Decolonization is not a metaphor. Triangulation of indigenous struggle, black liberation, and a free Palestine produce a re-arrangement of relationships that make empire look like this.

PALESTINE, BLM & BOYCOTT IN THE ARTS

BLACK LIVES MATTER

شُعُورَة

النَّمْر
Now is the time to advance BDS in the Arts towards a shared horizon of liberation.

This pamphlet is a living archive of movement work: articles, actions, declarations, reports, notes, tweets, jottings, and images of all kinds. Collectively, these materials mark a strategic threshold. First, they point to the rekindling of an explicit alliance between the black and Palestinian struggles, cemented by the endorsement of the Boycott Divestment Sanctions (BDS) campaign against Israeli Apartheid by the official platform of the Movement for Black Lives. Second, these materials show that artists, energized by the black and Palestinian alliance, are more determined than ever to advance BDS into an arena that we know is ripe for action and leverage: the artworld.

At the same time, these materials throw into relief things that are widely felt but seldom said: while BDS is a crucial tool, it has often been treated as a single-issue campaign isolated from other decolonizing struggles and other forms of action. Further, BDS as a technical set of guidelines is increasingly outflanked by its targets, especially in the cultural sector. Thanks to the headway recently made by campaign in other sectors--especially academia--art institutions are often already on notice to avoid explicitly doing business with Israel. Instead, we see the proliferation of new alibis and infrastructures for the art-washing of the occupation and the propagation of “Brand Israel.” Consider, for instance, the This Place exhibition at the Brooklyn Museum earlier this year, which mobilized six million dollars in private donations to put

3. Educate ourselves about the expanded field of Israeli art washing. Do our homework about who is who in the game of promoting Brand Israel—even when such promotion happens at arms length from official state funding, as in the case of Artis. Make the moral case against art washing beyond the technical criteria of BDS, and act accordingly by refusing to work with or add legitimacy to such entities.

4. Support one another if we are attacked, harassed, or blacklisted for our support of BDS and other anti-art washing work. Be prepared for backlash from pro-Israeli forces in the media, at work, and within our communities. Stand firm together in the knowledge that we are on the right side of history, and that other movements have our back just as we have theirs. Remember the ties that bind the Palestinian struggle to those of colonized people everywhere, including in the settler colony of the United States itself.

What is BDS? + What are you doing to participate? =campaigns = BDSmovement.net

WHAT ARE YOU DOING TO PARTICIPATE?
forward a grandiose meditation by blue-chip art photographers like Jeff Wall and Stephen Shore on the lyricality of the occupied Israeli landscape. Think also of the New York-based non-profit organization Artis, which regularly takes delegations of high-profile critics, curators, and artists from the global art system on a Grand Tour of the Israeli art world--always making sure, of course, to highlight work that “addresses the Israeli/Palestinian conflict.” Phenomena such as This Place and Artis are among the leading examples of pro-Israel advocacy in the cultural field that art-washes the occupation. But technically they do not violate the strictures of BDS because they effectively circumvent direct engagement with the Israeli state.

To be clear: formally signing on to BDS remains an essential litmus test for individuals and institutions in terms of their commitment to social justice. Many artists and critics in the United States have already done so, and, at an international level, musicians, writers, and actors from across the spectrum of popular culture and avant-garde experimentation have committed to the boycott. The endorsement of the campaign by the Movement for Black Lives should put to rest any moral ambiguity about whether it is righteous to refuse collaboration with a racist colonial-settler state that bears close resemblance to that of South African Apartheid (which was itself subjected to a crucial cultural boycott by artists and intellectuals). Black Lives Matter has been widely celebrated, in principle, by important players in the New York art system, from the New Museum to Creative Time. The alignment of Movement for Black Lives and BDS puts the progressive-minded parts of the US art world in a position that would seem naturally to lead to a sector-wide boycott of Israel. In good faith we hope that our progressive colleagues in the arts will indeed follow the lead of many black artists and activists. But it seems likely that many actors in the art field will prefer to avoid the question altogether by avoiding immediate funding or partnership with the Israeli government while continuing to perpetuate a culture of pro-Zionism that normalizes the occupation.

BDS is the floor, not the ceiling. Spurred by our alliance with the Movement for Black Lives and other decolonizing formations like the NYC Stands with Standing Rock water protectors and the NYC Not For Sale de-gentrification network, our analysis is expanding and our tactics are evolving. BDS changes the conversation and what we expect of our cultural institutions. The art world is the next front in this battle. Which side are you on?

#DecolonizeThisPlace #FreePalestine #BlackLiberation #StandingRock

## Pledge to Resist the Art-Washing of Occupation

The promotion of art and culture is a crucial part of Israel’s attempts to legitimize and normalize the status quo of Apartheid. As artists, we can and should resist becoming tools for art washing the Israeli occupation of Palestine. We can and should act in solidarity with our fellow artists and cultural workers in Palestine who have called for the cultural boycott of Israel. The time for hand-wringing and “moral ambivalence” is over. Boycott is the floor not the ceiling. A first step is to take this pledge of resistance.

