as informants for the intelligence services
- Entrapping prisoners in unethical or immoral behavior

Because of these activities, the prison authorities established special, disguised sections specifically for these collaborators. Prisoners referred to these sections as: "Bird rooms" or "Rooms of Shame."

2. Medical Cases with Psychological Disorders. These are prisoners suffering from mental health disorders who have failed to adapt to the conditions of social life inside the prisons. Although such cases have been rare within the

prisoners' movement, the movement has often succeeded in integrating them into the communal life of the prison, including those with physical illnesses, such as the paralyzed. However, some remain beyond hope of recovery. Instead of providing them with proper treatment, placing them in psychiatric hospitals, or releasing them due to the deterioration of their mental state, the Israeli Prison Service has kept them in solitary confinement, where they are constantly vulnerable to abuse, especially during episodes of mental crisis. In some instances, these individuals have been shackled to their beds for days, with their restraints only removed during bathroom breaks or meals. Their continued presence in solitary serves a dual function: a form of punishment for them, and as a psychological tool of torture for other prisoners who are also held in isolation.

3. Criminal Prisoners. These are present in all prison sections. Some of them are key figures in underworld organizations and criminal families, and the Prison Service fears placing them in regular sections. Others are escapees or individuals in crisis. This mix forms the social fabric of solitary confinement wings, along with notorious right-wing extremist cells who have committed crimes against Palestinians. This includes individuals convicted of assassinating Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, most notably Yigal Amir.

It's important to note that criminal prisoners retain all their rights as inmates, with the only restriction being the duration of outdoor time ("recreation/fourra"), which is now equal to that granted to political prisoners. They still enjoy:

- Phone call privileges
- Family visits, including
- Private and extended (open) visitations

4. Special Cases: Leaders of the Prisoners' Movement and Armed Groups.

This group is limited in number. Some were placed in solitary confinement immediately after interrogation, while others were isolated due to their activism within the prison, by decision of the Prison Directorate. In such cases, the duration of their isolation was not always long. However, in certain instances, the decision came from the intelligence services after the prisoner had already spent time in prison. In these cases, the duration of solitary confinement can be described as "an open-ended sentence," to borrow a mathematical term. Some have spent more than thirteen years in solitary confinement, as in the cases of Mujahideen Mahmoud Issa and Hassan Salameh.

Chapter Three

The Legal Framework for Legislating the Policy of Solitary Confinement In International Law

Since its establishment, the occupying power's government has generally disregarded the law in its treatment of Palestinian prisoners and has not adhered to the implementation of the International Convention Against Torture, despite being a signatory to it. Nor has it abided by other international agreements and laws. Instead, it has carried out its repressive policies against them without limitation. The policy of solitary confinement, as practiced by the Israeli Prison Service, poses one of the gravest threats to the physical and psychological well-being of prisoners, resulting from their isolation from the outside world. This constitutes a serious violation of international human rights law and international humanitarian law.

Accordingly, the practice of solitary confinement in Israeli prisons can be considered a violation of Article 5 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Article 7 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, both of which categorically prohibit torture and cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment. The prisoner's disconnection from the outside world is considered a violation of humane standards, which affirm the right of the prisoner to communicate with the outside world, especially with their family.

Solitary confinement also constitutes a violation of international humanitarian law, particularly when considering the conditions under which Palestinian prisoners are held in isolation. This is clearly addressed in Articles 91 and 92 of the Fourth Geneva Convention, which concerns the treatment of civilians during times of war and occupation. Furthermore, Article 76 of the 1949 Fourth Geneva

Convention explicitly prohibits the individual or collective transfer and deportation of people from occupied territories to the territory of the occupying power.

International laws and conventions have also prohibited the occupying state from imposing any punishments that undermine the dignity or humanity of prisoners. This is affirmed by the Geneva Convention on Prisoners of War of 1948, as well as the provisions of international humanitarian law, human rights legislation, the Convention Against Torture, and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

With the growing criticism of its policies by international legal institutions and human rights organizations—both local and international, including Israeli organizations such as B'Tselem, the Public Committee Against Torture in Israel, and others—and the exposure of torture policies and other serious violations against prisoners, all of this forced successive Israeli governments to enact legislation that both regulates and simultaneously conceals its repressive practices and violations. These began particularly with regulations related to interrogation following the torture scandal involving Izzat Nafsu.

As for the Landau Commission, which was formed by the Knesset, it issued formal guidelines to regulate the interrogation process, essentially legalizing what was termed "moderate physical and psychological pressure." It even included a clause concerning the treatment of prisoners in the official Prison Service regulations—referred to as the legal regulation of the Prison Authority—which allows for solitary confinement of a prisoner for a period determined by necessity, if the prisoner is deemed, under standard detention conditions, to pose a threat to public or state security.

Israel—which, notably, is the only country in the world that legislates human rights violations against prisoners—enacted the Prison Authority Law in 1971. This law

allows for the solitary confinement of prisoners under the pretext of security concerns. Over time, solitary confinement became a standard policy in all Israeli prisons, with each prison director authorized to isolate any prisoner for a specified period without needing to refer to the courts—courts that are, fundamentally, merely formal and lack genuine judicial authority.

Later, in 2006, this law was amended to broaden the criteria for holding detainees in solitary confinement and to expand the powers of those authorized to impose this punishment. This was done through the invention of the term “secret file”, a file compiled by the intelligence service in accordance with its own interests. This term has since been used to cover all forms of legal violations, including administrative detention, solitary confinement, deportation, and even assassination. The situation has deteriorated to the point that all levels of courts in the Israeli system now use this term, including the High Court of Justice — which, from now on, we must omit the word "justice" from its name, because there can be no justice without the accused knowing the charges against them, nor the lawyer being able to defend against charges they do not know.

Subsequently, the Israeli intelligence services drafted a law to legalize the solitary confinement of Palestinian prisoners, under the name: “The Shalit Law”.

Solitary Confinement: A Legislated Policy in Zionist Institutions

As part of its definition of the policy of solitary confinement, the Landau Commission stated that the isolation of a prisoner is not a punishment, but rather a preventive measure necessitated by security needs, claiming that the isolated prisoner is not deprived of their fundamental rights as stipulated by law. However, these texts are deliberately ambiguous. For example, the **Israeli** Prison Service considers the right to visitation—stipulated in its regulations as once every two months—as the full extent of the prisoner’s right. Any additional visits are

treated as a privilege that was agreed upon with the prisoners—thanks, of course, to the struggles of the prisoners' movement.

As for the daily yard time (*fura*), it is limited to one hour, and any additional time that prisoners manage to obtain is also considered a privilege, according to the prison authorities. The law also permits Israeli occupation courts to issue decisions placing detainees in solitary confinement for six months in a single-person cell, or for 12 months in a cell with another detainee. Moreover, the court is legally authorized to extend the prisoner's isolation for additional and even indefinite periods, based on the pretext of the so-called "secret file."

In order to frame the issue as legal, the procedure for solitary confinement formally goes through several legal stages, most of which are superficial and merely procedural, as the matter ultimately depends on the political level. In fact, the decision to isolate a prisoner is not made by judges, but by **Shin Bet** (Shabak) security officers.

The legal process begins with the prisoner being suddenly informed that they are being transferred to another prison. A prisoner may be transferred directly to solitary confinement after the interrogation ends, as happened with prisoners such as Mazen Malasa, who spent his entire six-and-a-half-year sentence in isolation, and others such as Abdullah Barghouti, Ibrahim Hamed, Darar al-Sisi, Mahawesh Naimat, and Atwa al-Amour—all of whom were placed in isolation during the first six months, a period that can be decided solely by the prison director or their deputy, without needing to refer the matter to court. This is within their authority to impose a punishment of up to two months, extendable without judicial review.

After the initial two-month period, the isolation is automatically renewed every two months, without formal hearings or court sessions, until it reaches six months. After

that, the prisoner is moved to dual isolation (shared confinement), and the cycle repeats for another six months.

Once the initial six-month solitary confinement period or the one-year dual isolation period ends, the prisoner's case must be brought before a court. At this point, the isolation is given the form of a judicial ruling by the court, which holds routine extension sessions devoid of any due process, under the pretext of the secret file. The prisoner is not informed of the charges against them and therefore cannot defend themselves. The court simply accepts the prosecutor's claim that the prisoner is a "threat to state and public security."

In reality, this phrase—though placed within a legal framework—carries no actual legal substance or standards.

Solitary Confinement... A Blatant Violation of International Law

Here we find a clear violation of international law, and in contrast, the world remains silent about this violation. If arresting someone on the grounds of resisting occupation constitutes a violation of international law, then imposing solitary confinement as a punishment constitutes a double violation. Even if we overlook the blatant violation of international law regarding arresting someone on charges of resisting occupation in all its forms—especially with regard to political, ideological, or opinion-based charges—the legal rules do not allow punishing a prisoner twice for the same charge: once with imprisonment and again with solitary confinement. This applies to all solitary confinement decisions made by the occupation authorities against Palestinian fighters. Transferring a fighter from interrogation cells after completing harsh interrogation sessions—which involve tens or even hundreds of forms of torture—directly to solitary confinement cells is an additional punishment not permitted by international or local law applicable in the occupied country.

Perhaps the cases of the two fighters, Ibrahim Hamid and Abdullah Barghouti, confirm this violation. After several months of interrogation and their files being referred to the military court, they were directly placed in solitary confinement sections, which in itself is an additional punishment or, at best, a punishment based on "intentions and suspicions." These two fighters never lived in the regular sections; therefore, there is nothing that can be considered evidence or justification for detaining them in solitary confinement. They did not commit any "crime" or violation that would threaten the security of the public, the entity, or the prisoners according to reports used by the occupation judiciary. Detaining them is a prior condemnation of intentions that have not yet been tested, which contradicts the legal principle that the accused is innocent until proven guilty. However, in the Zionist entity, a Palestinian is considered guilty unless proven otherwise.

Reviewing many cases transferred to solitary confinement, most of them did not spend weeks or several months in regular prison life before being subjected to open-ended solitary confinement without a specific time limit. This indicates that solitary confinement decisions were premeditated and ready in advance, regardless of whether there was a crime justifying it or not. Thus, it is a retroactive punishment for the prisoner.

If we assume that the law allows any authority to transfer any political or criminal prisoner to solitary confinement in case of violating something that threatens security, this assumption is nullified by the fact that everyone accused of this violation was brought before a court due to their violation inside the prison, especially if it posed a threat to internal prison security. The issuance of a harsh ruling as long as the prisoner has not experienced conduct that poses an internal threat justifying their separation from other detainees, then what is the justification for punishing them with solitary confinement? Other than that, it is merely an expression of a predetermined intention to punish them.

Also, as the law stipulates, every punishment must have a defined time limit, not be open-ended as is the case with solitary confinement. The prevailing practice in Israeli repression is that those placed in solitary confinement appear before a special court that repeatedly extends their confinement dozens of times, sometimes reaching thirteen years or more, as in the case of the fighter “Fannouno.” Based on the same file, and without any new evidence allowing the court to extend their confinement.

Moreover, these special courts dealing with Palestinian prisoners’ solitary confinement cases have never acquitted or rejected any request made by intelligence or the representing authority against any Palestinian prisoner. Nor have they responded to any objection submitted by any Palestinian prisoner or their lawyers in court—even on a single aspect of solitary confinement life, such as denying the prisoner visits or denying treatment to a prisoner suffering from illness.

Is Solitary Confinement a Punishment?

Solitary confinement, in its general form, is *supposed* to be used as a disciplinary punishment for political prisoners and criminal inmates due to a violation committed inside the prison. In such cases, the prisoner is placed alone in a cell and denied access to any necessities except for their clothing, mattress, and blanket, for a period not exceeding 14 days. This period is to be divided into two parts: 7 days in isolation, after which the prisoner returns to their regular section for a break, and then is placed back in solitary for another 7 days. That is, a detainee cannot be isolated for 14 consecutive days. This authority is granted to the prison director under Article 56 of the Israeli Prison Authority Law of 1971.

However, when it comes to the solitary confinement of prisoners for political reasons—which is the issue at hand—all Zionist and international laws are

disregarded, particularly in terms of clarifying the charges and the length of time the prisoner spends in solitary, which can extend to years without even specifying the charge. The alleged reasons for isolation usually revolve around "security of the region and the public," "state security," "prison security," "preserving the safety and health of the detainee or other detainees," "preventing real harm to the discipline or order of life in the prison," or preventing violent offenses, especially those linked to organized crime or drug offenses.

Initially, isolated detainees are allowed visits "according to regulations," but later, this right is stripped from political detainees by a decision attached to the solitary confinement order.

As for the steps and procedures that fall under the scope of legal treatment, they proceed as follows:

After 48 hours of solitary confinement, the prison administration holds a hearing before the deputy director of the prison where the solitary wing is located. This session is purely formal, especially since the deputy director often has no knowledge of the reasons for the isolation. The decision comes from the intelligence services, outside the authority of the Prison Service. In this session, the prisoner is asked about the vague reasons for their isolation and is informed that the Prison Service Directorate, through the regional prison grouping the prisoner is assigned to, will hold another hearing a week later to decide whether to continue the confinement or end it.

After a week, the mentioned hearing takes place—typically led by the deputy head of the “regional grouping”—who informs the prisoner that there is security information being verified, and if it proves accurate, the isolation will continue. If it is found to be incorrect, the confinement will be lifted, and the prisoner will return to the regular prison sections.

If the prisoner is in solitary confinement alone (i.e., isolated from all others), their file is referred to the central court in the geographical area where the prisoner is located after six months. A request is submitted to the court by the regional intelligence unit to extend the prisoner's isolation for a specified period. The isolated prisoner has the right to object to the request, either through a lawyer or independently. The court may also appoint a lawyer to defend the prisoner.

However, the court—or more accurately, the performance—is conducted based on a secret file submitted by the intelligence services. Only the judge is allowed to review its contents; neither the prisoner nor their lawyer is given access to it. This file typically includes the indictment under which the prisoner was sentenced, along with a set of information or reasons justifying the intelligence service's request to extend the solitary confinement. Naturally, in such a court, the lawyer is not given any meaningful right to defend their client, and the extension is granted automatically for the duration requested by the intelligence services through the regional committee. This farce has led many isolated detainees to boycott these courts.

A few days after the isolation begins, the prisoner receives a separate decision denying them visitation rights for a period of three months. They are entitled to appeal this decision before the central court. It is worth noting that this so-called "central court" has never rejected a request by the public prosecutor throughout its existence to extend the solitary confinement of any prisoner. This confirms without doubt that the court is nothing more than a formal, functional tool used to give a legal façade to the Shin Bet's (Shabak's) decisions against detainees.

Also, no isolated prisoner has ever been released from solitary confinement by a decision of this court. Any prisoner who ended their confinement did so not by court

decision, but due to the demands of the prisoner movement after engaging in hunger strikes.

The formal legal process is completed through routine, humiliating—sometimes even laughable—procedures. A few days before the court session, the prison doctor visits the isolated prisoner to ask about their health. Then, the social worker passes by the prisoner for just a few seconds to inquire about their condition. These visits are followed by reports from the doctor and the social worker, which always state that the prisoner's physical and psychological condition is suitable for continued solitary confinement.

Additionally, the intelligence officer of the "prison compound" supervising the prisoner attaches a sworn statement affirming that a responsible committee within the compound reviewed the issue of the prisoner's isolation, discussed their condition, and concluded that they still pose a threat to public security. For several reasons—some of which are listed—they recommend extending the prisoner's isolation for another period. Naturally, the purpose of this statement is to cover up and obscure the role of the intelligence services, which are the actual decision-makers behind the isolation.

Finally, if the court is ever forced to issue a decision contrary to the wishes of the intelligence services, it does so in a vague and ambiguous manner. For example, a prisoner who is in shared isolation (with another detainee) might request to be held alone in solitary confinement for personal reasons—even though single confinement is far harsher than shared confinement. This may stem from a lack of compatibility between cellmates or serious ideological or personal conflicts. Still, the court issues a decision that goes against the prisoner's own request.

Solitary confinement is not intended to suit the comfort of the prisoner but rather serves the intelligence service's objectives: breaking the prisoner's will, crushing

their morale, and stripping them of their humanity—leaving them utterly broken, detached from all the values, principles, and sense of self-worth they once believed in.

Although most isolated prisoners are kept in shared solitary confinement—meaning two prisoners in the same cell—this is based on the Zionist isolation law, which stipulates that a court may isolate a prisoner in *single solitary confinement* without any cellmate for only six months. If there is a need to extend the isolation beyond that period, two prisoners must be housed together.

The representative of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) is allowed to visit the isolated prisoner in their cell once every two months as a form of cosmetic oversight to give the appearance that isolation conditions are being monitored—despite the clear violations of international law. During these visits, the Red Cross representative may bring permitted clothing, books on occasion, and letters from the prisoner's family outside the prison. These letters are then handed to the prison administration for inspection and censorship.

However, the prison administration might *never deliver the letter* to the prisoner, or they might delay handing it over based on their mood or internal policies regarding the prisoner. These visits offer the prisoner only emotional sympathy from the Red Cross representative, who is strictly forbidden from discussing any political or security matters with the isolated prisoner. The conversation is limited to daily life and health-related topics. Even though the prisoner understands the limited role and lack of influence the Red Cross holds, these visits still provide a small but meaningful relief—offering a break from the crushing monotony and psychological pressure of isolated life.