We pledge to:

1. **Publically endorse the boycott, and encourage our friends and colleagues in the arts to do so as well.** Recognize that the simple first act of adding our names, social capital, and professional reputations to the campaign can have a significant impact. Contribute to creating a culture of peer encouragement and pressure to sign on to BDS, and ensure that refusing to collaborate with Israeli state entities becomes a basic moral stance expected of artists and institutions—especially those professing a commitment to social justice and political engagement.

2. **Proactively support Palestinian artists and their allies who are working to advance the boycott.** Consult with organizers about skills, resources, space, and connections that we might have to offer to those already doing the work. Seek out ways to plug in beyond signing our name to BDS. Get outside our comfort zone. Strategically use the privileges we may have to put our bodies on the line with direct action, if we are able to do so.
On August 1 the Movement for Black Lives (M4BL), a coalition of over sixty organizations, rolled out “A Vision for Black Lives: Policy Demands for Black Power, Freedom & Justice,” an ambitious document described by the press as the first signs of what young black activists “really want.” It lays out six demands aimed at ending all forms of violence and injustice endured by black people; redirecting resources from prisons and the military to education, health, and safety; creating a just, democratically controlled economy; and securing black political power within a genuinely inclusive democracy. Backing the demands are forty separate proposals and thirty-four policy briefs, replete with data, context, and legislative recommendations.

But the document quickly came under attack for its statement on Palestine, which calls Israel an apartheid state and characterizes the ongoing war in Gaza and the West Bank as genocide. Dozens of publications and media outlets devoted extensive coverage to the controversy around this single aspect of the platform, including The Guardian, the Washington Post, The Times of Israel, Haaretz, and the St. Louis Post-Dispatch. Of course, M4BL is not the first to argue that Israeli policies meet the UN definitions of apartheid. (The 1965 International Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and the 1975 International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid define it as “inhuman acts committed for the purpose of establishing and maintaining domination by one racial group of persons over any other racial group of persons and systematically oppressing them.”) Nor is M4BL the first group to use the term “genocide” to describe the plight of Palestinians under occupation and settlement. The renowned Israeli historian Ilan Pappe, for example, wrote of the war on Gaza in 2014 as “incremental genocide.” That Israel’s actions in Gaza correspond with the UN definition of genocide to “destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group” by causing “serious bodily or mental harm” to group members is a legitimate argument to make.

The few mainstream reporters and pundits who considered the full M4BL document either reduced it to a laundry list of demands or positioned it as an alternative to the platform of the Democratic Party—or else focused on their own heightened astonishment that the movement has an agenda beyond curbing police violence. But anyone following Black Lives Matter from its inception in the aftermath of the George Zimmerman verdict should not be surprised by the document’s broad scope. Black Lives Matter founders Alicia Garza, Patrisse Cullors, and Opal Tometi are veteran organizers with a distinguished record of fighting for economic justice, immigrant rights, gender equity, and ending mass incarceration. “A Vision for Black Lives” was not a response to the U.S. presidential election, nor to unfounded criticisms of the movement as “rudderless” or merely a “rally of the masses.” It was the product of a year of collective discussion, research, collaboration, and intense debate, beginning with the Movement for Black Lives Convening in Cleveland last July, which initially brought together thirty different organizations. It was the product of some of the country’s greatest minds representing organizations such as the Black Youth Project 100, Million Hoodies, Black Alliance for Just Immigration, Dream Defenders, the Organization for Black Struggle, and Southerners on New Ground (SONG). As Marbre Stahly-Butts, a leader of the M4BL policy table explained, “We formed working groups, facilitated multiple convenings, drew on a range of expertise, and sought guidance from grassroots organizations, organizers and elders. As of today, well over sixty organizations and hundreds of people have contributed to the platform.”

“A Vision for Black Lives” is a plan for ending structural racism, saving the planet, and transforming the entire nation—not just black lives. The result is actually more than a platform. It is a remarkable blueprint for social transformation that ought to be read and discussed by everyone. The demands are not intended as Band-Aids to patch up the existing system but achievable goals that will produce deep structural changes and improve the lives of all Americans and much of the world. Thenjiwe McHarris, an eminent human rights activist and a principle coordinator of the M4BL policy table, put it best: “We hope that what has been created carries forward the legacy of our elders and our ancestors while imagining a world and a country profoundly different than what currently exists. For us and for those that will come after us.” The document was not drafted with the expectation that it will become the basis of a mass movement, or that it will replace the Democratic Party’s platform. Rather it is a vision statement for long-term, transformative organizing.
Indeed, “A Vision for Black Lives” is less a political platform than a plan for ending structural racism, saving the planet, and transforming the entire nation—not just black lives.

If heeded, the call to “end the war on Black people” would not only reduce our vulnerability to poverty, prison, and premature death but also generate what I would call a peace dividend of billions of dollars. Demilitarizing the police, abolishing bail, decriminalizing drugs and sex work, and ending the criminalization of youth, transfolk, and gender-nonconforming people would dramatically diminish jail and prison populations, reduce police budgets, and make us safer. “A Vision for Black Lives” explicitly calls for divesting from prisons, policing, a failed war on drugs, fossil fuels, fiscal and trade policies that benefit the rich and deepen inequality, and a military budget in which two-thirds of the Pentagon’s spending goes to private contractors. The savings are to be invested in education, universal healthcare, housing, living wage jobs, “community-based drug and mental health treatment,” restorative justice, food justice, and green energy.

But the point is not simply to reinvest the peace dividend into existing social and economic structures. It is to change those structures—which is why “A Vision for Black Lives” emphasizes community control, self-determination, and “collective ownership” of certain economic institutions. It calls for community control over police and schools, participatory budgeting, the right to organize, financial and institutional support for cooperatives, and “fair development” policies based on human needs and community participation rather than market principles. Democratizing the institutions that have governed black communities for decades without accountability will go a long way toward securing a more permanent peace since it will finally end a relationship based on subjugation, subordination, and surveillance. And by insisting that such institutions be more attentive to the needs of the most marginalized and vulnerable—working people and the poor, the homeless, the formerly incarcerated, the disabled, women, and the LGBTQ community—“A Vision for Black Lives” enriches our practice of democracy.

Finally, a peace dividend can fund M4BL’s most controversial demand: reparations. For M4BL, reparations would take the form of massive investment in black communities harmed by past and present policies of exploitation, theft, and disinvestment; free and open access to lifetime education and student debt forgiveness; and mandated changes in the school curriculum that acknowledge the impact of slavery, colonialism, and Jim Crow in producing wealth and racial inequality. The latter is essential, since perhaps the greatest obstacle to reparations is the common narrative that American wealth is the product of individual hard work and initiative, while poverty results from misfortune, culture, bad behavior, or inadequate education. We have for too long had ample evidence that this is a lie. From generations of unfree, unpaid labor, from taxing black communities to subsidize separate but unequal institutions, from land dispossession and federal housing policies and corporate practices that conspire to keep housing values in black and brown communities significantly lower, resulting in massive loss of potential wealth—the evidence is overwhelming and incontrovertible. Structural racism is to blame for generations of inequality. Restoring some of that wealth in the form of education, housing, infrastructure, and jobs with living wages would not only begin to repair the relationship between black residents and the rest of the country, but also strengthen the economy as a whole.

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To see how “A Vision for Black Lives” is also a vision for the country as a whole requires imagination. But it also requires seeing black people as fully human, as producers of wealth, sources of intellect, and as victims of crimes—whether the theft of our bodies, our labor, our children, our income, our security, or our psychological well-being. If we had the capacity to see structural racism and its consequences not as a black problem but as an American problem we have faced since colonial times, we may finally begin to hear what the Black Lives Matter movement has been saying all along: when all black lives are valued and the structures and practices that do harm to black communities are eliminated, we will change our country and possibly the world.
I don’t wish to have to go to Israel and sit on the golf course while 20,000 Palestinians are being killed. I wish to fight for the freedom of the Palestinian people. I wish to fight for the freedom of all people.

The Nakba, the Nakba, the Nakba.

The Nakba, the Nakba, the Nakba.

The Nakba, the Nakba, the Nakba.
A Call for a Collective Reexamination of Our Art Institutions

James McNally | October 11, 2016


ST. LOUIS — Watching the Kelley Walker exhibition at the Contemporary Art Museum (CAM) in St. Louis unroll in the span of a few weeks, from what the museum promoted as its most ambitious installation to date — taking over the entire museum for the fall season — to becoming a disgraced footnote in contemporary exhibition making, it’s clear that what we have witnessed is a failure of the idea of the institution. The artist, Kelley Walker, is of course at fault. As is the curator Jeffrey Uslip, the directorLisa Melandri, the unfortunate PR department left with the mess, and the Contemporary Art Museum more specifically. Yet that critique isn’t nearly deep enough. It skims off the surface, replaced as easily as another new wall, another non-collecting kunsthalle with a coat of fresh paint.

As someone who constantly considers the forces of institutions and their responsibilities, both from "within" as a director of a nonprofit art space and as a writer thinking about the mechanics of the art world, the actions surrounding Walker’s exhibition Direct Drive read as a limit case of systemic rupture. The exhibition prominently features Walker’s controversial appropriations of images of black people and photographs from the Civil Rights movement, in which he smears toothpaste and other commercial materials on the images to occlude their content, and has been met with a well-documented boycott from St. Louis artists and widespread denunciations of the curatorial choices. The artist takes the following the opening, in which Walker dodged questions about the intent behind his work and shut down dialogue specifically initiated by black artists, was just the tip of the iceberg.

What happened after, however, is where the bigger implications surrounding the institution lie — not only the question of what kind of institution CAM is, but what kinds of institutions we perpetuate more broadly. In Andrea Fraser’s words, “Every time we speak of the institution as ‘other than us’ we disavow our role in the creation and perpetuation of its conditions. [...] It’s not a question of being against the institution: We are the institution. It’s a question of what kind of institution we are.”