Solitary Confinement... A Harsh Stripping of the Prisoner's Rights

As soon as a prisoner is transferred to the solitary confinement units, a parallel decision is issued to deny them family visits for a period of three months, which is then automatically extended. This is despite the fact that the regulations governing prisoners' lives clearly state that solitary confinement is not a punitive measure, but rather a precautionary procedure related to the prisoner's specific circumstances. The prisoner, during the period of isolation, is supposed to retain all legal rights granted to them by law. However, in practice, the denial of family visits and many other rights turns this measure into a blatant violation of the law, making it a first-degree punitive isolation.

In solitary confinement, numerous practices imposed on the isolated prisoner undermine the authorities' claims that they are abiding by their own regulations.

For example, the prisoner's recreation time (yard time) and ability to exercise are reduced from several hours—as stipulated in agreements signed between prisoners and the Israeli Prison Service—to just one hour per day. This completely contradicts the claim that isolation is not a punishment. Even that one hour is often undermined by various tricks:

- Sometimes the alarm siren is suddenly sounded, declaring a "state of emergency";
- At other times, the prisoner is forced to choose between seeing their lawyer or going out for yard time;
- On other occasions, it's claimed that the officer responsible for escorting the prisoner is "absent";
- And sometimes, the decision is simply based on the mood of the guard that day.

All this shows that the infringement of prisoners' rights is intentional and systematic, part of a carefully planned isolation regime. Reducing the already limited hour of recreation clearly aims to harm the prisoner's health and morale, which constitutes a deliberate, long-term threat to their life.

In many cases, the isolated prisoner is punished further by being taken out to the yard with hands and feet shackled in iron chains. In the first stage, both hands and feet are shackled; in the second stage, the prisoner is kept shackled until reaching the yard, where their hands are unshackled but their feet remain chained throughout the entire recreation period, and are only removed upon return to the cell.

Prisoners are not allowed to meet or see each other during yard time. Each prisoner is brought out alone to an empty yard.

In solitary confinement, prisoners are not allowed to possess more than two books in their cell, in addition to the Quran. This is despite the fact that the law grants prisoners the right to own eight books:

- Three general cultural books,
- Two religious books,
- Two educational books,
- And the Quran.

While the prison administration claims that the isolated prisoner can exchange books from the prison library, access to the library is sporadic and unreliable. Furthermore, the law allows the prisoner's family to send two books per month via the Red Cross, but this is routinely obstructed by delaying permission for the Red Cross representative to deliver the books.

The same applies to Arabic newspapers, such as a paper that is allowed in other prisons—which is banned in solitary by an administrative decision that is hard to justify.

All of this is clearly aimed at shrinking the prisoner's mental and cultural world, cutting them off from any meaningful connection with the living world, even on a cultural level. The goal is to disable their memory, confine their attention solely to the minute details of prison life, and prevent them from thinking freely—because free thought might be considered a threat to public safety, state security, or even a form of terrorism.

As with books and recreation time, the same restrictions apply to other rights. For example, while the law theoretically allows a prisoner to bring in a private doctor for treatment, this right is consistently obstructed through various tactics, and there has never been a recorded case where the Israeli Prison Service approved such a request for an isolated prisoner, no matter how ill they were.

In theory, the prisoner is allowed to purchase their personal needs from the prison canteen (*kantina*) twice a month. However, in reality, many of the required items are not delivered—either because they're unavailable, or due to the laziness of the guard responsible for processing the orders. Sometimes, the issue lies in the prisoner's account lacking funds on the designated purchase day, as families often face difficulties in transferring money to the prisoner's account on time. In such cases, the rule becomes: *"If you miss the market, you don't shop,"* and the prisoner must wait another two weeks for the next opportunity. Naturally, the prisoner is forbidden from seeking help from a neighboring cellmate, since isolation laws prohibit any exchange of items between prisoners, and anyone who tries to smuggle items to assist another prisoner is punished. This issue has severe consequences, particularly for isolated prisoners suffering from psychological disorders, especially due to the lack of cigarettes. Readers of these

lines are free to imagine the kinds of interactions that may arise between such prisoners and the guards—and the level of distress this can cause for a mentally ill prisoner. These situations can escalate to the use of tear gas or shackling the prisoner to the bed for several days. All of this forms part of a systematic process aimed at destroying the prisoner's nervous system and mental stability over time.

Solitary confinement... the ultimate form of torture

In addition to the illegality of the practice of solitary confinement—an act that blatantly violates all conventions that prohibit torture—it is considered a deadly form of torture. In reality, it surpasses all other forms of torture inflicted on human beings, even if it may appear otherwise. This is evident in the attempt to carry out a form of social execution or assassination: the goal of solitary confinement is to sever all ties between the isolated prisoner and their surrounding social environment, both inside and outside the prison.

The deprivation of visits, cessation of interaction with other prisoners, and reduction of time allowed outside for exercise are not precautionary measures to neutralize a supposedly dangerous inmate. Rather, they are calculated steps toward inflicting social death.

In an escalation of these measures, the prison authorities, under direction from intelligence agencies, have resorted to transporting the isolated prisoner in a special vehicle to court or hospital only in cases of extreme necessity. He is accompanied by a specialized police unit that ensures he comes into contact with no one. Guards deliberately treat the isolated prisoner in a manner that highlights his perceived danger: assigning a special escort team, using trained police dogs specifically selected for such tasks, preventing the prisoner from moving in his seat by placing the dog beside him, forcing him to sit at the very edge of the seat as a

form of control. Upon arrival at the court or hospital, the prisoner is placed in a special cell or private room.

This measure came as part of a strategy to tighten the social isolation of the prisoner, stemming from the understanding that the human being is a social creature, whose essence lies in social relationships—these are the source of life and psychological balance. The jailer understands this well: just as a branch withers and dies when separated from the tree that nourishes it, so too does the human suffer when cut off from the community that sustains him.

It is true that the natural, biological membership of other living creatures differs from the social membership that is unique to humans. And it is also true that humans possess an extraordinary ability to adapt to objective and even extreme conditions—perhaps more so than any other living being. Yet this does not prevent the physical and psychological harm that inevitably results from being separated from the group.

Even within the isolation unit itself, the prisoner is prevented from engaging in social interaction or communication between cells—such as speaking from a distance. These whispered conversations often happen behind the back of the jailer, and anyone caught in the act of speaking with a neighboring cellmate may face punishment. Nevertheless, the human, political, and national necessity of communication, consultation, and maintaining resilience, willpower, and loyalty to the collective and its broader goals drive isolated prisoners to maintain both emotional and, when possible, physical connection with the group—regardless of the risks these actions may bring.

This is echoed by Czech communist leader Julius Fučík, who emphasized that this connection is the essential secret to a fighter's resilience in the dungeons of torture and interrogation. He maintained that the attempt to separate the individual from

the group during interrogation aims to weaken him, isolate him, and ultimately break him—turning him into a tool to undermine the collective and its values.

Despite this, and despite the ability of many isolated prisoners to resist this method and emerge from the experience stronger and more determined, some fighters who lacked certain methods of resilience—and who were not deeply grounded in the values of justice and struggle—were psychologically affected by the jailer's tactics. Some suffered from severe and unstable mental states, some reached the brink of collapse, and others even descended into madness due to prolonged isolation. There are many examples of this.

The exceptions, however, are the steadfast militant leaders—those deeply rooted in their ideological and revolutionary commitment.

Solitary Confinement as a Tool of Oppression and Humiliation

Through the daily procedures imposed on the isolated prisoner, one can clearly sense the degree of vindictiveness reflected in these practices, and the objectives that the Israeli intelligence seeks to achieve against the struggling prisoners. From the moment a prisoner enters the prison—before even reaching the isolation unit—he is subjected to a thorough search, sometimes involving a physical (body) search. His belongings are sorted between what is allowed inside the cell and what is prohibited. Many of his already limited possessions are confiscated and stored in the prison's security room.

That same day, a security officer accompanied by a police team conducts another inspection, which can last for hours—even though the prisoner's belongings don't warrant such extensive time. Sometimes, the very next day, an external team arrives to carry out yet another inspection. During this, the prisoner is handcuffed—either from the front or the back, depending on prison regulations—and taken out

of the cell, where he remains in restraints until the search is over. This entire process is repeated multiple times throughout the period of solitary confinement.

As part of the daily prison routine, after the morning count, the jailer inspects the window and front of the cell. Before beginning, the prisoner is handcuffed through a small opening in the middle of the cell door, which is specifically designed for this purpose. This opening is also used to pass in basic items like meals or medication. In other words, the door only opens for searches or for the brief outdoor break ("fura"), and remains locked during the rest of the day. After the inspection ends, the prisoner returns to his cell, and once again must extend his hands through the slot so the cuffs can be removed.

This inspection happens twice a day, and the same procedure is followed when the prisoner is taken out for exercise: he remains cuffed until reaching the yard entrance, where the cuffs are removed, only to be reapplied for the return. If the isolation is "double"—meaning two prisoners share a cell—and one of them needs to leave for any reason (such as meeting with a lawyer or going to the clinic), both prisoners are handcuffed, not just the one leaving. According to prison protocol, the isolated prisoner is seen as a dangerous criminal who must constantly be treated with extreme caution—and reminded of that at every turn.

This process becomes even more severe when the prisoner goes to a lawyer visit: he is shackled by both hands and feet, even if the distance to the meeting room is long—sometimes up to 500 meters, as in Ramon Prison. Upon arrival, only the handcuffs are removed; the feet remain shackled. One can imagine the pain and harm this causes the prisoner.

Sometimes, even after all this, the prisoner reaches the lawyer's room only for the jailer to deliberately declare a "security alert," triggering a lockdown of the prison.

The lawyer is forced to leave, and the prisoner is sent back to his cell in the same painful, humiliating process—without ever achieving the goal of the visit.

Beyond Routine Procedures, There Is Always the Exceptional

In addition to the daily routine procedures, there are always exceptional and punitive practices. For example, at the beginning of the solitary confinement of mujahid Hassan Salameh, jailers would raid his cell late at night, take him out with his hands cuffed behind his back, and leave him standing for hours on his feet. Meanwhile, they would ransack his cell and tamper with his belongings before returning him to it. At that time, his cell happened to be opposite the one holding Yigal Amir — the man convicted of assassinating Yitzhak Rabin — who was also subjected daily to similar punitive measures. This proximity only intensified the suffering of Hassan Salameh, adding psychological strain to his physical hardship.

If the use of shackles and frequent searches constitute the physical tools of oppression and humiliation, then there are many other methods aimed at breaking the prisoner's spirit — methods designed to constantly remind him that he is less than the jailer, that he is perpetually dependent on them, even for the simplest of needs. Whether it's requesting a dose of medication, or asking for a piece of paper, a pen, a needle and thread to mend a torn shirt — the prisoner is forced into a state of continuous subjugation.

The prisoners are fully aware that this policy serves multiple purposes. In addition to breaking their will and treating them with deep condescension — to the point of being treated like animals, such as being chained every time they leave the cell, or having food thrown at them like a dog — the goal is also to drown the prisoner in the mundane, exhausting details of daily survival. This causes him to become

consumed with personal, trivial concerns, distracting him from the larger, collective issues — the political struggle and the national cause for which he is imprisoned.

As a result, many prisoners deliberately forgo these “small” needs so as not to submit to these efforts to humiliate and dominate them. One example is that of a fellow prisoner who chose to eat only raw vegetables for several months, refusing to comply with the prison administration’s degrading methods — until they were forced to abandon their plan, having failed to break him.

Systematic Neural Destruction:

Anyone who becomes familiar with the details of life inside isolation cells can form a clear picture of what life is like for a prisoner in a section inhabited not only by political militants—people with conviction, opinion, and firm stance—but also by a mixture of dangerous Jewish and Arab criminal inmates. These may include individuals accused of murder, rape, or those who escaped from other prison sections where they were originally held on security-related charges but later deviated either morally or politically. Each of them has their own personal grievances with the prisoner movement and seeks to settle scores with any militant belonging to it.

As a result, the relationship between the isolated militant—regardless of his name, status, or whether these individuals even know him—remains in a state of constant tension. This tension often manifests through verbal abuse, harassment, or even physical harm, such as throwing boiling water or hot oil. The criminal inmates, whether Arab or Jewish, are always waiting for a chance to pour these substances through their cell doors onto the militant as he passes by, perhaps on his way to recreation, legal visits, or medical checkups. What makes matters worse is that the militant is typically shackled at both the hands and feet, limiting his ability to move or protect himself.

Additionally, there are the constant arguments and loud shouting matches that may go on for hours between the criminal inmates, or involving prisoners seeking protection, or even those on the verge of psychological breakdown. When one of these inmates experiences a psychotic episode, he begins to rage, destroy everything in his cell, and sometimes even set it on fire. At this point, the prison's special suppression units intervene, using gas to subdue him—gas that inevitably seeps into neighboring cells, affecting all inmates indiscriminately. The inmate is then strapped to his bed, continuing to scream at anyone who attempts to calm him. This plunges the entire section into a state of prolonged tension for the rest of the day.

In other cases involving mentally unstable prisoners, a wave of frustration builds in the hearts of the militants. They understand that such individuals should be placed in specialized medical facilities, not in prison. Often, the situation could be alleviated simply by having another prisoner intervene or by fulfilling a small request—like providing cigarettes. But the arrogance of the jailer denies even these basic humanitarian measures.

Frequently, guards incite these mentally or security-compromised inmates to insult and curse the militants or the martyrs of the Palestinian revolution in exchange for a few cigarettes, deliberately provoking the political prisoners. When militants respond from behind their cell doors, the screaming and abuse intensify, as if the disturbed inmates find satisfaction in this reaction. Eventually, the newly arrived militant learns that the best response is simply not to respond at all.

In the end, witnessing a physically or mentally ill prisoner in desperate need of help—while being completely powerless to provide any aid to relieve his mental, emotional, or physical agony—creates a bitterness that is extremely difficult to endure. That difficulty is compounded when the observer is a militant who, by nature, came to prison carrying national and humanitarian ideals. But such

bitterness is eventually internalized and processed as just another facet of the torture program designed for those in isolation.

The only resistance to such psychological destruction lies in enduring with patience and resolve. The enemy seeks to weaken you, humiliate you, and destabilize your sense of self. Your duty is to deny him that victory—to foil his plans and dismantle his strategies. To remain upright, steadfast, and with your head held high is to shift from a position of humiliation to one of dignity. It is to place the jailer in your own place.

Among the painful examples that illustrate the jailer's arrogance and disregard for Palestinian lives is the case of a newly isolated prisoner placed in the same cell with a mentally disturbed inmate known for violent tendencies. Despite being aware of this inmate's repeated attacks on cellmates, prison authorities placed them together anyway. One such case remains vivid in memory: the administration housed a prisoner with another who was psychologically unstable. In less than two days, a violent altercation erupted, ending with the mentally ill inmate being burned by boiling oil—after he had tried to pour it on his new cellmate.

And along the same lines — the same disregard and humiliation — the Zionist prison authorities placed two elderly prisoners together in a single cell even though the cell contained only one bunk bed. Neither of the two could use the upper bunk because it was difficult for them to climb up and down, so they were forced at times to take turns using the lower bunk or for one of them to sleep on the floor. The prison authorities did not relent until the two complained, supported by their comrades in the ward; their protests included refusing food. Only after more than two months were they transferred to a new isolation section where two ground-level beds were available, even though the problem could have been solved inside the same prison — either by replacing one prisoner with another or by moving one of them to a different cell.

In brief, the policy of isolation is marked by attempts to crush the isolated person physically and psychologically, even to the point of threatening his life. Anyone who reviews the names of those placed in isolation by the intelligence services understands that many of these figures had been targets of assassination before they were arrested; when those attempts failed, the authorities continued their policy in order to achieve the same primary objective by other means.

Chapter Four

Examples of Isolation Sections

Isolation sections share general policies and living conditions that are similar to each other, varying relatively from one section to another based on spatial and temporal conditions. The types of isolation can be categorized into three forms:

1. Short-term solitary isolation, lasting several weeks as a disciplinary measure imposed on a prisoner due to some mistake he committed—from their point of view. The prisoner is sentenced to isolation for a specific period. The committee that issues this punishment is formed by the prison administration itself without referring to any formal legal procedures or regulations.
2. Collective isolation, consisting of an entire section whose main goal is to separate prison leaders from the rest of the prisoners, as is the case in Hadarim Prison.
3. Open solitary isolation, the harshest and most difficult type, where a prisoner is isolated alone in his cell, or at best with another prisoner under the best conditions. Communication with other prisoners is forbidden for an indefinite period, which may last up to 13 years, as well as contact with family, since the punishment may include bans on visits for several years.

The isolation section in any prison is considered a significant secret for the prison administration, which is responsible for it just as it is responsible for the rest of the prison. However, the isolation section is distinguished by independent conditions in terms of structural and architectural nature. It may be a standalone building, isolated from the rest of the sections, but still under the same administration's authority, such as the isolation section in Ayalon Prison - Ramla. Alternatively, it

might be part of the general prison building, like the isolation section in Sharon Prison.