The exhibition’s failure became clear within days, but the institution’s failures are still unfurling. Rather than wondering how or why the exhibition took place in its final form, I am more concerned over why the institution was unable to respond transparently or decisively in the aftermath and, further, what this says about art institutions with large. When faced with the boycott which, quickly went viral, the museum avoided taking a position for days, after speaking in the most generic terms emptied of force, while the curator disappeared from sight, cancelling talks and other appearances. When the museum’s black staff wrote a letter calling for a clear list of demands, there was no public response.

Alliances with African nations under the guise that they, too, were part of the Non-Aligned Movement, and Israeli leaders publicly condemned racism and presented Israel as a model democracy. In 1961, when South Africa’s Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd attempted to deflect international criticism of Israel by describing Israel as “an apartheid state” (“The Jews took Israel from the Arabs after the Arabs had lived there for a thousand years.”), Israeli leaders promptly denounced him. Indeed, in 1963, then Foreign Minister Golda Meir told the UN General Assembly that Israeli “naturally oppose policies of apartheid, colonialism and racial or religious discrimination wherever they exist.”

Meir wasn’t the first foreign minister to lie to the UN General Assembly, nor would she be the last. The Non-Aligned Movement, which was “primarily from economically exploited, underdeveloped Asia and Africa, which it had come to see as a colonial power. In 1956, Israel joined Britain and France in a joint military invasion of Egypt after President Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser decided to nationalize the Suez Canal. As part of the war on Egypt, Israel occupied southern Gaza and slaughtered Palestinian refugees and other civilians in Khan Yunis, Rafah, and the nearby village of Kafr Qasim. Eight years later, Malcolm X visited the refugee camp at Khan Yunis during his two-month stay in Egypt and learned of the massacres, inspiring his oft-quoted essay, “Zionist Logic” which appeared in the Egyptian Gazette, September 17, 1964. Malcolm concluded that Zionism represented a “new form of colonialism,” disguised behind biblical claims and philanthropic rhetoric, but still based on the subjugation and dispossession of indigenous people and backed by US “dollarism.”

The 1967 Arab-Israeli War brought many more African Americans around to Malcolm’s position. The Black Caucus of Chicago’s New Politics Coalition of 1967 unequivocally posed a resolution condemning the “imperialist Zionist war,” and the Black Panther Party followed suit, not only denouncing Israel’s land grab, but pledging support for the PLO. The event that drew the most ire from liberal Zionists, many of whom had been veteran supporters of the civil rights movement, was the publication of “Third World Round-up: The Palestine Problem: Test Your Knowledge,” in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) newsletter. It described Israel as a colonial state backed by US imperialism and Palestinian as economic refugees. In short, Black identification with Zionism as a striving for land and self-determination gave way to a radical critique of Zionism as a form of settler colonialism akin to American racism and South African apartheid.

As a result of SNCC’s article, “responsible” Black leaders were called on to denounce the statement as anti-Semitic and to pledge their fealty to Israel. It was in this atmosphere that Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., made his oft-quoted statement: “We must stand with all of our might to protect [Israel’s] right to exist, its territorial integrity. I see Israel, and never mind saying it, as one of the great outposts of democracy in the world.” Pick up most literature from AIPAC or Stand With Us or CUFI and you will find little but rhetoric denouncing the boycotters but bereft of any context. King’s words come from a long, public interview conducted by Rabbi Everett Gendler at the 68th annual convention of the Rabbinical Society on March 25, 1968 — ten days before his assassination and ten months after the war. Revisiting it is highly instructive. First, Gendler tried to cajole him into denouncing “anti-Semite and anti-Israel Negroes.” But King pushed back. Disclaiming the claim that anti-Semitism was rampant in the Black movement, he argued instead that Black-Jewish tensions stem primarily from exploitation, and that any attempts to exploit the Jews would have an ethical consequence. He implored the audience “to condemn injustice wherever it exists. We found injustices in the black community . . . And we condemn them. I think when we find examples of exploitation, it must be refused to be done in the Jewish community too.” In other words, King not only insisted on condemning all forms of injustice but he refused to allow the charge of anti-Semitism to silence legitimate criticism — of Jews or of Israel.

His remarks about Israel and the Middle East are even more striking. Short of condemning war altogether, he called for “peace” above all else. For Israel “peace . . . means security,” though he never specified what security meant in this context. He also addressed what he thought peace meant for the Arabs. “Peace for the Arabs means the kind of economic security that they so desperately need. These nations, as you know, are part of that third world of hunger, of disease, of illiteracy. I think that as long as these conditions exist there will be tensions, there will be the endless quest to find scapegoats.” On the one hand, the statement belies a surprising ignorance of the history as well as the consequences of the 1967 war. King repeats the mantra that Palestinians suffer from hunger, disease, and illiteracy because they are poor, not because they were dispossessed of their land and property and subjected to a security state that limits their mobility, employment, housing, and general welfare. King’s solution?: “a Marshall Plan for the Middle East.” On the other hand, by situating Palestine in the “Third World,” he placed it squarely within what he identified as the whirlwind of global revolution sweeping aside the old economic structures based on capitalism and colonial domination. “These are revolutionary times,” he announced in his legendary speech on Vietnam a year earlier. “All over the globe men are revolting against old systems of exploitation and oppression, and out of the wounds of a frail world, new systems of justice and equality are being born . . . We in the West must support these revolutions.”