Each isolation section consists of a number of cells that may reach up to 18. Despite formal differences among them in terms of size, ventilation, and sewage system, they are completely similar in essence. All of them were built and designed to serve as places for implementing the punishment of isolation. It is believed that a group of architects, security and police experts, as well as psychologists, participated in their design. The most isolated facility believed to fit this description is the new Ayalon Ramla isolation unit, opened in 2007. This unit was designed to deprive the isolated prisoner from seeing the outside space, prevent him from sensing some external environmental features, or hearing some distant prison sounds, or perceiving natural cosmic scenes such as sunrise or sunset, the moon, or some stars at night.

The size of the isolation cells is also quite similar, especially in older buildings, which are the narrowest. Their width does not exceed 1.25 meters, and their length is about 2.5 meters. The total space is practically taken up by the two-tiered metal bunk bed, which measures 80 cm wide and 1.8 meters long, in addition to the bathroom and toilet, which typically consist of a shower and a squat toilet combined, occupying no more than one square meter. These are separated from the rest of the cell by either a plastic curtain or a cement barrier about one meter high. In one corner of the cell is a washbasin, while in another corner there is a small table holding the television. Above, wooden shelves are fixed to the upper wall to accommodate the prisoner's belongings, including clothes, cooking utensils, and canned or packaged food that the prisoner buys monthly from the canteen.

This brief but precise description of the cell's size allows a person to imagine how impossible it is to move or walk within such a small space, even though the prisoner

spends on average 23 hours a day in this confined area. The space becomes even tighter when there are two prisoners in the same cell. To imagine the extent of the suffering, it is enough to consider that the prisoner must cook, shower, relieve himself, and sleep in this cramped cell, which fills with cooking fumes, steam from bathing, and odors from the toilet.

This internal description of the cell applies almost universally to all isolation sections in Sharon, Kfar Yona, and the old Ramla prison, with some limited differences related to the age and modernity of the buildings. For example, some buildings like the Ramla isolation suffer from wall deterioration, with cells exhibiting strong humidity smells, rainwater leaks during winter, as well as rusted window and door bars and bunk beds.

As for the size of the cells in the new prison isolation sections such as Ayalon, Rimmonim, Gilboa, Rimmon, and Nafha, they are in better condition than their predecessors. The cells measure three meters wide by three meters long, with differences in the internal layout. The bunk beds are made of concrete or wood, considered safer by the prison administration than metal bunk beds, as prisoners might use metal to fashion sharp weapons. The bathroom is separated from the toilet and consists of a Western-style seated toilet rather than the squat toilets found in other cells, which helps reduce the presence of rats common in other sections. There are metal lockers with wooden shelves attached to the walls, holding shared necessities for the two prisoners, such as items from the canteen. In one corner, there is a concrete table used as a kitchen for cooking and food preparation, and sometimes for writing. The television is usually mounted on a metal, wooden, or sometimes concrete bracket fixed high on the cell wall.

Isolation sections generally suffer from poor ventilation, especially given the high humidity in the areas where most Zionist prisons are located—Hadarim, Rimmonim, Ramla, Ashkelon, Damun, Eshl Holikidar, Nafha, Rimmon, Ktzi'ot,

Gilboa, Shata, and Gilboa. This negatively affects the prisoners' mental health even before impacting their physical health, particularly when combined with the deterioration of infrastructure due to prolonged use and high humidity. No sunlight or fresh air enters the cells, and rainwater leaks into the cell walls, causing continuous psychological distress to the prisoner. Rust consumes the metal parts of the cell, especially the bunk beds, doors, and windows. Insects—especially cockroaches—are widespread, along with rats.

The windows of isolation cells in all Zionist prisons are similar in size and design. Some are narrow, measuring about 80 cm in width. They are typically covered by a frame made of sheet metal fixed to the outer window frame, preventing air and sunlight from entering. Attached to this frame are two layers of steel: the first consists of vertical bars spaced 10 cm apart, and the second is a layer of strong metal mesh "squares" with steel rods measuring about 3 cm by 3 cm. In front of these is a movable glass frame to control the cell's ventilation.

Some cells, like those in the old and new Ramla (Ayalon) prison isolation units, have dark walls with no external windows at all—considered the worst type of cell. These cells block out sunlight, moonlight, and starlight and prevent air renewal due to the absence of any ventilation openings. These cells only have small rectangular windows about 30 cm wide located above the door and close to the ceiling.

The administration provides a sponge mattress, which has recently been replaced with a non-flammable type after repeated cases of prisoners, both Arab and Jewish criminals, setting fires. Some cells have a plastic chair and a small table, depending on the cell size. These tables may be plastic, concrete, or wooden, fixed in one corner for cooking or writing purposes. Older cells lack all these amenities.

In some cells, there is also a plastic bucket used for washing, a toilet brush and a small mirror fixed above the washbasin, and some poor-quality blankets. The

isolated prisoner must purchase a scrubbing brush himself. As for the television, electric fan, small refrigerator, electric stove (a small electric hotplate), electric water heater, and transistor radio—these have only started to be provided since 2008, and prisoners usually buy these devices at their own expense.

Each isolation section has a main corridor (a “corridor”) with cells distributed along both sides. The internal corridor of the Ayalon Ramla prison isolation section is considered the worst among isolation corridors in other prisons, measuring about 15 meters wide and 50 meters long. Surveillance cameras are widespread throughout all the corridors and corners of the isolation sections, in the exercise yard, in the corridors, and in the visitation rooms. Some cameras are even installed inside certain cells, but these are reserved for difficult cases, violent prisoners toward guards or other inmates, those who have attempted suicide, or those suffering from psychological or neurological illnesses. This is called “Seniuka isolation,” referring to the harshest and most isolated place. Usually, prisoners placed there are being punished for certain violations. The place is stripped of everything except the mattress and blanket; the wall surrounding the bathroom and toilet is removed and its window completely sealed. The floor, walls, and door of this cell are covered with insulating wood to prevent the prisoner from harming himself.

In every section, there is an exercise yard (called “fura”), where a prisoner spends one hour alone if isolated singly, or together with the other prisoner if they share the same cell. The size of this yard varies from one prison to another. The worst is the exercise yard of Ayalon Ramla isolation, which does not exceed 4.5 square meters and is difficult for sunlight to reach. All these yards share the feature of having a roof shaded by two layers of metal.

Isolation Section in Ashkelon

This section consists of fourteen rooms of equal size, each measuring 290 cm in length and 120 cm in width. Each room contains a bathroom with a toilet measuring 80 cm long and 70 cm wide. There is a window on the front wall of the room measuring 40 cm wide and 50 cm high, covered on the inside by iron mesh and on the outside by thick iron bars. Between the two is a sheet metal covering that partially blocks the window. The door is made of reinforced sheet metal with a small square window measuring 10 × 10 cm, which usually remains closed.

The section opens onto an exercise yard measuring 8 meters long and 5 meters wide, adjacent to a corridor 120 cm wide and 340 cm long. Some renovations have been made to this section, including adding a hallway about [width missing in original] along the length of the room, relocating the bathroom and toilet there, and opening a narrow window at the end of the room. This space contains a television and a small refrigerator. The purpose of having the refrigerator inside the room is not for luxury but to prevent prisoners from using a communal refrigerator, which could facilitate communication and cooperation between inmates. On the wall opposite the bed, there is a cabinet with eight square compartments for storing belongings. This room is typically designed to accommodate two people, though rarely it is used for just one.

Be'er Sheva Prison includes three isolation sections, as follows:

1. **Ohali Kedar Isolation Section (Section 8)**, also called the "Open Isolation" Opened in 1992, this section contains 8 isolation rooms. The size of each room is equal to that of the Ashkelon isolation rooms after their modifications and follows the same system, with the difference that the window at the end of the room is wider, lower, and less complex. The section opens onto two adjacent yards, each with the same area as the yard in Ashkelon. A major problem in this section is the widespread presence of rats, which

are active at night and force the detainees to cover the windows with cloth to prevent them from entering the rooms.

2. **Eshl Be'er Sheva Isolation Section (Section 6)**, this section contains sixteen rooms built in the old style, each with the same area as the Ashkelon rooms before modification. The floor is made of cement, which is difficult to clean. Each room has a window measuring 70 cm by 40 cm, covered with mesh, facing a high fence that blocks sunlight and airflow. The section opens onto two exercise yards accessed by a single corridor, each yard measuring 6 meters by 6 meters.

Each two detainees are held in a cell no larger than 15 square meters (3m x 5m), which contains a toilet and a sink. The ventilation is poor and the only window is very small, measuring no more than 50 cm × 70 cm, and is covered by three layers of iron bars. Beyond the window is a sheet of metal that effectively blocks about 40% of sunlight from entering the cell. The prisoners spend 23 hours a day inside and are only allowed to go out for exercise (the "fura" or yard) for one hour, all while their hands and feet are shackled.

3. **"Senuqa" Isolation**, these are coffin-like cells, barely the size of a sleeping mat, completely closed off without ventilation or lighting. The detainee cannot move inside; they sleep with their head against the wall and their feet at the door.
4. **Rimon Prison Isolation**, a modern building with more spacious cells that have good lighting and ventilation. Each room is about 460 cm long and 300 cm wide, attached to a corridor that is 180 cm long and 1 meter wide. Additionally, there is a bathroom and toilet in a square room measuring 150

cm × 150 cm, featuring a sink with a shiny metal mirror above it, and a ventilation and suction device since there is no window in the bathroom.

At the front, there is a metal door with a closed window of 30 cm × 40 cm in the lower third. As usual, there is a ventilation opening in the middle of the door used to pass food, which is common in prison doors and serves various purposes, mainly to restrain the prisoner before removing them from the cell. Opposite the door is a window about 1 square meter in size, facing a high fence that blocks air from entering.

The isolation section consists of two wings, each containing five rooms opening in one direction onto a relatively spacious exercise yard. The two yards are separated by a high wall about seven meters tall, which makes communication between prisoners difficult.

One of the problems in this section is that the lawyer's visiting room and the clinic are located about 500 meters away from the cells, so prisoners have to walk there while shackled by their hands and feet.

Isolation Section in Ramla: Nitsan

Opened in 1989, this section was closed in 1992 but was reopened again by the prison administration in 1996.

This section is characterized by harsh treatment and poor health conditions. It consists of twenty facing rooms, each with a bathroom and toilet located at the beginning of the room, facing each other. Each room contains a typical two-tiered stone bed. The door is made of reinforced metal. There is only a small window measuring 10 × 10 **cm** and a food slot. At the top of the front wall, there is a small

window overlooking the corridor, meaning ventilation is provided through an exhaust fan.

In a space of 9 square meters, the room is cramped with a television, refrigerator, dining table, chair, prisoner's belongings, and an electric hotplate used by prisoners to prepare their food, along with eating utensils. The room is designed to hinder social interaction and communication between rooms, which can only occur with great difficulty through the small window at the top of the front wall.

The section opens onto a narrow exercise yard, no larger than 4 m × 5 m. Prisoners are shackled from behind when their cell is opened for daily inspection, or when going out to the prison yard, clinic, or lawyer visits.

Isolation Section in Sharon

This prison is rarely used to isolate political prisoners, and usually, the number held there is limited. It is located in the old Sharon prison building, built in the English style. Its cells do not differ from those in Asqalan or Ohlei Kedar isolation sections.

Isolation Section in Gilboa

The cells are designed in the style of Rimon's isolation rooms and do not differ in conditions or treatment. However, each room contains four beds (each two-tiered), which reduces the space available. Sometimes, isolation sections in Shata prison—or Rimonim—referred to as the "Ashbal" section, are used to isolate some political prisoners for short periods due to overcrowding in other isolation sections.

Isolation Section of Nafha Desert Prison

Opened in 1980.

Daily Life Procedures

It is certain that the procedures followed in the isolation sections aim to achieve a permanent state of punishment for the prisoner to destroy his convictions and principles. The prisoner lives in a constant state of alert throughout his isolation period, which in many cases lasts up to thirteen years.

Throughout his isolation period, he is treated as dangerous and a "Superman" who poses a constant threat to those around him. His hands and feet are restrained whenever the door to his cell is opened, whether to go out for exercise, visit the doctor, receive visits, meet with the administration, the Red Cross, the lawyer, go to court, or when soldiers enter the cell for routine daily searches. This happens multiple times daily.

The restraining is done through the openings in the door, where there is an opening at hand level and another at foot level. The hands may be tied either behind or in front of the prisoner.

The cell is searched twice daily, in the morning and afternoon, to inspect the condition of the cell. Of course, during each search, the prisoner's hands and feet are restrained. Sometimes the cell is searched late at night. There are types of searches involving a lot of intimidation carried out by specialized units in raids and searches such as "Druze," "Metzada," and "Nahshon." These searches are usually sudden, and the prisoner is often physically searched by being stripped of his clothes. The search process can take about three hours, during which the prisoner remains handcuffed and shackled. The goal of such searches is certainly to disturb and humiliate the isolated prisoner.

Counting (head-counts) is conducted three times a day: morning, noon, and evening.

Food is distributed three times a day: breakfast, lunch, and dinner. It is given to the prisoner through the central opening in the door, which is also the same opening through which the prisoner's hands are restrained.

Exercise time is carried out with the prisoner restrained and the restraints are removed only after entering the exercise yard. In some cases, isolated prisoners are restrained by the hands (sometimes tied behind the back) and feet throughout their exercise time, which lasts one hour in all isolation sections.

Overall, the isolation sections are separated from the rest of the prison sections, and the isolated prisoner is also isolated from his fellow isolated prisoners in the same section. Exchange of belongings between isolated prisoners is forbidden, as well as meeting or interacting with others. Often, the guard deliberately invents excuses to impose additional punishments on the prisoner, including solitary confinement punishments, confiscation of electrical devices and television from the cell, or other penalties. The accusations are usually trivial, such as passing a cigarette to another prisoner by throwing it into the exercise yard or making statements to the media during court appearances.

The guard also deliberately keeps the isolated prisoner in a constant state of tension and instability by transferring him every six months from one isolation section to another. This transfer is accompanied by suffering during transportation in prison vehicles, which consist of a series of narrow iron cells that fit only one person. Additionally, the prisoner suffers while waiting in court waiting rooms, being kept alone without contact with other prisoners.

Indeed, transfers are a form of torture and harassment on the nerves of the transferred prisoner, who usually remains handcuffed and shackled during the trip.

To determine how to deal with the prisoner and assess his level of danger, the prison administration places an identification card next to the door of each cell showing the prisoner inside. The card carries his photo, and the prisoner's number is prominently displayed at the top in red if he is a security prisoner, and in black if he is a criminal prisoner. The card has small boxes indicating the prisoner's condition if he is sick or violent, and reasons for his isolation if related to behavior inside or outside the prison. If the recommendations come from intelligence, the box is left blank. Instructions are provided on how to handle the prisoner in terms of how restraints should be applied (front or back) and what items or belongings are allowed or prohibited, such as television or other items. To prevent other inmates from knowing the occupant of the cell, the administration places a black curtain over the ID card box.

Psychological and Social Situation

As we mentioned earlier, isolation takes two main forms: the first is individual isolation, which is the hardest, and the second is double isolation. Although the latter is preferable, it can sometimes be even more difficult. This depends on the ability of the two prisoners to harmonize in a highly confined shared life, their identity as detainees, and their political and intellectual affiliations. Although the law allows a prisoner to choose to live alone in a cell or to select the person they share the cell with, prison administrations usually do not adhere to these rules and typically impose cellmates arbitrarily, without regard for either party's preference.

Despite differences in social, intellectual, political, and organizational backgrounds between cellmates, they mostly manage to create a shared life. However, some prefer to live alone due to incompatibility with their partner, clashing temperaments, desires, and ideas to a degree that makes shared life impossible—though this is exceptional. Sometimes one isolated prisoner with a mental disorder is placed with another prisoner who is inexperienced and unfamiliar with communal life in prison

sections. This lack of shared habits and temperament can lead to an inability to coexist.

The stability and harmony between cellmates depend on their social, cultural, and intellectual backgrounds. Some have the ability to adapt, are open to living with others, and understand the objective and subjective necessity of this. Others do not. Sometimes, even prisoners from the same organization with the same political and intellectual ideas clash, while others from different organizations with different ideas and beliefs manage to get along well.

Generally, shared life between two prisoners fosters a type of refined spiritual relationship with a strong human dimension. It creates the highest forms of friendship, imbued with shared suffering and experience. A common social language and human feeling emerge, and this shared life often extends to weaving relationships between their families outside prison.

Relations with other prisoners in isolation sections are usually minimal due to the prison's structural design, which prevents prisoners from communicating with each other. Prisoners may spend years in the section without seeing one another, even though daily attempts are made to create some form of social communication among the isolated community. This communication is usually limited to secret conversations exchanged through the back windows of the cells, sometimes requiring prisoners to stand on a chair if the windows are high up on the wall. These exchanges may include long political, social, or intellectual discussions. Sometimes, prisoners invent jokes and inject humor, which is much needed to relieve the harsh reality of isolation.

Despite this, prisoners are aware that the prison administration and the intelligence service behind it aim to strip the detainee of his mind and healthy body. Therefore, prisoners constantly care for their bodies by exercising daily and keep their minds

active by staying informed about current events, reading, and other activities. However, during the initial months of isolation, the prisoner often suffers from social and psychological alienation. The most dangerous issue during isolation is the decline in mental capacities and sensory abilities, such as forgetfulness, distraction, and reduced concentration or attention. Therefore, prisoners always request the Red Cross to provide new books and mental games to stimulate the mind.

Over the years, the isolated prisoner loses his connection to nature, becoming a stranger to a tree, with his eyes longing to see it, the moon, a star, a cat wandering around the house, or even the house itself or the street. For those from refugee camps, the camp alleys become unfamiliar, and their details fade day by day.

In solitary confinement, all aspects of life disappear. Joy may vanish, along with the feeling of pleasure from the rain, sunrise or sunset, the chirping of birds, or the barking of dogs. The sight of snow or frost, a turtle trying to steal food from a garden, watching a tree grow in a home garden, or the blooming of a pomegranate flower in another garden—all these vanish. In solitary confinement, the sense of time and its divisions disappears: the feeling of night and day, summer and winter, morning and evening, the moon, stars, and fog—all vanish. All signs of social life disappear. Many terms vanish from the isolated prisoner's internal vocabulary, just like the words "uncle," "aunt," "brother," "nephew," and "niece" disappeared from the Chinese dictionary due to the improbability of families consisting of two siblings.

Isolation punishment causes severe physical and psychological harm to the isolated prisoners because isolating them and separating them from their social environment inside prison and their outside world constitutes a harsh and cruel violation of their civil rights as human beings. It turns their imprisonment period into

a journey fraught with death and danger, especially for those who have spent more than one year in isolation.

In isolation, psychological damages increase for the prisoner, including sleep disorders, depression, fear, mental disturbances, visual and auditory hallucinations, loss of awareness of time and place, acute confusion, and thought disorders. Isolation likely triggers and exacerbates dormant psychological and physical problems, which may emerge during and after isolation.

Isolation conditions lead to intense psychological stress and may cause even those without previous mental disorders or those in a balanced mental state to lose their balance and develop new disorders. This manifests in various symptoms. Prisoners subjected to isolation may suffer from certain mental illnesses at a higher rate than non-isolated prisoners. The most common disorders include adaptation difficulties and depressive syndromes, but serious dissociative and psychotic disorders can also occur among isolated prisoners who had no prior illness.

Despite this, the isolated prisoner resists this imminent threat to his body. Emotional longing grows stronger, isolation triggers nostalgia for his social and human vocabulary, and strengthens his attachment to his social past, hoping it will provide an emotional source to help him overcome his present experience.

Chapter Five

The Foundations of the Isolated Prisoners' Resilience

The overall factors behind the resilience of isolated prisoners stem from the strength of their ideological and national affiliation. This is what has defeated one of the main objectives of solitary confinement: severing the connection between the freedom fighter and the collective. Belonging to the national cause ensures that the organic group, with the values and goals it represents, remains ever-present with the prisoner. As the communist leader Julius Fučík established, belonging to the group is an organic and moral bond, and the conviction in the justice of the struggle and the humanitarian mission of the people forms the cornerstone for strengthening willpower and determination. It reinforces the foundations needed to overcome the tools of Zionist oppression, with all their various methods and programs. Anyone who reviews the names of those who were martyred after prolonged periods of isolation will see that they were all either political or military leaders associated with meaningful acts of sacrifice — and nearly all of them, without exception, had experienced periods of being pursued or in hiding.

The second factor is that this distinguished group of men not only revived the group, its values, and its bonds, but also worked on establishing their own community that imposed its own rules and values on all the components of solitary confinement—a community governed by its criminal bonds and values before its activist ones. This community was dominated by values of solidarity, intimacy, and love. This group created, out of their harsh living conditions and relationships, a steel-like fabric to confront the effects of solitary confinement and the factors of social and psychological oppression.

The third factor is that they learned how to adapt the reality and challenges of prison life; they lived in prison without letting prison live in them. They established openness toward each other's problems and overcame values of self-isolation, contrary to what the jailer aimed for. They learned how to pass time without being broken by it and resorted to organizing their lives inside solitary confinement and making use of time. First, by practicing sports to compensate for lack of movement and work that took a significant part of their time, such as cleaning, cooking, preparing food, and managing social dialogues, no matter how brief, whether their topic was political, intellectual, sports-related, or recreational. Finally, through reading and writing, renewing their ideas and readings, and preparing letters for family and relatives. The exercise hour was divided into two parts: the first for sports and the second for social interaction and political chats with other rooms inside the section if the geography of the place allowed, or with brothers and comrades in other solitary confinement sections.

I would not be far from the truth to confirm that each group that experienced solitary confinement formed an open social membership far from isolation, either through awareness or the need to satisfy sensory hunger caused by the conditions of solitary confinement. Everyone knew each other and their family members and social issues, despite the enemy's deliberate attempt in cases of double isolation to place a leftist and a religious person or a Hamas member with a Fatah member, in an attempt—or calculation—to let their ideological and political differences sour their social life. But allegiance to the cause and the common trench to oppose the jailer subdued these points of conflict and turned them into material for deepening social interaction. Often, the quarrels became playful banter that helped break and conquer time and strengthen social bonds.

The solitary confinement experience united prisoners from all intellectual, political, and social backgrounds, melting them into one family at the level of the section

and across the solitary confinement sections. Factors stemming from loneliness and the suffering of restraint acted as supportive factors that unified prisoners' feelings, expanded their social circle, and widened their network of acquaintances to include the families of those in solitary confinement—especially when some radio stations dedicated programs for social communication between the prisoner and his family. Listening to a message from the family of a certain prisoner renewed the interest and follow-up of all solitary confinement prisoners. This, in turn, created bonds between prisoners and the relatives of each prisoner, and between the families themselves. Everyone keenly and admiringly followed the conversation of the child Mahmoud with his father Ahmed Al-Maghrabi or his virtuous wife, or the mother of Hassan Salameh (and later his wife Ghufra Zamel). All the solitary confinement prisoners followed the speech of Hassan Salameh and everyone celebrated the occasion. Everyone lived moment by moment with brother Hassan, rejoiced in his joy, and shared his emotions. Additionally, there was the talk of the family of the Mujahid Sheikh Jamal Abu Al-Hija and his wonderful little daughter Sajida, who stood out with her performance and emotions, as well as the family of Abdullah Al-Barghouthi, his wife, and their children Osama, Tala, and Safa.

We used to follow their news, life events, progress, and the development of their performance—driven by their heartfelt emotions toward those they love. The conversations of the families of the prisoners were not limited to their social news; many of them became sources of information about the prisoner movement, its interactions, or solidarity activities held in support of the solitary confinement prisoners. Everyone would listen to the brave comrade "Umm Qais," or sister Ghufra, or the wife of brother Ahmed Al-Maghrabi, or comrade Umm Ghassan, or "Umm Ali," the wife of the exemplary leader Ibrahim Hamed. With the help of radio stations, the families of the isolated created a daily news network that compensated for what the jailer had deprived us of.

The truth is that any brief talk about this aspect does not do it justice nor covers the role they played in strengthening the steadfastness of the isolated prisoners or their resistance to all forms of oppression. This matter requires a separate, detailed treatment that elaborates on the ramifications of this aspect and the role it played in melting the isolated prisoners into one unified group that transcended geography, ideology, and temperaments—created by shared suffering that can unite any human group no matter how diverse.

The daily or nearly daily greeting programs broadcast through audio media became one of the most important components and elements of the isolated prisoner's social life. The audience of the families participating in such programs became like one family to the isolated prisoners. Over time, the isolated prisoner began to follow the news of his fellow isolated prisoners in other prisons through the conversations of their families on the radio. The isolated prisoner also started to share in some of the families' joys and sorrows, got to know them, corresponded with them, and interacted with them to the point that he became always able to recognize the voice tremor of most families participating in these programs just by hearing their voices due to the strength of familiarity. After any program ended, there would be an exchange of remarks, comments, jokes about the news, witty remarks, or other intimate matters. Some isolated prisoners got to know their children, whom they had left at the age of one, two, or three years old and who could not speak or spoke with a lisp, through the broadcast of these programs. Today, those children have grown to adulthood — like Abdullah Al-Barghouthi, Hisham Al-Sharbati, Ibrahim Hamed, and Ahmed Al-Maghrabi — some of whom have spent up to ten years without meeting their child directly.

Another important factor that contributed to the steadfastness of the isolated prisoners was the role played by the lawyers—or, as they can rightly be called, the “angels of mercy” — who were among the main reasons for the isolated prisoners’

willpower triumphing over the jailer's terror and part of the isolated prisoners' family and world. They volunteered to provide their services to connect the prisoner with his relatives, far from any personal calculations or fear of some facing punitive measures from the Shin Bet (Israeli security agency). They endured many harassment and always responded to every request without complaint. I recall that some, if not all, of those who visited solitary confinement sections were forced by the jailers to stand for hours under the scorching sun or in bitter cold while waiting for permission to visit an isolated prisoner in one prison or another.

These unknown soldiers deserve every word of honor and respect. They did not limit themselves to visiting the prisoners but also delivered their messages, followed up on delivering them, and sometimes bore part of our emotional reactions when the families' replies to the letters were delayed.

Another supporting factor was the role of international solidarity activists who participated in all the solidarity events for the prisoners in general and the isolated prisoners in particular. Their solidarity messages, which sometimes managed to get through despite restrictions, made us feel that we were not alone in our battle against the Zionist repression machine. Across this universe, we had comrades and partners in shared human suffering. Their messages were like a hammer regularly breaking the chains of isolation and imprisonment. Short messages and postcards had a deep impact on the soul, from which we drew hope—not only to break the prison chains but also the chains of slavery, oppression, and injustice everywhere.

The community of free fighters around the world struggling to create a new world governed by relations of equality and parity among nations and peoples expands day by day. Unfortunately, sometimes we received some letters after the envelope containing the sender's address had been removed, which deprived us of the ability to communicate with them and thank them for their efforts.

The last factor was the ongoing mobilization of the prisoner movement to open the file of solitary confinement in any dialogue with prison service officers, through solidarity stand-ins, partial strikes, and up to general strikes. I particularly mention my comrades in the Popular Front, not only because of the shared organizational factor but because they were the first to break the ice of the prisoner movement. They initiated the revolutionary hunger strike in September 2011, protesting the policy of solitary confinement along with other brothers from allied factions. This initiative opened the door for a wave of subsequent individual strikes, culminating in the April 2012 strike that succeeded in breaking the chains of solitary confinement, in addition to other material and moral gains achieved by the national prisoner movement. These partial battles inside the walls of solitary confinement or prisons in general have been firmly confirmed.

The will of the oppressed will always remain stronger than the instruments of repression, cruelty, and oppression driven by sick psychologies fueled by hatred and feelings of racism.

These tools, which now live in ever-expanding isolation, are besieged by the forces of peace, progress, and freedom across the universe. This signals that the dream of the enslaved to be free—which has existed since the dawn of the birth of the society of slavery—is not utopian or contradictory to the laws of the universe and human nature but rather a historical possibility gradually transforming into a realistic one. The martyrdom of Che Guevara in Bolivia or Rachel Corrie in Gaza heralds beyond doubt that the fabric of international solidarity and joint struggle pursues the invasion of transcontinental monopolies and the carriers of war and destruction.

Today, these revolutionary waves clash and become more united and steadfast to achieve the inevitability of the victory of the will of oppressed peoples and classes and the substance of their humanitarian goals. This has become a reality that

cannot be concealed, just as decades ago the cries of Irish prisoners moved the human conscience in every corner of the universe, resonating with the echoes of Turkish prisoners' hunger strikes and merging with the cries of Guantanamo prisoners. Prisoners now have a distinctive voice in the era of uprising peoples, a voice that can be heard anywhere in the world—perhaps even across cosmic space. The ringing of their chains grows and widens its waves, moving with it all forms of hatred, racism, and discrimination to isolate them outside our world, so that the oppressed may enjoy freedom.

Chapter Six

Miscellaneous from the Life of Solitary Confinement

An Unwanted Summer...

On March 21, 2011, while my cellmate was traveling to attend court, in the afternoon hours I heard a guard in the cellblock corridor telling me that a snake had entered the cell. Because I was engrossed in reading and didn't see it, I tried to search for it but could not find it. I requested the administration to come to the cell and take me out of the room. Indeed, a large force arrived and took me out to the adjacent section. After more than two hours, the duty officer came and informed me that they had conducted a thorough search throughout the cell but found no snake, which meant it had managed to escape. I returned to the room, doubtful of his statement, searched briefly around the room, and found it on the top bunk, coiled around a food container. It was a venomous and dangerous type, with a small head connected to a long, thin, and thickened midsection neck.

I summoned the officer again and asked him to open the door and see the snake that the administration claimed had left. I was taken out of the room, and a team entered, caught it alive, and put it in a jar. After they left, one of the colleagues pointed out that more than twenty policemen had entered the room, including the security officer and others, and was surprised that such a large number failed to see it. When I asked some of the police for an explanation, they said the snake fell from the roof opening, and the police chased it in the corridor; it tried to enter several rooms but failed, then found a gap under my door and entered. This part of the story seems logical.

However, for more than twenty policemen and officers to enter a small room searching for a snake—not a fly—and not find it, this matter is open to multiple interpretations. To avoid getting obsessed and serving their goals, I submitted a written report along with a sworn statement to lawyer Anan Odeh from the Al-Dameer Foundation and asked him to keep it until there is a need to use it and to avoid raising the issue in the press.

Rigid Instructions + Guard's Stupidity = Zero Rights

The instructions stipulated in the Prison Directorate's regulations for dealing with solitary confinement prisoners are rigid and binding on every officer and guard. When the instructions contradict logic, the guard must adhere strictly to the text of the instructions. Previously, in the Raymond isolation section, we had to fight for our right to receive copies of the Al-Quds newspaper brought by the Red Cross to all prison sections. When one of the guards began distributing the newspapers, two copies per cell, upon reaching our room we asked if he would pass the remaining copies to us after inspection in the rooms. He replied that this was prohibited and our right was limited to two copies only.

We explained to him that there is a difference between distributing vegetables and distributing newspapers, books, and magazines, but he remained firm because the instructions prevented him from transferring anything from one room to another. We then asked him to bring the section officer and question him. The guard returned and informed us that it was prohibited. We told him to go and bring all the copies brought by the Red Cross for our room and every other room. The guard returned and, on behalf of the section manager, told us that this was the quota of newspapers allowed for us.

Here, the mood of the section manager complicated the matter further. Of course, the guard's stupidity and the rigidity of the instructions deprived us of the right to

access what was allowed, and we were denied the opportunity to read the newspaper because we rejected the matter outright instead of addressing the mistake through dialogue with a higher official.

A Higher Official but Even More Stupid

The Newspaper Is Banned for “Organization S”

After resolving the previous issue, about two months later a new problem arose: the newspaper was not being distributed to “Organization S.” The guard who was distributing the papers stood in front of our room, checking the names of the detainees and the organizations they belonged to. After examining the list, he said the newspaper was banned for our room. We asked why and if we were being punished. He replied, “The newspaper is banned for Organization S.” We told him that one of us belonged to Organization Ş (Şād), but he said, “I don’t know because the newspaper is only allowed for Organization ‘ (‘Ayn).” How can this equation be solved by such a stupid and narrow-minded guard?

We complained to the section manager, who said: “As long as the newspaper is banned for Organization S, it must be prevented from entering the room, even if it is allowed for Organization Ş.” We said we had a solution. He asked, “What is it?” We answered that he should give the newspaper to the member of Organization Ş, and after receiving it, the reader would sit facing the wall while the other would sit facing the opposite wall.

Reading the English Newspaper Is Prohibited

One of us obtained permission from the Ohalikdar prison administration to bring in the *Haaretz* newspaper in English and received its copies for about a week. Then the prisoner was transferred to Raymond prison. The law obliges the prison administration to notify the newspaper’s office to redirect the copies to the new

prison. When he requested this from the administration, he was refused. He told his lawyer, who handled the matter. The newspaper agreed to send a daily postal package in the prisoner's name.

The prisoner received only one copy, which arrived by chance. When he requested to receive it daily, the section manager told him that the newspaper was forbidden here and that this was the responsibility of the culture officer. Usually, the administration holds a weekly tour led by the prison director and accompanied by officials from all prisons. The culture officer was present and when confronted with the issue, she said it was not allowed because the subscription was made through the lawyer, not the prison administration.

They told her the newspaper was printed and distributed inside Israel and that Ohalikdar prison administration allowed subscriptions through a lawyer. She replied that this was forbidden and that one could only subscribe through the prison administration.

We requested to speak to the director or deputy director. The matter was referred to the deputy, who postponed the discussion until the next day. The next day, he came to the section, summoned the subscriber to the director's office, and brought a written order from the Prison Service Directorate banning the receipt of any newspaper unless it was in Hebrew. He was told this was against the law as stated in the instructions published by the Prison Directorate. He replied, "That's not my concern; it's a new order."