We can only speculate on how King’s position may have changed had he lived, but given the
opportunity to study the situation in the same way he had studied Vietnam, he would have been less sanguine about Israel’s democratic promise or the prospect of international aid as a strategy to dislodge a colonial relationship. To be sure, his unequivocal opposition to violence, colonialism, racism, and militarism would have made him an incisive critic of Israel’s current policies. He certainly would have stood in opposition to the VLG, CUFI, and the litany of lobbyists who invoke King as they do Israel’s bidding. And let’s be clear: King preached revolution. Distributing humanitarian aid and ending hostilities were never the endgame. The point of civil disobedience was not to keep the status quo intact, to make the regime slightly more just or fairer. The point was to overturn it. More than a regime change, King called for a revolution in values, a rejection of militarism, racism, and materialism, and the making of a new society based on community, mutuality, and love.

Not surprisingly, I found this revolutionary commitment to build a new society in Palestine. Yes, I confronted the apartheid Wall, witnessed the harassment of Palestinians passing through checkpoints, wept over piles of rubble where Palestinian homes had been demolished and their olive trees uprooted by the IDF, walked through the souk in Hebron littered with bricks of the situation—perpetuates the settler-colonial regime. Where is the balance between an oppressed and an oppressor? There is none. Apartheid is a black and white issue.

**We Act In Solidarity.** We owe to Palestinians at least what we demand for ourselves: freedom from occupation, freedom from new forms of colonization, freedom to return to and inhabit the territory which we and our families called home. Without annexation, without financialization, without exclusion, without pollution, without the destruction of the common resources that sustain collective life. We act in solidarity and with a desire for justice when we hold our cultural institutions accountable. We express our bond with those in bondage by acts of refusal and acts of love. Militant love.

**To The Brooklyn Museum:** You are hereby on notice. BDS is the floor not the ceiling. The days in which art and artists are instrumentalized to normalize oppression, displacement, and dispossession of any people are over. We are watching you, and we will scrutinize your exhibitions and your funding, and we will act when you fail.
and garbage and human feces dumped on Palestinian merchants by settlers, negotiated the narrow, muddy pathways separating overcrowded multistoried shacks in the refugee camps erected in the shadows of fortress-like West Bank settlements, and was overwhelmed by the level of violence, repression, and dehumanization Palestinians had to endure. But what impressed me most were the activists, the intellectuals, the youth, who spoke confidently about a liberated country, who saw the old guard leadership and the Palestinian Authority as impediments, who envisioned and debated a dozen different paths to a democratic and decolonized future. They gathered at Muwatin: the Palestinian Institute for the Study of Democracy in Ramallah; at Mada al-Carmel: the Arab Center for Applied Social Research in Haifa; and in the refugee camps in Balata, Jenin, and Bethlehem.

#decolonizethisplace

Action against the Brooklyn Museum

May 2016

**BDS and Beyond.** Palestinian Civil Society has called for Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) against Israel until it complies with international law and human rights. This Place is not captured by BDS because its funding is private. Eighty-five US, European, and Israeli private donors and foundations provided the $6 million in funding for this show; the majority of these funders either directly or indirectly (through other organizations and projects they fund) support Israeli interests and institutions. While some of these funders’ projects support “coexistence” between Jewish and Arab Israelis, they acknowledge neither Palestinians nor the illegal occupation. A few donors have directly funded Jewish-only settlements in the West Bank, and even the Israeli Defense Forces.

**BDS is the floor, not the ceiling,** of what is expected from our museums and cultural institutions. Artistic and institutional neutrality of the kind propagated by This Place is a myth. When we are talking about Palestinian lives, there is no side to be on but that of life itself. The purported balance served by claiming not to take sides—or indeed to highlight the “complexity”
These practices of bodily as well as infrastructural debilitation, loosely effaced in concerns about “disproportionate force,” indicate the extension or perhaps the mutation of the “right to kill” claimed by states in warfare into what Jasbir K. Puar calls the “right to maim.” Maiming as intentional practice expands biopolitics beyond simply the question of “right of death and power over life”; maiming becomes a primary vector through which biopolitical control is deployed in colonized space and hence not easily demarcated “necro” as it is mapped in Mbembe’s reworking of biopolitics. Mbembe discusses injury as a crucial element of enslavement: “The slave is kept alive but in a state of injury...slave life, in many ways, is a form of death-in-life.”[i] Sticking with the binary of life and death with his formulation of “death-in-life,” he does not pursue injury and debilitation as altering living and dying as primary poles within which populations oscillate. The four quadrants remain: death is reiterated as the ultimate loss (of life). “The right to maim” supplements if not replaces “the right to kill.” While other scholars of biopolitics have noted the centrality of disability to the deployment of biopolitical population management, these efforts generally remain wedded to the poles of living and dying within which life is toggled. That is to say, while the distinctions between living and dying are often recognized through the “cuts” of race and the “folds” of overlapping population construction and management, maiming, debilitation, and stunting are relatively undertheorized components of these cuts and folds; centering these processes may potentially alter presumed relations to living and dying altogether. Maiming is a practice that escapes definition within both legal and biopolitical or necropolitical frameworks because it does not proceed through making live, making die, letting live, or letting die. My reframing adds a critical axis to the four quadrants, insisting that debilitation—indeed, deliberate maiming—is not merely another version of slow death or of the living dead or of a modulation on the spectrum of life to death. Rather it is a status unto itself, a status that triangulates the hierarchies of living and dying that are standardly deployed in theorizations of biopolitics.

I. The Right to Maim: Debilitation and Inhumanist Biopolitics in Palestine

“All this gnawing at the existence of the colonized tends to make of life something resembling an incomplete death.”

I. A CATALOGUE OF SUFFERING

It is as yet unclear what the summer of 2014’s carnage in Gaza will be known as, remembered as, or named. And it may remain unclear for quite some time.

The tally is in (though ever-evolving) after 51 days of Operation Protective Edge.

The United Nations report that 2,131 Palestinians were killed during Israel’s offensive, including 501 children; 70 percent were under the age of 12. 244 schools were shelled and one was used as a military base by Israeli soldiers.

The Ministry of Health in Gaza recorded 10,918 people injured including 3,312 children and 2,120 women.

The Palestinian human rights organization Al Mezan documented at least 10,589 houses damaged or destroyed of which 2,715 were completely flattened. (Later reports state 18,000 homes were destroyed, including high-rise apartment buildings). Eight hospitals - resulting in six being taken out of service - 46 NGOs, 50 fishing boats, 161 mosques, and 244 vehicles were also hit. Eighty percent of Gazan families currently have no way to feed themselves and are completely dependent on aid.

Amnesty International reported that at least 13 health facilities and 84 schools were forced to close.

Doctors Without Borders/ Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) had difficulty reaching populations that need assistance given the severity of the bombing, fuel shortages that grounded more than half of the ambulances, and depletion of supplies. A number of hospitals were damaged, contravening the Geneva Convention which considers civilian hospitals to be protected during wartime, including Gaza City’s el-Wafa Rehabilitation Center in Shijaiyah, which had been targeted at least six times and has been severely damaged; its 15 disabled and elderly patients finally managed to be evacuated.

This is what is meant by the residents of Gaza being “under siege,” a commonly used refrain meant to obscure much of this detail; I have resorted here to a somewhat polemical deployment of empirical information in part to counter this tendency to obscure the specifics of the occupation. Gaza is also claimed to be the most densely populated place on earth, and also the world’s largest “open air prison.” Belying these tidy descriptions are what Allen Feldman calls the “new forms of imagery, discourse, war, security and state rights being carved out of the bent backs of Palestinian civilians.” One of the biopolitical aspects I have been tracking are the permeating relations between living and dying that complicate or test Michel Foucault’s foundational mapping, in this case, the practice of deliberate maiming. I argue that Israel’s manifests an implicit claim to the “right to maim” and debilitate Palestinian bodies and environments as a form of biopolitical control and as central to a scientifically authorized humanitarian economy. I further demonstrate the lim...
We also continue the efforts of other artworld campaigns: those who successfully boycotted the 19th Biennale of Sydney in protest against its sponsors Transfield Holdings, manager of mandatory detention centers for asylum seekers; members of Liberare Tate, who have pledged to “free art from oil”; and Gulf Labor, a group that refuses to cooperate with the Guggenheim Abu Dhabi until fair working conditions and wages are secured for the foreign nationals building the museums on Saadiyat Island. Before these, we had the Guerrilla Girls, the Art Workers Coalition, and so many others who have refused to cooperate in the face of institutional racism, sexism, and labor exploitation.

To those who believe that engaging with Israeli institutions would be part of a useful dialogue, or that the boycott will further isolate propeac voices within Israel, we caution against the use of your work to convey an appearance of free speech at a time when war crimes are committed daily. Artists’ expressive creation is being used to whitewash and normalize the brutality of the Occupation. The reality is that only certain viewpoints enjoy freedom of expression in Israel; being an advocate of PACBI/BDS is not one of them.

It is not anti-Jewish to be critical of Israel. It is time to fully differentiate Judaism from Zionism. For sure, criticism of Israeli policies has been used to serve those with racist agendas, and it is essential that BDS supporters be vigilant against this. We acknowledge the historical basis for Jewish fears but caution that these concerns should not be manipulated to cast doubt on the moral goals of the campaign itself. We condemn the use of any anti-Jewish or anti-Muslim rhetoric in connection with the BDS campaign.