He returned to the subscription issue through the lawyer, and was told, "What fault does the prisoner have if in one prison he was allowed to subscribe this way and paid the subscription fee? Does that mean he must lose the money just because Prison 'S' doesn't prefer it?"

The guard said the newspaper is brought by the Red Cross to the regular sections and is not banned. Then the officer objected that no one in the prison understands English. He was told to check the Hebrew version as they are the same or not to bring the supplement accompanying the *Herald Tribune*. He closed the discussion saying: "That's all I have. If you don't like it, go to court." Thus, the right was lost amid rigidity. The solitary confinement law is applied according to the common saying: "The one who is divided doesn't eat, and the divided one eats till full."

Another Discussion with a Stupid Guard

This event has nothing to do with thought or culture, but rather with vegetables. At Raymond Prison, solitary confinement prisoners have a right under which each prisoner receives a monthly bag of vegetables at the expense of prisoners in the regular sections. When the guard brought the vegetables and began distributing them, he gave the first room its share because its inmates were from Fatah, but refused to give the second room because they were from Hamas. When distribution reached our room, he said the vegetables were also forbidden for us because they were forbidden for Hamas. We told him that one of the inmates in our room belonged to the Popular Front (Jabhat al-Sha'abiyya). He said he would ask and left the distribution to inquire with the section manager. The manager replied that vegetables were also forbidden for the Popular Front.

The next day the section manager came and we asked him to explain the ban, especially after the Fatah rooms returned what vegetables they had received. He said the reason was that Hamas, the Popular Front, and Islamic Jihad prisoners had gone on a one-day strike and were therefore deprived of purchasing vegetables, which were at Fatah's expense. We told him the solitary confinement section hadn't gone on strike because they hadn't been informed. He replied, "That is true, but these vegetables are at Fatah's expense." We asked him how many shares Fatah had sent. He said for everyone. We asked why, if the shares were

for everyone, they had not been distributed. He said he needed to ask Fatah prisoners in the regular sections. We said we were ready to answer for them and guarantee no objection. He insisted on asking.

When he came the next day, the answer he received was, of course, positive, and he ordered the guard to distribute the vegetables. We requested that the bags be distributed to everyone in the section—security prisoners and criminal prisoners, Arabs and Jews—which was our usual practice. He refused and said he would ask about that. After asking, when he came on the third day to distribute the vegetables as we wished, many of the vegetables had spoiled.

A New Discussion with a Stupid Guard

The administration in Ashkelon Prison brought in a large watermelon, at the expense of prisoners in the regular sections. This large size exceeded what one person needed. The on-duty officer at that time was Russian, very strict and literal in enforcing the rules. We jokingly nicknamed him “Mazuz,” after the Israeli Supreme Court judge Mazuz.

The discussion lasted long, and we, as politicians, decided not to eat the watermelon until the distribution of watermelon was approved for all cells in the section—both criminal and political prisoners. The watermelon was enough to distribute half a watermelon to each cell. We waited until “Mazuz’s” shift ended, and a new officer of Ethiopian origin came on duty, who was less strict than his predecessor. He said he agreed and would ask the section officer. The latter agreed but only for one time.

Black Valentine’s Day

On February 13, 2010, one day before Valentine’s Day, the administration informed two prisoners to prepare themselves for transfer to “Eshl” Prison. In such

cases, they had to prepare their belongings before 7 AM the next morning. In the evening, preparations began by gathering and packing their bags and cleaning the room to be ready to receive a new inmate.

The two prisoners finished their preparations at 1:30 AM. On the morning of Valentine's Day, at 7 AM, the section officer arrived to escort them to the inspection room, which took about an hour. Then, as per procedure, they were moved to the waiting room, where their belongings were supposed to be loaded into the transfer vehicle ("bosta") to depart after 8 AM, or at worst by 8:30 AM. Both stayed in the waiting room for more than two hours until the transfer truck arrived, but they were not loaded onto it. When they asked the officer about the vehicle, he told them they would be transferred on the second truck expected at noon.

Meanwhile, a representative from the Red Cross arrived and insisted on meeting the prisoners. The administration allowed the visit. One prisoner was brought to an adjacent room, handcuffed, to meet the Red Cross delegates waiting there. He asked the responsible officer to remove his restraints, but the officer refused, citing the law. The Red Cross representative also protested. Then the prisoner refused the visit unless his restraints were removed, so he was returned to the waiting room. When the other prisoner learned what had happened, he too refused the Red Cross visit.

At 2:30 PM, the transfer truck arrived. After loading the belongings and settling in one of the transport cells, the truck moved—but in the opposite direction from the expected route. This meant it took the way toward Negev Prison, which more than doubled the expected travel time if they had headed straight to Eshl.

The two prisoners remained handcuffed, hands and feet, for over two hours waiting for the vehicle to fill its load from Negev Prison. This load was of prisoners on their way to freedom, which meant the vehicle would head to the Tarkumiya or Az-

Zahiriya checkpoints near Hebron, requiring an additional hour to an hour and a half to reach. The vehicle reached one of the checkpoints, where the freed prisoners were released. The truck then returned, heading toward Eshl Prison, arriving at exactly 7 PM. The two prisoners unloaded their belongings in the inspection room, waiting for the on-duty officer, who arrived about half an hour later.

The inspection and the ensuing debate over what was allowed or forbidden to be brought into the cell took about an hour. Afterward, the prisoners moved to their assigned cell. Naturally, cleaning and arranging their belongings took at least an hour and a half, especially since the cell lacked shelves to organize clothes and other items.

They requested dinner but were surprised to find that dinner and breakfast were both distributed together at 4 PM, leaving them little to satisfy their hunger, fitting the saying, *"The evening guest finds no dinner."* Despite their exhaustion, the two took time to comment on the journey. One of them suggested that, contrary to the unjust rumors tarnishing its image, the Prison Service Directorate wanted to show solidarity with them on this day, which held human meaning, and insisted on taking the long route to allow them a chance to enjoy the scenery through the dark tinted window glass. However, the truth was that this detour was a punishment for their refusal to meet the Red Cross delegate while restrained. The Red Cross delegate's refusal to conduct the visit under these conditions gave additional motive to the administration to mistreat the prisoners. In this case, the saying fits well: *"From love, there is what kills."*

One of the prisoners went to what is called the "Zionist Supreme Court of Justice" in Jerusalem to appeal, through his lawyer, against his isolation order. Usually, reporters from some Israeli media networks and stations attend the courtroom.

Upon entering the courtroom, the journalists began asking him questions. Since he supports a boycott of the Israeli media, he refused to answer their questions.

When his family arrived at the courtroom, he greeted them warmly, especially since he hadn't seen their faces for over a year and a half due to being denied family visits. The media picked up this brief exchange and published it.

The next day, when he returned to prison, the administration summoned him to find the section director waiting for him. By chance, or fate, it was International Women's Day—March 8.

The section director began by explaining the situation, saying that the prisoner escort police had filed a report accusing him of violating general orders by speaking to the press, which is against the law. The prisoner smiled and started his response by congratulating her on Women's Day as a moral and value-based solidarity stance with women in general. The director was taken aback but continued the session by asking if it was true that he had spoken to the media. The prisoner repeated his congratulations and added that he had not done so—not because he respects orders and instructions, but because he does not engage with the Zionist media.

The section director called the unit officer who escorts prisoners—the “Nagshon Unit”—and asked for clarification. The officer stated that the prisoner did not respect the orders and instructions prohibiting speaking to the press, but he did not understand what the prisoner said due to his Arabic accent.

The session was adjourned, and the prisoner was returned to his cell. Less than half an hour later, he was summoned to resume the session.

Facing the “stone-faced” woman who began by claiming she had reviewed the website of Israel's Channel 2 and saw him talking and waving his hand, the

prisoner smiled and replied that what she said was true; however, when he waved his hand, he was greeting his wife on Women's Day and not speaking to the press.

Nevertheless, she issued her ruling: he would be punished with one month of solitary confinement with a suspended sentence if the violation recurred.

The prisoner laughed and said to her: "March 8 is supposed to be a day to honor women, not to take revenge on men—even if they are Palestinians."

The Sun "Sure," but the Moon Maybe

The places of isolation vary in terms of their inmates' access to natural phenomena. Some deny you sunlight inside the cell and outside it, while others allow partial views, depending on the timing of yard access. The moon, however, is a very rare sight and an emotional one at that. Many isolated prisoners used to stay up nights to see the full moon, a crescent, or even a sliver of it, depending on the angle of view allowed.

One night in June, a prisoner saw the moon from his cell in the isolation section of Ramon Prison and excitedly shared the news with his comrades. They all rushed to their cell windows, but the walls were too high, blocking the view for most.

A day or two after this moon sighting, another prisoner inside his cell shouted happily at around 2:30 a.m. to wake his comrade to see the moon he had been waiting for days, perhaps years. His excitement echoed Archimedes' famous phrase upon discovering the relationship between a body's volume and the volume of displaced liquid: "Eureka! I found it, I found it!" The comrades initially woke up annoyed by the sudden noise, but when they understood, each stood by their window. Some managed to see the moon; others were disappointed despite waiting until morning.

This story reflects the extent of the injustice caused by the malicious propaganda about the Israeli Prison Service. This “respected institution” is very keen to prevent any infiltration of romanticism into the souls of the prisoners, so as not to restrain their will and firmness. The prisoner is not an ordinary person. In other words, it fears that the “Palestinian terrorist” might develop a split personality disorder, so it blocks all openings and cracks from which the “virus of romanticism” might seep in.

The Sewing Needle... A Tactical Missile

One isolated prisoner in Ramon Prison was allowed to bring in clothes through the Red Cross. As usual, the clothes were held for a few days for thorough inspection. When the section director handed the clothes over to the prisoner, some were torn during the inspection. The prisoner summoned the section director to first protest, and secondly, to bring sewing supplies to fix the damage. The officer replied that inspection was legal, and sewing needles were banned for security reasons. The prisoner asked him to send the needle to the prison’s tailor, but the officer said there was no tailor in the prison.

The officer told him, “Deal with it yourself.” But when he saw the anger in the prisoner’s eyes and heard the threat of a hunger strike, he had to bring a needle and thread—but on the condition they be returned within less than an hour.

The next day, the deputy director came during his weekly round, surrounded by the full repression team, asking prisoners about their needs. The prisoner asked him why the needle and thread were banned. The deputy director replied, “That’s the instruction. Needles are a security risk for prisoners.” The prisoner asked why. The deputy director said it might be used to undo restraints. The prisoner laughed and asked, “And after undoing the restraints? Where will the prisoner go in a

geographical space surrounded by fences and full of cameras, police dogs, officers, and high walls?”

Indeed, as the saying goes, “The worst calamity is what makes you laugh.”

Solitary Confinement Is Not a Social Punishment

Those who describe solitary confinement as a form of social punishment wrong the Israeli Prison Service Directorate and strip this institution of some of the most important human values, which are essential to the democracy the state represents. The prisoner is not alone in his cell—not only because solitary confinement can be done in pairs, but more importantly because the cell’s community is rich with diverse social components and an incredible number of cockroaches, reptiles, and rats that share the inmate’s living space. Aren’t cockroaches and other insects living creatures one can keep company with? So how can the isolated prisoner be considered oppressed under such delicate humane conditions?

The Radio Is Not for Use

A radio device is allowed to be purchased from the prison canteen, as are dry batteries and a charger. Prisoners in solitary confinement are also allowed to use it anytime they want. But this device is like “Abu Lamma’a’s box” — a famous character from Egyptian radio comedy in the 1960s — where one of Abu Lamma’a’s friends informs him that his box was stolen, to which he confidently replies, “I still have the key!” The radio needs a thin wire to be connected and this wire must be extended outside the window to be able to pick up Arabic radio stations, especially those concerned with the social network between prisoners and their families. The reason for this is the presence of many electronic devices in the prison, in addition to cell phone jamming devices installed by the

administration to prevent prisoners from using such devices if available, and the limited space from which waves can be received.

However, the keen prison officer on duty, backed by administrative instructions, prioritizes the task of confiscating these wires during his rounds. Moreover, violations are recorded against cells that use these wires. Despite complaints and all forms of protest, prisoners only hear the word “forbidden” and “against the regulations” from prison officers.

When asked why radios are banned for prisoners, the response is, “That’s your problem; don’t buy them.” Because the prisoner refuses to give up, the relationship between him and the guard resembles that of “Tom and Jerry”: sometimes the prisoner camouflages the wire and changes its angle, or throws it onto the upper grid covering the space between the windows and the wall. Each prison has its own geography that dictates how wires can be used, and this knowledge is passed down from one prisoner to the next.

Teasing the Birds is a Security Violation

The birds are sensitive creatures trying to show their sympathy with the prisoners of freedom as they sneak between the wires and crawl under the iron gates that separate the yard from the isolation rooms. This scene is unique to the isolation prisoners in Nafha Prison. As a gesture of gratitude and an attempt by the prisoner to reclaim his stolen humanity, the prisoners feed the birds by throwing pieces of bread and grains of rice near the cell door or in the corridor between opposite rooms. The birds gather to eat, run or jump from corner to corner, flutter, and sometimes even fight. This incidental relationship between the prisoner and the birds displeases the guard, who tries to chase the birds away and warns the prisoner about the danger of breaking rules and threatening security.

The guard, before starting his shift, closes his mind for fear of using it or allowing himself to think, because that might undermine the security theory he is constantly injected with. The guard's job, as he understands it, is to turn the prisoner into a rigid mechanical being devoid of life, or at best a biological being. If this tightly controlled system is broken, it might violate the order of the universe, harm the prison's security, public security, or even global security. When discussing this issue with some of them, they have no response except the words "Forbidden," "These are instructions," or the popular saying, "A goat, even if it flies" (meaning rules are strict regardless of circumstances).

And to avoid unfair criticism of the "prisoners' welfare institution," this matter is linked to the concept of preserving the environment and the health and safety of the prisoner, which they overly guard. How not? There is bird flu, right? So why not mosquito flu, bedbug flu, or cockroach flu... etc.? The prisoners' silent wish is: "Oh God, bless us with police flu so we don't see any of them."

One + One Does Not Equal Two

The prison officers in the solitary confinement section insist on strictly applying the regulations regarding the treatment of isolation prisoners with no exceptions. It is forbidden to take a prisoner out of his cell without handcuffs, and if the distance extends beyond the section, leg irons are added. Once, during a periodic inventory of the prisoner's clothes and belongings to ensure they match the permitted quantities and standards, a problem arose: the prisoner could not easily take his clothes and items out of the bag and put them back while handcuffed. So, one prisoner asked the officer to remove his handcuffs, but the officer refused. The prisoner then suggested putting the restraints on his legs instead of his hands so he could complete the tedious inventory quickly. The officer also refused.

Anything brought with the prisoner is subject to inspection before entering the cell. If clothes are brought via the Red Cross, the prisoner must return the old clothes to storage. When the prisoner presented his suggestion to the officer, the latter thought a moment and replied, "Forbidden, these are instructions."

Faced with such stupidity, the prisoner refused to participate in the inventory unless his restraints were removed. The police then carried out their duty harshly and crudely, fueled by hatred and the desire to punish him for his stubbornness. On such a day, the section resembles a bathhouse cut off from water: one prisoner talks to the officer, another quarrels with a different officer, and the inventory drags on for hours. The officer acts according to the rule "Take it slow with your own," and it is forbidden for one plus one to equal two.

Back to "Mazouz," Ashkelon, and the One + One Equation

The administration assigned officer Samer, nicknamed "Mazouz," at Ashkelon Prison to organize the schedule for the prisoners in solitary confinement to go out to the yard. The prisoners asked him to provide a general schedule for the cells so each prisoner would know his designated time and prepare in advance. The yard has no bathrooms, so preparation is essential. However, "Mazouz" was not interested in making it easy for the political prisoners to go out; to save effort and time and to satisfy his foolish hatred reflecting deficiencies in his character, he refused the prisoners' request. According to security rules, the prison's regulations must be strictly enforced, so less than half of the fourteen cells get yard time because many prisoners fail to prepare themselves properly.

After waves of protests, the administration was forced to distribute the schedule. Then "Mazouz" adopted another method: he goes to the cell whose turn it is, and if the prisoner refuses to come out for any reason, he moves on to the next scheduled cell regardless of the fixed timing in the program. Usually, the next cell's

prisoner is unprepared to go out. Adding his racist, hate-filled behavior to the equation, his conduct reaches a new low in moral degradation. He does not apply the same rules to Jewish criminal prisoners—in fact, he chooses times that suit them, exploiting the confusion his behavior causes.

In summer, the yard is unsuitable for outings because after 10 AM the sun covers most of it, leaving less than one-tenth of the yard shaded.

“Mazouz,” a stupid man saturated with racism and blind hatred, has his own theories and understanding of arithmetic. He does not rely on any decimal or binary system or anything similar. He follows the racist arithmetic of scientific racism. According to him: Palestinian + Palestinian = terrorism, not two. There is one “race” that fits the rules of arithmetic and addition and subtraction, and another that cannot be comprehended by sound mathematical rules.

The Whole Loaf is a Security Suspect

Prisoners in the Nafha isolation section requested to replace the bread they were given with “kamaj” bread baked in the prison oven, like the other prisoners in regular sections. The administration refused this under the pretext that the isolation section mixes political and criminal prisoners, some of whom do not like that type of bread. After insistence and pressure from the prisoners, the administration agreed.

As usual, the prisoners’ demands were met with a strange twist of creativity. When distributing the requested quantity, the prisoners were surprised to find that each loaf was cut into two parts. At first, the prisoners thought it was accidental, but when it happened again the next day, they asked the section director for an explanation. She replied it was for security reasons—something forbidden could be smuggled inside the loaf.

As the saying goes, once you know the reason, the surprise fades. Anyone who has lived in Zionist prisons knows for sure that anything entering prisoners in general, and political prisoners in particular, undergoes an extraordinary inspection. Everything passes through an electronic X-ray device, including the bread. This device displays the entire contents of closed bags on a TV screen, not just the bread. Here, hatred is mixed with stupidity, and the result is making the prisoner's life miserable for the simplest reasons.

A Bite from a Mule

In the Ohalikdar isolation section there is a guard who acts as the section manager — outwardly pleasant but pitch-black and deeply hateful inside. He insists on making life miserable for the prisoners even if it forces him to invent petty behaviors; he escorts inmates to the yard and insists on watching them closely even though it's already covered by precise cameras, inventing any pretext to justify this ludicrous surveillance.

There happened to be an elderly Jewish criminal prisoner in that section who suffered psychological disturbances and was almost constantly out of cigarettes. So he repeatedly begged for them whenever he went out to the yard opposite his cell window. The political prisoners offered this officer their readiness to help that prisoner and provide him with enough cigarettes, but he refused stubbornly and sadistically. So the prisoners decided to help him even if it cost burning down the whole section. The prisoner was entitled to receive cigarettes from the administration at a rate of four cigarettes a day, and indeed he was supplied after he rolled up a newspaper into a cylinder and passed it through the window grill so it reached the yard's grille. That same day the officer smelled smoke coming from the prisoner's cell, searched it, and confiscated the cigarettes. He went to the opposing room of the political prisoners, furious, accusing its occupants of supplying the cigarettes. One of them replied: "What harm is there in that if it calms

him down?" He didn't like the answer and threatened to issue an infraction against that prisoner. They replied that when they want to do a humane act that should have been done, they don't ask and they don't care about his rules and procedures; nonetheless they did everything possible to transfer the accused prisoners who had acted humanely and helped a prisoner in need, regardless of his identity, religion, or nationality.

These incidents are also symptomatic: the policy of isolation aims to break an individual's social ties and drown the prisoner in the minutiae of daily life to distract him from larger issues. But however keen the prisoners are to rise above these petty details, the rigidity of the instructions and the guards' stupidity impose them on us. The goal of solitary confinement policy is daily — if not hourly — exhaustion of the isolated prisoner: to keep him in a constant state of anxiety, to affect him psychologically and nervously, to weaken him in a bid to destroy him completely.

Chapter Seven

Lessons Drawn from the Solitary Confinement Experience

Lesson One

It is necessary to restore respect for the cohesion of the prisoner movement, its combative role, and the firmness of its organizations. There were years when the prisoner movement had fewer rights and gains, but it was more powerful, proud, and vigorous. In that reality the prison administration did not dare to keep any prisoner in isolation for more than a few hours because the prisoner movement was ready to overturn the Prison Directorate. When rights expanded and the administration was allowed to treat them as privileges, the Prison Directorate penetrated the stronghold of the prisoner movement and drowned it in the minutiae of daily life. The situation interacted with the moral decline that afflicted the prisoners after the signing of the Oslo Accords, so self-concerns dominated and became the decisive, determining factor in the life of the prisoner movement. The prison administration could not have detained any prisoner for even one hour if faced with a disciplined, coherent, tightly organized force prepared to defend their collective dignity and honor—even if all privileges were confiscated. In that case, those privileges would become rights that could not be wrested away, diminished, or seized.

Lesson Two

Given the current openness of our political movement and our national cause to the free peoples of the world and to international platforms, we can mobilize a vast army of fighters to support our people's struggle on all fronts of engagement, particularly the prisoners' cause in its political, humanitarian, and moral

dimensions. But the reality shows that our political organizations and institutions still operate as if they trade retail rather than wholesale, as in developed markets, and they have not invested these relationships to champion our people's causes. Indeed, the number participating in an external solidarity sit-in for the prisoners often exceeds by tens or even hundreds of times the size of any local sit-in organized by all our institutions.

Lesson Three

The topics and arenas of confrontation with the enemy (Jerusalem, settlements, prisoners, the wall, etc.) must be removed from the circle of political bickering and the pathologies of division management. The prisoners' cause in particular must be a focal point for unifying ranks, and every effort should be made outside the walls to reinforce internal unity among prisoners and to harness their struggle away from factionalism and party illnesses. Prisoner unity is the protective fence that preserves their dignity and rights and is the sharpest weapon to defend their existence, dignity, and political, demand-based rights.

Lesson Four

Isolated prisoners must strip away the legal cover from isolation procedures and boycott the sham courts the occupier convenes to conceal its transgressions and violations of international humanitarian law and the conventions prohibiting torture. They should base their resistance to isolation on their unity and struggles in order to make their voice heard and expose the enemy's violations and the forms and dimensions of its racist policies.

Lesson Five

The prisoner movement should learn from the many who voluntarily enter isolation cells by creating all the humane conditions that reflect the ethics and humanist

content of our revolution. Many cases that could not adapt to the conditions of imprisoned social life should have been borne by the movement—with broadened tolerance to contain them and help them overcome their crises—instead of dealing with them in a slapdash, “come-and-collect” manner. Every person who came to the detention arena did so on the background of voluntary struggle in defense of the collective rights of our people, even if a large part of them lacked the necessary awareness and were driven by zeal and revolutionary passion. Prison, as an institution for re-producing the human being and his qualities and for equipping him with the sharpest weapons to defend his existence and convictions, must fulfill that role. If it does not, it means we all need to be re-produced.

To abandon activists simply because they became ill or mentally weak means we are handing our people’s sons over as easy prey to be hunted by the enemy’s intelligence—or, at best, pushing them to the brink of suicide.

Lesson Six

The necessary immunity to protect a prisoner’s cohesion is to harden his attachment to his cause and to reinforce his belonging to the group and its values. In this case, neither the monster of solitary confinement, nor interrogation, nor any similar procedure can destroy his resolve. Summoning the group and its values when the enemy tries to sever our ties to it arms us with a strength multiplied many times over to withstand the instruments of oppression—in interrogation dungeons, in isolation, or under the gallows.

Lesson Seven

Through the policy of solitary confinement the enemy does not only aim to separate the prisoner from the community’s values and to dismantle his belonging — his source of strength — but also to make the prison live inside the prisoner, so that the bars of the cell become spears that gnaw at his chest and turn him into lifeless

blocks. Therefore do not allow the prison to creep into you, and always remember that at every difficult turn you do not represent only yourself but your entire people and, before that, your family: your sons, your daughters, your wife, your mother, your father, your siblings, your friends, and above all your comrades. In that case you must stand as a symbol of pride and dignity, a model resistant to breaking or containment. By your belonging, your values, and the justice of your cause you are stronger than the jailer and all the weapons of oppression and fragmentation. Our struggle is a battle of wills between the humane values of progress and the forces of reaction, backwardness, and racism. Your steadfastness will weaken your enemy and dismantle his racist character and values — so do not allow hatred to triumph over the constructive values of humanity.

Conclusion

This is a modest presentation of the policy of solitary confinement, its manifestations and dimensions in the record of Zionist terror. It does not deal with the issue in all its details so much as it focuses on its essential aspects. Thus it is not a history or a documentation of the context of this racist practice, nor is it — by any means — an autobiography of its author or of others mentioned by name or symbol in it. Its aim, first, is to focus on the dangers facing the prisoners' symbols by bringing the picture closer and giving a vivid description of the course of events—what might be called the “cemetery of the living.” Its second aim is to cast revealing light on the overall negligence at all levels and from all sides — official, popular, legal, local and international — in providing protection and cover for the prisoners.

The reality has been marketed that a prisoner will exhaust his life within prison walls; for some it has come to pass that they spend more than thirty years in captivity. Many still waste their lives in prisons while the shortfall and negligence are compensated with honorary titles and consolation prizes given to activists: this one a colonel, that one a brigadier, another a general of patience; the remaining thousands are called heroes or champions and remain confined while the real effort that should be made to free them and support their struggle is absent. Even when efforts do occur, they are occasional and scattered, though generally better than nothing, and they have freed a significant number of prisoners.

It has also been marketed that spending years inside the cells of solitary confinement is the worst and most extreme form of torture. Here negligence becomes compounded: the prisoner movement, which stood a short distance from the isolation sections and included those who experienced its bitterness, shirked

its role and allowed impotence to enter its lexicon. It spent years bargaining with the Prison Directorate to improve the conditions of isolation instead of ending it — rather than shifting the rifle from shoulder to shoulder and starting action. The walls of the isolated began to pound or the walls of despair started to collapse and ultimately fell apart after the success of the Dignity Hunger Strike.

The leadership institutions that neglected this also include the Palestinian leadership institutions within the PLO, the Authority, and the Palestinian political movement in general. What was difficult was achieved by the prisoners' will when they decided to break through and overcome the barrier of despair, forming a protective wall and a strong lever to break the locks on solitary confinement cells.

It is true that the suffering of the prisoners and the continued detention of them within prison walls is a price and a revolutionary-duty entitlement of the revolutionary process to achieve our people's national goals. But that does not absolve the forces and institutions of our people of their duty to support the prisoners and to work for their release by all possible means — a national duty and also a revolutionary entitlement no less important than the duty to liberate the land and return the refugees.

This study, from another angle, is an attempt to persuade some of those who have succumbed to or internalized defeat that our national movement, with all its components, possesses a tremendous reserve of energy to accomplish tasks that may today seem impossible. Through organization, planning, dissemination and determination it will steadily move toward achieving them.

After the prisoners were infected by the "Oslo virus," whether some carried the banner of opposition or were influenced by it, they spent long years — from 2004 to 2012 — engaged in dialogue with the Prison Service Directorate to remove prisoners from isolation or to improve its conditions. They internalized the

conviction that building a base of understandings with the Prison Directorate, coupled with a limited level of engagement, would achieve their goals. The reality opposed this approach: all dialogue sessions and all policies built on the strength of logic were unable to open a single solitary cell. Those released from isolation were replaced by other prisoners in their place. Many of the symbols even doubted the possibility that any militant step could end the policy of isolation. The response came from comrades in the Popular Front with the September 2011 hunger strike, which opened the path to a series of subsequent successful individual strikes culminating in the Dignity Strike of 2012 — affirming that the path to achieving objectives that seem impossible springs from the empty gut determined to secure victory.

At the national level, the Israeli–Palestinian negotiations have for more than twenty years been unable to dismantle a single settlement, stop the tsunami of settlement expansion, or return a single refugee to the land from which he was uprooted in 1948. What they achieved regarding the prisoners—whom “Israel” used as hostages and bargaining chips for the negotiating team it accuses of having “blood-stained hands”—was meager, limited to the release of the martyr Abu al-Sukkar, Saeed al-Attaba, and Abu Ali Yatta. Yet some at the top leadership of the PLO still comfort themselves by betting on the same negotiations and existing references to achieve goals, and they stifle any serious attempts to break out of this circle and open a tried and tested militant path capable of attaining objectives and restoring the legitimacy of comprehensive resistance as a threshold for achievements to build upon.

Finally, this modest work is a call to all the living forces of our people to move beyond slogans that glorify the prisoners and their heroism and to begin serious action to free them — adopting a comprehensive policy that addresses all dimensions of the national cause and documents its programs and coherence as

an integrated system that consolidates our national rights. Any attempt to separate these dimensions represents nothing but cheap bargaining that will rebound on the Palestinian people and inflict further damage and risk on their struggle.

Because our focus here is on the prisoners, we must reject the logic of profiteering from their cause to justify cheap concessions that harm the dimensions of the national issue. The prisoners who pay for their freedom and pay the price with their struggles to protect and achieve the principles of our cause will not accept having their cause traded away — regardless of the cancerous expansion of Zionist settlements or the Judaization of Jerusalem. Above all, the prisoners need a protective fence in the form of the international legal framework; this means opening a path of struggle to rectify their legal status by building on international recognition of Palestine as a non-member observer state, and not subordinating this process to the anger or approval of Israel and the United States. What is required is to complete the correction of the prisoners' status equation by recognizing them as prisoners of war and freedom fighters, as set forth in the Third and Fourth Geneva Conventions. Within this systematic framework one can struggle for their release and reclaim our people's right to resort to all means to achieve it. What is needed is an elevation of performance and national struggle — not decline or bargaining away dimensions of the national file, as happened recently when a theoretical agreement to free veteran prisoners was leveraged in exchange for silence about the accelerating waves of settlement that the occupation government counts on to determine the outcome of negotiations on the ground.

In short, what is required is to create a logical balance in policy-making that lays the foundation for building the fighting instruments capable of translating those policies into the achievement of our people's and leadership's goals and toward victory.

Note

This study is focused on describing events and experiences that took place during the author's personal experience in solitary confinement between 2009–2012. Therefore, the individuals whose names are mentioned are those who happened to be in isolation during that specific period. It is important to note that there are many other names and inspiring experiences of individuals who endured solitary confinement either before or after this time, but their names are not included here.

Appendix I

From the Isolation Notebook

Illuminating Images from the Reality of Solitary Confinement

Hassan Salameh's Mother

A woman of strong character and presence, full of passion and emotion toward her two sons, *Hassan* and *Akram* — the latter serving his sentence in Ramla Prison Hospital due to suffering from urinary tract infections.

We came to know her through her voice and image, and we saw a model of a faithful woman who transcends mere emotions and feelings to strengthen her children's resolve. She was always strong, strict, and firm before the Shalit deal when Akram was freed and Hassan, sentenced to life imprisonment 48 times, remained behind. She was even stronger in encouraging Hassan to accept the shock that shattered his only hope for release in the foreseeable future. She can also be recognized through Hassan himself — a young man full of determination, persistence, and a zest for life, brimming with vitality and hope, friendly and capable of quickly breaking through the walls of the heart to occupy an intimate place there, stubborn in pursuing what he wants. His emotional passion, when it erupts, covers a wide area of this universe. This sincere passion was paired with Mujahida Ghufran Zamel, the woman who accepted to bind her fate with his despite knowing his circumstances and sentence. She loved him before the deal, staked her future on his, and held even more firmly to her choice and determination after he was excluded from the list of those to be freed. Ghufran's influence opened a path for Hassan to a new life full of hope and love. We knew her through radio broadcasts: a huge dynamic energy supplying Hassan with detailed updates on

the news of family, friends, the prisoners' movement, and the news of those in isolation.

Rita and Qais, Children of Ahed Abu Ghalma

They are the children of the fighter Ahed Abu Ghalma, a comrade and friend, and partner in the struggle and imprisonment, sentenced to life imprisonment plus five years on charges of planning the assassination of the Israeli Minister of Tourism Rehavam Ze'evi in retaliation for the assassination of the martyr Abu Ali Mustafa, Secretary-General of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. Ahed is a fighter of strong will and endurance, possessing a steel-like resolve and a practical spirit that reflects unlimited energy and vitality, alongside a high ethical value system blending emotional passion, clarity of conscience, and human humility.

His eldest son Qais is sharp and intelligent, inclined toward silence and composure, and possesses a creative talent in drawing. As for Rita, since childhood, she has been characterized by immense energy and vitality, outspoken, closely connected to her father, and never misses an opportunity to address him via radio broadcasts, often singing out words of affection that sometimes include participation or complaints if she feels a right has been taken from her. Qais, inclined toward calmness, also conveys his longings with limited but deep words reflecting overflowing love for his father. This family is overshadowed by their mother, "Umm Qais," Ahed's partner and companion in life and hardship. She is a comprehensive news station who never leaves any issue or event without placing the prisoners at its center, working diligently to address any matter concerning any detainee, capable of connecting with Ahed's brothers or comrades brought together by captivity and isolation.

Mahmoud Ahmad Al-Maghrabi

The only son of the fighter Ahmad Al-Maghrabi, born months after his father's arrest. His father, sentenced to life imprisonment twenty times for resisting the occupation, was arrested shortly after his marriage. Although I did not have the chance to live closely with him or get to know him well, the limited hours we spent beside him in a neighboring room, along with the brief conversations through the wall between the two isolation sections in Ramon prison, and what the brothers shared in descriptions as well as what his letters to his family reflected—all of this made me perceive in him a strong will and determination, and a pure character armed with a set of solid ethical and humanitarian values. He speaks little, based on the principle of “the best speech is brief and meaningful.”