Scholars have taken the lead in responding to the PACBI call to boycott Israeli institutions, and other sectors (governments, communities of faith, trade unions, banks, and branches of commerce) are signing on to the general BDS campaign. The boycott is now spreading to the general population in countries all over the world. Yet, with a few notable exceptions, the institutional artworld has held back.

What is often claimed by the IOF (Israeli occupation forces, otherwise known as the Israeli Defense Forces) as a “let live” praxis, understood in liberal terms as less violent than killing (and thus, less sensational and more under the radar), shoot to cripple appears on the surface to be a humanitarian approach to warfare. Another manifestation of this purported humanitarianism is the example of the “roof knock,” a preliminary assault on structures to warn residents to evacuate, sometimes happening no less than 60 seconds before a full assault. Roof knocks were insufficient, however, when disabled Palestinians with mobility restrictions were unable to escape the bombardment of the Mubaret Philibiney and in Gaza’s Beit Lahia. These were not mobile residents; the capacity of mobility circumscribes the utility of the roof knock, though the humanitarian intention of a 60 second warning—a short, stinging temporal frame—is dubious.

Civilians in Gaza were also alerted to impending airstrikes through phone calls and texts, often misdirected to the wrongly targeted households. This purportedly humanitarian practice of warning Gazans of impending strikes with phone calls appears more like a “reminder of how powerless they are” given the control that Israel has over the telecommunications networks in the West Bank and Gaza. As the research of Helga Tawil-Souri on “digital occupation” documents, telecommunication companies owned and operated by Palestinians are routed through servers in Israel.

What happened in the summer of 2014 is preceded by much of the same during earlier periods. During the first intifada, the human rights organization al-Haq produced a comprehensive report titled Punishing a Nation: Human Rights Violations During the Palestinian Uprising, December 1987-December 1988. This document contains extensive evidence of both intent and effect of Israeli practices of injuring and maiming. Media accounts outline then-Defense Minister’s Yitzak Rabin’s discussion of starting use of plastic bullets “to increase the number of (wounded) among those who take part in violent activities but not to kill them.” “Violent activities” is the term most often used for political demonstrations or rock throwing. UNRWA staff, reported by The Jerusalem Post on September 27, 1988, mark sharp increases in injuries after the introduction of plastic bullets. Al-Haq’s report includes affidavits from individuals describing incidents of arbitrary and unprovoked beatings unlinked to protest activity; cites the West Bank Database Project Report of 1987 detailing the widening of the “opening of fire” from life-threatening situations to opening fire as part of deterrence, “shooting first at an 80–degree angle in the air, and then, with intent to injure, at the legs.”; notes that the Israeli army radio confirmed using “special bullets intended to injure while reducing the risk of killing” follows later debates about the illegality of using certain bullets to increase injuries amongst Palestinian protestors; documents further reportage in the Jerusalem Post regarding the illegality of breaking someone’s arm even if they had violated the law; notes the inappropriateness of high-velocity bullets and assault rifles with high muzzle velocity, which, as reported by Ha’aretz, causes the bullets to “spin inside inside the victim’s body damaging the internal organs.” Al-Haq concluded: “The Israeli government claims that its response to the uprising is a lawful one not to fit the facts. The assertion that the cases of illegality are mere exception to the rule cannot stand when seen against a wealth of documented examples showing savage behavior by the army on a regular basis.” As further evidence, they cite The Jerusalem Post of November 30, 1988 which specifically reports that during the month of November, protests in Gaza Strip were at their lowest while casualties at their highest, thus contesting the claim that the IDF is merely responding to violent activity.

During the second intifada, there were reports that the IOF were using “high-velocity” fragmenting bullets that created a “lead snowstorm” effect in the body—scattering the bullet throughout and creating multiple internal injuries—leading to high rates of crippling injuries. Dum-dum bullets, which are banned under international human rights law, are difficult to extract once entering and exploding outwards within the body and usually guarantee those hit will “suffer for life.” Dr. Robert Kirschner of Physicians for Human Rights stated that the Israeli soldiers appear to be shooting to inflict harm rather than solely in self-defense,” their actions amounting to “a form of torture.” Dimo Qato, among many other global health researchers and practitioners, argues that the “pattern of injuries cannot be claimed to be accidental.”
Speaking of Palestine: Solidarity and Its Censors

by Jasbir K. Puar

That my descriptions of life and death in Palestine incited a smear campaign rather than raising concerns about how the Israeli state is treating the bodies of those they colonize is not accidental. Rather, it demonstrates how certain histories can be continually recycled and recirculated in order to repress and silence other histories. The histories of the quotidian realities of Palestinians in the West Bank, along with the scholars invested in understanding affective registers of living and dying under occupation, are immediately condemned by Zionists as anti-Semitic. This specious conflation of anti-occupation expression and anti-Semitism represents an intensification of both the occupation itself and the policing of scholarship about it. Not only is anti-colonial struggle branded anti-Semitic, but so, apparently, is feeling occupied. In order to square this circle, gatekeepers insist that critiques of the Israeli state can only be motivated by anti-Semitism, rather than a concern for human rights, colonized populations, and stateless peoples.