His son Mahmoud, who resembles him even in early childhood, never met his father before the end of his solitary confinement, which exceeded eight years. The Central Zionist Court in Be'er Sheva refused to allow him to visit his father under the pretext that the visit posed a threat to state and public security. Mahmoud always opens the radio call by introducing himself, sharing some of his swimming activities and the latest news about Barcelona matches. The program host at Radio Sawt Al-Quds, beloved by both young and old, playfully interacts with him. Mahmoud is supported by his mother, Ahmad's faithful and devoted wife, who takes care of him and acts as a journalist covering news about isolated prisoners and prisoners in general. She is complemented by Mahmoud's grandmother, who also lives with him in prison and who memorizes by heart the names of dozens of prisoners from the governorate as well as Ahmad's friends.

Tala, Safaa, and Osama Abdullah Al-Barghouthi

Daughters and son of the steadfast fighter Abdullah Al-Barghouthi, the young brilliant and intelligent engineer sentenced to life imprisonment sixty-seven times for resisting the occupation and for managing and directing many operations of the Al-Qassam Brigades. Abdullah is known for his broad knowledge, firmness, and

strong will—a patient fighter in whom no thread of despair or frustration has infiltrated, optimistic about the inevitability of victory, and ready to resume his struggle whenever the opportunity arises.

I knew him from a distance inside the isolation walls, and also through voice messages received via the prisoners' radio station. "Talía," his eldest shining daughter, always takes the initiative to call the station, reserve a spot to speak, and send greetings to her father, summarizing her school news, home news, and updates about grandparents. Following her is "Safaa," younger in age, whose voice reflects outstanding intelligence and insight, continuing what Talía started. Then comes Osama, who broadcasts his longings and news, and finally the loyal wife, Umm Osama, who consolidates family and friends' news and responds to his questions and inquiries sent through the lawyer. She is a steady, strong, and persistent woman who never stops following her husband's situation through lawyers and the radio; her voice carries a sharpness that reflects strength and boosts the morale of prisoners, especially those in solitary confinement.

Sajida Jamal Abu Al-Hija

Daughter of the steadfast, open-hearted fighter Jamal Abu Al-Hija, filled with energy, vitality, determination, persistence, and challenge. Jamal, who is over fifty years old, remains lively in his social relations, his humor bringing comfort and refreshment to the ward where he lives. Losing one of his arms in the battle of Jenin refugee camp did not weaken his resolve; he adapted with what he had to serve himself and others. He was the one who prepared food in his shared room, generous in character and company. It is no surprise that these traits are reflected in his family, especially his youngest daughter, Sajida, a young girl in the prime of life, intelligent, who loves her father madly and is willing to travel thousands of kilometers to see him. She managed, with difficulty, to visit him before turning sixteen—the age at which one must obtain a permit to visit her father. She was

keen not to miss a single visit no matter the distances or harsh weather and security conditions. She often faced harassment, such as being denied visits under various pretexts after traveling hundreds of kilometers from her hometown Jenin to Nafha prison.

Sajida is smart, eloquent, and fluent in speech; one might mistake her for a journalist for one of the radio stations, summarizing news of family and friends for her father. While the focus is on Sajida, the truth is that Jamal's family is a closely-knit cell, shaded by the care of his virtuous wife and the continuous communication and care from Jamal's father, uninterrupted despite prison walls and isolation barriers.

Mahawesh Al-Qadi

A fighter who embraced the struggle without affectation. Israel accused him of participating in the kidnapping of soldier Gilad Shalit. He is married and a father to many sons and daughters. He is strong-willed and determined, open-minded without fanaticism or factionalism towards all currents and factions of the resistance, and is distinctly patriotic and unifying. A personality freed from any complexes or constraints. After his arrest, he was subjected by the Zionist intelligence to harsh interrogation in what is called the secret prison but he endured with distinction. He is loyally devoted to his family and wife, who communicate with him at least twice a week via the "Voice of the Prisoners" radio station. Their voice messages reflect overflowing love and strong family bonds. His daughters are academically outstanding with high grades, as are his sons. He is persevering, energetic, practical, and socially well-connected. Although the time we spent together did not exceed a week, I felt like I had known him for years. His personality, with its light shadow, remains imprinted in memory. He was released in the "Freedom and Dignity" prisoner exchange deal after spending three years in solitary confinement.

Atwa Al-Amour

A fighter from the Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades, also accused of participating in the kidnapping of soldier Gilad Shalit. He was subjected to harsh interrogation from which the enemy gained nothing. He has a strong and cohesive personality, appearing outwardly with the toughness of a Bedouin, but internally transparent and humane. Socially open, humble, and generous, he tries not to leave anyone in the cell in need without providing for them if he can. He does not recognize social barriers with others and is capable of building relationships with all detainees in solitary confinement, whether criminals or political prisoners, Arabs or Jews. He is connected with his family who communicate with him via the prisoners' radio station. Their voice messages reflect strong and cohesive family ties. He finished his solitary confinement after about two and a half years and was not included in the "Freedom and Dignity" prisoner exchange.

Ali Ibrahim Hamed

The fighter Ibrahim Hamed, the General Military Commander of the al-Qassam Brigades in the West Bank. His personality is that of a cohesive leader, decisive in his struggle choices, cultured, loyal to the national cause, and open to all streams of thought and politics in their diversity. He has been arrested multiple times and subjected to administrative detention for years, and also imprisoned for a long time by the Palestinian Authority. He has a strategic and thoughtful mindset that does not accept political dogma. Strong-willed, with humane traits rooted in noble ethics, transparency, and humility. He was arrested in June 2006 and subjected to months of interrogation, during which he remained silent. He was then placed directly into solitary confinement under strict and harsh conditions, where he was not allowed to use electrical appliances for several months. He received his clothing needs through fellow prisoners who managed to smuggle some of his necessities. The guards treated him with a mix of fear

and hatred. His ability to overcome time is high, breaking through all barriers by leading political and intellectual dialogues with his comrades. He spends long hours reading and writing. A cultured and academic leader, he earned a master's degree in history, and his cultural interests are unlimited. His wife and family were expelled immediately after his arrest, and he was banned from visiting those family members who remained. He was sentenced to life imprisonment 54 times due to his leadership in numerous resistance operations within the framework of the Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades in the West Bank.

His humane personality can be felt through voice messages from his wife, his son Ali, and other family members. Ali is Ibrahim's eldest son, with a deep affection for his father and his isolated brothers. Like other family members, he matured early, advanced beyond his age, and his voice messages were smooth and flowing with love and tenderness. They also included ample coverage of news about family, friends, Ibrahim's brothers, and comrades both inside and outside solitary confinement. The family is cared for in the husband's absence by Umm Ali, a faithful, cohesive, educated woman, devoted and loyal to her husband, with strong determination. Her dedication is reflected in the exemplary upbringing of the children. Her words reveal unlimited support for her husband's position and choices. It is worth noting that the prison service did not only deny him family visits but also deprived him of the simplest right of a prisoner to communicate by phone with his relatives.

Mohammad Jamal Al-Natsheh

A prominent leader in the Hamas movement and a member of the Legislative Council, elected on the Reform and Change list affiliated with Hamas while he was in prison. He was pursued by occupation forces and arrested in 2002, but they were unable to prove their false accusations against him according to the General Intelligence report. He is strong-willed, strong in character, of good morals, and

open in his social relationships. His personality is broadly unifying. He played a role in managing Hamas's relations with other factions of the national action. He is easy to deal with, always seeking common ground with others, and works to reduce areas of disagreement. He was placed early on in solitary confinement, anticipating his potential expanding role and influence. He moved between several solitary confinement sections. He was released from solitary confinement in Ramon after we spent nearly two months together, which were some of the best days of confinement. The occupation authorities re-arrested him, and he is currently held under administrative detention.

Hisham Sharabati

A fighter arrested due to his connection with Hamas and the Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades. Although his sentence was short, he was subjected to solitary confinement due to his specialization in chemistry. He left solitary confinement only a few months before his release. He is strong-willed and determined, socially, intellectually, and politically open. He used his time productively despite the short duration and limited encounters behind the courtyard wall. His gentle nature and openness became evident despite the circumstances.

Saleh Dar Mousa

A fighter from the village of Beit Liqya, northwest of Jerusalem, sentenced multiple times to life imprisonment for resisting the occupation. He is cultured and worked in education before his arrest. His personality is strong and cohesive, unaffected by harsh prison conditions or the difficulties of solitary confinement. He was one of the first detainees I met in Ashkelon solitary confinement and provided me during the brief time we interacted remotely with useful information about solitary confinement conditions and rules for dealing with its effects. He has a friendly personality with wide-ranging interests. He is always striving to develop himself

and make productive use of his time. He mastered the Hebrew language and expanded his experience in managing relationships with his guards under solitary conditions. He left solitary confinement months after we met, and I did not get a chance to get to know him more deeply.

Abbas Al-Sayyid

A smart leadership figure in Hamas, an engineer and politician, cultured and consistent with his intellectual and political convictions. He is strong-willed and determined. The occupation authorities arrested him in 2002 and sentenced him to life imprisonment 33 times. Israel refused to include his name in the list of freed prisoners under the Shalit deal. He is gentle in his social relations, governed by a system of high moral values. He was subjected to solitary confinement in the second half of 2009 to prevent his influence on the negotiations regarding the release of soldier Gilad Shalit. The pretext for his isolation was making contact with the outside via a smuggled mobile device, although dozens of detainees used such devices and made similar calls to top leadership. After the prisoner exchange deal, he headed Hamas's supreme leadership body inside prisons. He conducted a solo hunger strike protesting his isolation for 21 days. He was released from solitary confinement in May 2012, as an achievement and result of the Dignity Strike in April of the same year. He is still under a ban from family visits but is allowed to visit his children under the age of sixteen once a month. His only means of communication with prisoners is through letters and lawyers and receiving voice messages via prisoner radio stations and programs. He lives within a closely connected family system, evident through voice messages from his son Abdullah and his virtuous, strong, and cohesive wife.

Abu Al-Baraa

He is Mahmoud Issa from the village of Anata, Jerusalem district, one of the leaders of the Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades. He is sentenced to life imprisonment three times due to his leadership in the kidnapping of soldier Nissim Toledano in early 1993, aimed at demanding a prisoner exchange for Sheikh Ahmed Yassin and several other detainees. The operation ended with the killing of the kidnapped soldier. In the mid-1990s, the occupation security agencies accused him of attempting to participate in resistance activities abroad and punished him with solitary confinement. He was released from solitary to the regular prison in 2000 as a result of the prisoners' successful hunger strike in September of that year, along with other isolated prisoners. The intelligence services returned him to solitary confinement under the same accusations less than two years after his release. He remained in solitary confinement for more than eight years the last time, until he was released as part of the prisoners' demands during the Dignity Strike in April 2012.

He is a strong, cohesive personality reflecting a firm and solid ideological affiliation. He is characterized by calmness, which indicates his inner strength and psychological balance. Socially open, practical, and outstanding in his giving, he possesses creative writing abilities and various skills. Organized in his daily life, he maintains strong family ties characterized by love and loyalty. The voice messages he received several times a week reflected the essence of these relationships. He was excluded from the list of released prisoners in the Gilad Shalit prisoner exchange deal.

Umm Faris Baroud

Prisoner Faris Baroud is from Gaza City. He was arrested in the early 1990s during the First Intifada and sentenced to multiple life imprisonments for involvement in killing several settlers. He had no specific political affiliation. He spent several years among his peers in prison but could not adapt to the social life of prisoners,

especially under the conditions of collective isolation in Ramla prison. He spent about fifteen years in solitary confinement before finally moving to the general population. He is strong and sensitive, simple in his social relations, and always willing to offer help to fighters in isolation. The prison police fear him. His hope for release was tied to the Gilad Shalit deal, and when he was excluded, he faced the situation with courage. Today, he awaits the opening of hope for his release as part of the veteran prisoners. Practical and capable of fixing any electrical device malfunction, he was called the “section technician.” His room, filled with remnants of devices, resembled a workshop.

He chose to live alone in his cell during the first days I met him. At first, I thought he had psychological or nervous disorders, especially when he occasionally screamed loudly. When I asked him about this, he simply explained that he screams whenever he feels distress to release his inner anger and tension, and this process comforts him and restores his balance. One of his many life mottos was prayer. I thought that being excluded from the exchange deal would discourage him and break his spirit, but I was surprised by how quickly he absorbed the shock, rejoiced in his brother and comrades’ release, and continued his social life as usual.

Umm Faris, whom we knew by her warm and tender voice when addressing Faris through the Prisoners’ Voice station, would sound to listeners like a young woman because of the strength and sharpness of her voice and the encouraging phrases she always charged Faris with, or her humanitarian emotions toward Faris’s comrades, and the inciting phrases she spread. In brief words, she is a mother and a fighter, a first-class person. I saw her once in a protest broadcast on Palestine TV — an elderly woman weakened by fatigue, yet I realized that her aging and frailty were compensated by her determination and strong will.

Martyr Moataz Hijazi

A young Palestinian from Jerusalem and a fighter, he was arrested due to an attempt to stab an occupation soldier and for supporting the Islamic Jihad. He entered prison before reaching eighteen years old, driven by enthusiasm and revolutionary passion. His zeal and impulsiveness led him to attempt to stab a police officer in prison in response to the humiliation by one of the officers, which resulted in an additional sentence added to his original eight-year term. He was also subjected to severe torture and physical destruction and was transferred to solitary confinement.

At the beginning of his isolation, he suffered psychological effects, and the harsh treatment by the isolation police pushed him to repeatedly attempt to fight back, which resulted in further added years to his sentence, bringing it to thirteen years. Through the efforts of fellow fighters, he gradually regained his psychological and social balance. With his intelligence, he educated himself religiously and intellectually, and also learned and mastered the Hebrew language. He remained cheerful and friendly throughout his isolation, beloved and stubborn in dealing with the administration. He diligently followed his legal cases through the legal expertise he gained from his isolation experience. The prison service considered him a danger and prohibited housing him with anyone else or releasing him from solitary confinement. He served his sentence and was released, after which he continued his role in resisting the occupation. He was martyred on October 30, 2014, after a prolonged firefight with members of the Israeli special forces who had besieged his home in the Al-Thawri neighborhood of occupied Jerusalem following his attempt to assassinate the Zionist rabbi Yehuda Glick.

Abu Faris

He is Bajis Nakhla from the Jalazun refugee camp. He was arrested multiple times and subjected to long administrative detentions. He was re-arrested administratively in 2011 as part of a wide campaign against Hamas and its cadres,

aimed at pressuring the movement to make concessions in negotiations for the release of soldier Gilad Shalit. A few days after his arrest, he was placed in solitary confinement but was released from it following the April 2012 hunger strike. His calm demeanor is marked by notable steadfastness, and his morals grant him a humane dimension. I knew him abroad through joint work, and he was open in his national and humanitarian relations.

Walid Khaled

A young fighter and creative writer and poet, he was arrested several times due to his activism with Hamas. He spent a considerable time in solitary confinement and was released shortly before his release in 2009. He was re-arrested administratively at the beginning of 2011 and placed in solitary confinement, from which he was released after the success of the April 2012 hunger strike. He is lively in his social relations, steadfast in his ideological affiliation, and channeled his years in isolation into producing literary and poetic creativity.

Darrar Abu Sisi

He is a known detainee living in solitary confinement, with his case exposed internationally. His arrest involved violations and disregard for international law, as well as Ukrainian laws as a sovereign state. His kidnapping is a new form of international piracy and a clear act of terrorism. If Ukraine's role was complicit, then the situation is even worse. Strangely, the Palestinian response was routine and weak, without any serious effort to pursue Israel internationally through the UN legal bodies or the International Criminal Court.

Israel claimed he was responsible for developing Hamas's rocket system, and may have extracted confessions from him under harsh and terrorizing interrogation conditions. Israel did not follow legal procedures either in his arrest or transfer to interrogation. He was held for a period outside any legal process, and

interrogations outside legal frameworks are often questionable in their results. To conceal its crimes and inflate the case of his detention in solitary confinement, Israel subjected his trial to secret conditions and restrictions.

His name was included in the list of isolated prisoners whose isolation the prisoners' movement demanded to end in April 2012. However, Israeli intelligence continues to delay ending his isolation, even though during the suspension of the hunger strike, intelligence agreed to release all isolated prisoners from solitary confinement without reservations. The excuses and justifications presented by the prison service and Israeli intelligence are unconvincing and legally unjustified. The claim that Israeli intelligence cannot release him before completing his trial due to court secrecy is meaningless because everything happening in court can be disclosed through his lawyer or by him via his friends in isolation, or by any other lawyer if his own lawyer is banned from publishing court details.

All intelligence claims are weak and "an excuse worse than the fault." To clarify and expose the circumstances of his isolation, Darrar suffers from multiple illnesses that appeared simultaneously after his arrest. It is possible that the drugs used to sedate him had a direct effect on this. His weight dropped from 95 kilograms to 60 kilograms or less, which is an unusual decline indicating abnormal organic dysfunction requiring intensive treatment. It is also natural that the conditions of his isolation are unsuitable for his treatment, and the simplest measure to start his treatment is to remove him from isolation.

It is also known that after prolonged delays, Darrar was forced to declare an open hunger strike despite his poor health, which did not allow it. He suspended the strike after a promise to move him from isolation to less harsh conditions—namely, semi-group isolation. In any case, Darrar's case remains an open wound that deserves attention from all levels of Palestinian leadership and the relevant legal

and human rights institutions until his isolation ends, and Israel is held legally accountable for the crime of kidnapping and endangering his social life.

Darrar Abu Sisi's wife, whom we knew through her voice messages, spoke broken Arabic but her messages were rich with deep emotional content, sometimes switching to Ukrainian. She was keen to contact him daily and follow his news in isolation, as well as his legal case in Ukraine, the country he belongs to, and his lawyers who follow his case. She gathered her children daily at the broadcast time of the "Prisoners' Voice" radio station to hear their voices and give a role to each of her children. She was determined to be with him daily along with her children to give him strength and immunity and to spread warmth and affection in the damp, foul atmosphere of his cell. She was a flowing energy of love, tenderness, strength, and cohesion. She is a model of a faithful wife who refuses to surrender to the fate imposed by the occupation on her husband.

Prisoner A

A determined fighter, one of the earliest to join the military wing of the Islamic Jihad Movement, he carried out a daring martyrdom operation and was sentenced to multiple life terms. He spent part of his imprisonment among his brothers and comrades, during which he developed a psychoneurotic disorder that severely disturbed his psychological and social balance. The prison administration treated him by placing him in solitary confinement, where the illness worsened, pushing him to the brink of madness. He developed feelings of distrust toward everyone around him and showed aggressive behavior toward his fellow inmates in isolation.

It can be said that he suffered from a security-related paranoia, imagining everyone around him as spies conspiring against him. His reactions included shouting, threats, and insults. The prison administration did not provide him with any serious treatment except for strong doses of sedatives. In moments of clarity, he is a

friendly and cheerful person loved by others. Although his condition warranted release or at least transfer to a specialized hospital, the prison authority confined him to solitary isolation until he was freed in the prisoner exchange deal involving soldier Gilad Shalit, which remains one of the bright points of that deal.

Prisoner B

Another political prisoner, a fighter who could not grasp the concepts of prison life or adapt to the social and collective demands of incarceration. He requested to be placed in solitary confinement. Naturally, someone who fails to socially adapt in the structured prison environment will not be able to adapt under even harsher conditions. He had no schedule to organize his time and suffered from severe psychological hunger. He constantly needed a partner to talk to and interacted daily with all sections of the prison population, both political and criminal.

He requested a roommate, and the administration agreed. However, when the others get annoyed due to their own preoccupations, he begins knocking on the door and enters into conflicts with the guards for real or imaginary reasons—always present are his demands, whether for cigarettes, coffee, or accusations of insults by a guard, etc. He has a remarkable ability to attract attention, bringing everyone to the ward to silence him after he breaks into tears or threatens self-harm. This involves everyone from the ward manager to the security or intelligence officer to the social worker. The situation usually ends either by opening the ventilation hatch in the door used to pass food to prisoners—which is normally prohibited—or it escalates to him being restrained to the bed, only released for bathroom breaks or meals. In these cases, everyone rallies to support him until the administration resolves the issue.

On the other side of his human personality, he is an intelligent and socially open person without limits, altruistic in dealing with colleagues. What he holds in his

hands is not his own possession. He is capable of monitoring and resolving conflicts among the youth but unable to solve his own problem. He is a complex personality but still beloved. You might get angry with him one moment, but he quickly insists on making amends. He knows no boundaries when dealing with criminals or political prisoners. His sentence was not long. In moments of calm, he convinces himself to return to the regular wards, but soon abandons the idea. He was released, and we hope he has regained his balance and continued his life.

Prisoner C

A young fighter arrested in 2006–2007 due to his participation in intifada activities and throwing Molotov cocktails at occupation soldiers. He is kind and polite but tends to be introverted. He was unable to cope with the terms of prison life and suffered nervous and psychological pressure. His pride prevented him from asking for help. His worsening condition led him to attack a prison officer with a sharp tool. He was treated brutally, to the extent of bone fractures, and was placed in solitary confinement under harsh and rough treatment. His psychological state worsened further in isolation, but he remained balanced in his relationships with his cellmates or others in the ward. He does not initiate social interactions and only engages in social activity reluctantly. Silence and calmness largely characterize his behavior.

He was sentenced to fifteen years on his case, with an additional three years added for an attempted stabbing of a police officer. He refuses to take any treatment, believing that medication is only suitable for the insane—not for him.

At the beginning of his isolation, he had a supportive social environment that helped ease his crisis and the burden of isolation. However, he was transferred to another section where no political prisoners surrounded him to help, and his introversion continued. This affected his psychological behavior, causing him to stop visits from his family and to start talking to himself aloud all the time in his cell.

His condition worsened when he was placed in a cell with another prisoner suffering from bedwetting, who occupied the upper part of the bed. He went mad when he woke up at night feeling the cold urine leaking from the upper bunk. He did not harm his cellmate but started banging on the cell door until the guards arrived, and he demanded to be removed from the cell. He was moved to an adjacent cell and showed no negative reaction toward his former cellmate.

His symptoms escalated to constant screaming and destroying all belongings in the cell. He refused to eat and boycotted the prison canteen, refusing to buy his supplies from it. Sometimes, he reacted angrily toward his neighbors when they tried to calm him. Some isolated prisoners who had previously shared his situation arrived at the ward and re-established their relationship with him. Gradually, they convinced him to stop refusing family visits, eating, and destroying his cell contents. Unfortunately, this positive influence was cut short when those prisoners were transferred.

Today, he lives under difficult health conditions, deteriorating mentally and psychologically every day. It can be said that the reasons for his detention under such conditions are leading to his neurological destruction, potentially ending his life. This fighter will spend many more years in prison, although his indictment, upon which the military court based its verdict, should not have led to more than five years according to court laws—which should have ended, and he should have been released.

Beyond generalities, it is necessary for the authorities to adopt his case and, politically and legally, to exert pressure for his release.

Prisoner D

A young fighter sentenced to more than fifteen years in prison, having spent half or more of that time incarcerated. He was arrested due to his resistance to the

occupation as a member of Hamas and the Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades. He suffered from mild nervous and psychological disorders, and as his imprisonment continued and he was unable to adapt to the prison group's rules, he requested solitary confinement several times. Through the efforts of his brothers and comrades, he was returned to the general wards. He comes from a respected and militant family, but the lack of medical follow-up by a specialist exacerbated his nervous and psychological condition, reaching a tragic state. After a fight with a fellow prisoner, he was sent to solitary confinement, and all efforts to reintegrate him into the group failed. Today, he lives in a state of alienation and possibly dissociation, avoiding conversations even with those closest to him and has also boycotted visits from his family. When his psychological state deteriorates, he destroys all the contents of his cell, sometimes going as far as setting it on fire and risking his own life. The administration's only "treatment" is to spray him with gas and restrain him to the bed for several days. This case requires pressure from all levels to secure his release. Recently, as a result of family and comrades' efforts, he was transferred back to the general wards, but the severe deterioration of his physical and psychological condition only means increased suffering.

Prisoner E

A militant prisoner from the Far'a area in Tubas district, sentenced to life imprisonment due to resistance against the occupation. He has spent more than ten years in prison and suffers from severe psychological and nervous disorders. He is currently held in solitary confinement. He was released from isolation due to legal efforts but was unable to adapt to the social collective living conditions and was returned to isolation. Day by day, his condition worsens in the absence of healthcare, and the administration has offered him nothing but high doses of sedatives, which will ultimately destroy him neurologically in the long term.

This is another case that requires care and follow-up by all those concerned with prisoners' affairs and human rights to save his life and secure his release.

Oppression Melts and Unites Wills

The prison community in general, and solitary confinement in particular, is a unique environment that produces its own contradictions. Despite the diversity of this community, which includes criminal and political prisoners, Arabs and Jews, the unifying law governing all these contradictions is the opposition to the prison administration and its tools of repression. Here, all religious, national, political, and criminal differences dissolve, and everyone's feelings merge, uniting their will to confront the oppression imposed by the jailer. Perhaps the examples and cases mentioned above illustrate everything strange that was previously described and concluded.

Appendix 2

Prisoner X

Another political prisoner who escaped from prison for security reasons and sought protection from the administration. The prison administration placed him in solitary confinement, where he spent nearly twenty years. He lived his new life harboring a desire for revenge against all political prisoners, either due to a sense of injustice or to vent the social and psychological pressures of solitary confinement. Perhaps the administration played on these feelings and used him as a tool to punish and provoke his fellow prisoners in isolation. For quite some time, he was a source of annoyance and provocation for many of them. His psychological and nervous condition worsened, reaching the brink of madness. He imagined that certain people were insulting him just by hearing his voice, leading him to shout and curse for long hours, despite all efforts to silence him. He became a heavy burden and a source of provocation for everyone. However, the prisoners in isolation, using their wisdom, managed to care for him and tame his outbursts—though not cure him—by sometimes showing kindness and joking, and other times fulfilling his constant requests for cigarettes and other canteen items. Despite this, his medical condition was not compatible with continued imprisonment and the harsh conditions of solitary confinement. The occupation government clung to him until he was released in the first batch of prisoners from before Oslo. His severe medical condition did not spare him since he was sentenced to death for killing a "Jew," or as they put it, "as long as his hands are stained with blood." Blind hatred guides the tools of killing, oppression, and brutality, and a policy saturated with racism leaves no room for humanitarian considerations in dealing with prisoners. The mentioned prisoner posed no threat to their security, neither inside nor outside the prison. His psychological and nervous condition is hopeless for recovery, yet they insisted on continuing his detention until his last breath, spending more than twenty-seven years in prison.

Yigal and Hagai Amir

Anyone who hears the name Yigal Amir, Rabin's assassin, shudders with disgust. His name is linked to fascist Zionist settler tendencies and he is called the killer of peace by those who classify themselves in the Israeli peace camp. Some who lived with him in solitary confinement and endured daily provocative procedures with him noted that the walls of ideology and politics crumbled, and they merged into relationships united by feelings of sympathy and hatred toward the jailer.

In his cell, Amir cannot hide from the camera lens. Under these conditions, he expressed himself as a human being stripped of his political and ideological convictions. His hatred of Arabs and Palestinians did not prevent him from forming humane relationships based on shared suffering in the solitary confinement community. His peers described him as a calm, polite person who did not practice any racist behavior toward those around him, even with Hassan Salameh, responsible for killing forty-eight Israelis. Both endured harsh and annoying treatment that united their feelings and brought them closer, breaking down the wall of hatred between them.

The same can be said about Hagai Amir, his brother, sentenced to eighteen years for assisting him. He is a calm and religious young man who rarely initiates social relationships but responds humanely to any attempt to open relations regardless of the initiator's identity. It happened that a criminal prisoner unable to endure the conditions of life arrived at solitary confinement section (AA) in Ramon and spoke to Hagai in Hebrew, asking for his help to communicate with us to understand his provocations, which he would use as an excuse to ask for release from isolation, due to his inability to live with Jewish killers. Hagai advised him not to resort to this method and told him that those in isolation are respectable people and that he could not ruin his relationship with them. However, it is difficult to convince the troubled with logic. The prisoner began to provoke especially during the call to prayer and worship times. The conflict escalated, and the administration

intervened regarding his behavior. When the administration asked for Hagai's opinion, he did not provide testimony favorable to the criminal prisoner.

The Amir brothers were subjected to the worst psychological and moral pressures. The administration hung a picture of Rabin opposite Yigal's cell to remind him of his crime and attempt to break him mentally. The hatred driven by fascist and racist mentalities transcends ethnic, religious, or political affiliations. These human tools are programmed like computers. The treatment by the Prison Directorate and intelligence services of detainees such as Maghnoud, the Amir brothers, Odeeb, and Rami Lifne—who were arrested for anti-occupation activities and belonging to the Red Front and Revolutionary Communist Union (Nidal)—may cause confusion by seeming to apply equal standards to political prisoners, whether Arab or Jewish. It must be clarified that a group of Jewish politicians who were members of terrorist organizations and were convicted of killing Arab citizens were given special privileges in treatment. Most, if not all, were never placed in solitary confinement, and all their rights were guaranteed, including leave from prison to meet family and friends and return after 48 hours. Moreover, a significant number had their sentences reduced or were released after serving two-thirds of their time.

The policy of systematic, harsh punishment driven by racial hatred targeted only those who opposed the Zionist governments or threatened their security, whether members of right-wing or left-wing organizations. These individuals faced stricter sentencing and harsher treatment inside both general prison sections and solitary confinement.

Prisoner 1

A Jewish criminal prisoner sentenced to life imprisonment, considered by the prison administration as a dangerous and influential figure within the prison community. He is open in his social relations with all political prisoners. He shows

great readiness to defend his fellow prisoners in solitary confinement regardless of their nationality or charges. Despite his limited political awareness and lack of interest in politics, his relationships with the fighters did not prevent him from entering the realm of politics and expressing sympathy for our national cause. He fights any racist tendencies attempting to divide based on religion or nationality inside the prison or solitary confinement walls. He is a strong, rebellious personality, and commands respect from the administration.

Prisoner 2

A Jewish criminal prisoner and a frequent inmate of the prison. His detention periods were never very long, and his life has been associated with what is called the “revolving door” — repeatedly entering and leaving prison. He is open in his relationships with all prisoner groups inside the solitary confinement cells. He formed special and distinguished relations with political prisoners in isolation and treated them with appreciation and respect for their opinions and beliefs. Once, a political prisoner was transferred to the section where he lived in Eshel Prison (section 28 of partial isolation). The transfer was sudden due to the lack of space in the neighboring prison where the solitary confinement extension hearings take place — only for one night. In the morning, he learned that a political prisoner was in the adjacent cell, so he called him from the window, knew him by name and from among his acquaintances he met in isolation sections. He asked about his needs for cigarettes and coffee and insisted on sending him a cup of coffee through the section worker. How the coffee was brought into the closed cell is another story, since opening the food slot is prohibited. The worker asked the political prisoner to bring his glass and place it under the window at the upper section of the door. Then he bent a plastic card to use as a spout to pour the coffee. This prisoner found no other way to express his feelings except through this method.

Prisoner 3

A strong-willed young man, a Jewish criminal prisoner with a strong presence before the administration and among criminal prisoners, both Arabs and Jews. He is open in his social relations with political prisoners in isolation and treats them with appreciation and respect. By virtue of his position, he can bend the law to secure special treatment for himself and defend others' rights, but he has never resorted to such methods.

Once, a fellow prisoner argued with the section officer over the system of scheduling the order to go out to the prison yard, which the administration distributes periodically. The disagreement was about whether the assigned time for each room is binding for the officer. The administration believed that if someone waives their turn, the turn immediately moves to the next room without adhering to the scheduled time. In this way, several rooms ready to go out might be skipped because their occupants weren't prepared, although they expected to go out at the pre-scheduled time. The administration tried to enforce this system and prevented further discussion. Although he could choose to go out whenever he wished, he intervened in the discussion to support our position and obliged the administration to comply, especially after threatening to file a complaint with the court. In daily life, many events reflected his siding with the entire prison community, dominated by solidarity.

Prisoner 4

A criminal prisoner from the city of Jaffa, Palestinian by identity and a victim of Zionist targeting aimed at corrupting Arab youth in mixed cities. He was arrested at a young age and sentenced to life imprisonment on charges of premeditated murder. He is strong-willed, proud of himself and his Palestinian identity. Through his relationship with political detainees in solitary confinement, he has significantly developed in his social understanding and personal habits.

He is easy to get along with, socially open, generous, and never misses an opportunity to help his fellow prisoners. The years spent in solitary confinement have taken a toll on his nervous system; at times, he experiences episodes of withdrawal accompanied by delirium. He is always ready to defend any fellow political prisoner in solitary if they are harmed or insulted. He has a strong presence among the criminal prisoners.

One clear sign of his deep loyalty to his cellmates is when the prison administration punished one of his friends for trying to smuggle cigarettes to him through the food slot. He only learned of the incident the next day, but upon hearing it, he became furious and destroyed all the contents of his room in protest. The prison administration was unable to control him until they summoned a large police force, and he was taken to a cell where he was tied to the bed for several days.

He memorizes by heart the names of the freedom fighters he met in solitary and lives through their stories and struggles. The prison administration has repeatedly threatened him, pressuring him to cut ties with political prisoners, but he has never given in and has remained committed to maintaining those relationships and offering his support.

And Finally

These are fragmented stories from a long and ongoing context. There are many similar examples, as there are many names. As explained in previous lines, the reality of solitary confinement has given rise to unique relationships that transcended patterns of national, ideological, and political hostility, relatively merging everyone into a cohesive community united in the face of oppression, with human solidarity as the foundation of that resistance.

It's true that this temporary experience cannot be generalized, but repression and oppression are phenomena that also divide Israeli society and affect all segments, classes, and poor communities. This suggests that what now seems like an exception could one day become the rule — a foundation for building genuine peaceful relations among the inhabitants of Palestine, or coexistence within a democratic state where all people can live together.

This would require the rejection of all forms of oppression, racism, and discrimination. And I am convinced that this is possible — just as it is possible to separate the Jewish inhabitants of Palestine from the Zionist ideology that incites hatred and promotes hostility against Arabs and anyone who resists Zionism.