Campus Politics and Free Speech

I stand by my research and scholarship unequivocally. Having participated in Palestine solidarity work for nine years now, I have had my fair share of hate mail—it comes with the job—and fiery debate during lectures with folks who have denounced my work simply because they do not agree with what they are hearing. I am more than willing, committed, and even happy to engage in dialogue and have insistently done so in many forums. But this latest episode involving my Vassar lecture is a new twist. The talk was taped without my permission or that of the people who had invited me, and the transcript was disseminated to right wing media, inciting hateful responses. There was a complete lack of engagement with the substance of my research. The person or people taping the talk did not ask a question or offer a comment during the question and answer period; their intention was to launch a smear campaign by resorting to pressure behind the scenes.

As condemnation of the repression of free speech and student organizing at Jawarhalal Nehru University in India, and in South Africa and Turkey gets louder, we might want to note that the criminalization of dissent—not only that linked to Palestine—has a long trajectory in the United States and is currently intensifying. Six state legislatures are currently debating bills that would make critiques of the Israeli state illegal or punishable in some form or another. Glenn Greenwald and Andrew Fisher have written an important article titled the “Greatest threat to free speech in the West is happening via the criminalization of anti-occupation activism.” Their analysis explicates the stealth with which western states are encroaching on freedom of speech rights while hypocritically condensing the repression of those rights in non-western locales.
What Hate Mail Does

Often, the charge of anti-Semitism linked to critiques of Israeli state policies is rendered in Islamophobic, anti-Muslim language. Those making the accusation of anti-Semitic, hateful, or irresponsible speech then feel free to e-mail the most astonishingly vulgar, racist, misogynist, homophobic, Islamophobic screeds. Some go as far as to threaten mutilation, sexual violence, stalking, kidnapping, torture, and death. These e-mails typically referred to the female body in a range of ways, including comments about my categorical dirtiness and ugliness, my genitalia, and even my mother’s genitalia. Several insisted that Rutgers terminate my tenured job, demand justification for allowing me to teach young minds, or avowed that they will start a major campaign to get me fired.

Many of the people engaged in hate speech against me assume I am Arab and/or Muslim—I am neither—thus projecting me, in racist fashion, into the ubiquitous brown terrorist body. In the press I have been referred to as a “raving crackpot” and as a “Scaredy Cat Bomb Thrower.” The escalation and normalization of Islamophobic slurs is a constitutive and sanctioned mechanism of the “war on terror.” Islamophobic expression on college campuses and beyond rarely causes concern. While there is plenty of public space and freedom of speech for Donald Trump’s endless racist screeds against Arabs and Muslims and Mexicans, a legitimate analysis of Trump’s endless racist screeds against Arabs and Muslims and Mexicans, a legitimate analysis of the horrors of the Israeli occupation lead to vicious forms of silencing and slander.

The most high-profile smear against me appeared in a Wall Street Journal op-ed titled “Majoring in Anti-Semitism at Vassar.” The authors, Mark Yudof, former president of the University of California, and Ken Walzer, addressed me repeatedly as “Ms.” rather than Dr. or Professor Puar. Such tendentious erasures of my professional credentials only serve to betray their bigotry and bias. One wonders whether a white male professor would be the target of such disrespect, or receive such lowng, violent messages, or be subject to such denigrating descriptions of one’s intellectual capacities and mental state. I am fortunate in that I have tenure and the complete support of our phenomenal union and my colleagues. But for those who do not have these safeguards, especially those who are the frontlines of our communications, fielding telephone messages, forwarding e-mails, and compiling records of calls and e-mails for the authorities. Anonymous and cowardly threats create fear and worry not only for the stated target of these attacks, but more significantly for those who spend the most time in our offices, meaning our staff, the maintenance workers (who are the ones most often there after hours), work-study students, and our undergraduate and graduate students. In response to the campaign against me, the staff at Women and Gender Studies removed my name from the signs that announce our faculty and our officers. (I am currently serving as Graduate Program Director.) This was the first of extensive security measures, which I am not at liberty to further detail, that we were advised and also mandated to execute. The irony of turning to the police to investigate those policing our speech is not lost on anyone.

This abuse resonates with a tradition of scapegoating women of color who are seen as easy targets of campaigns to diminish our credibility. A solid majority of the community at the Department of Women and Gender Studies are gender non-conforming, of color, and are producing cutting edge interdisciplinary scholarship that continually insists on going against the grain. Our department has many scholar-activists who are committed to social justice movements and often speak in public intellectual forums about controversial political issues. The intellectual mission of the department is thus aligned with these politics: to question the status quo of dominant knowledge production.

When hate mail and threats of violence are sent to one person, they actually target an entire community, one that probably has many varied perspectives on the question of Palestine. Hate mail attempts to shut down not just a single voice, but rather an apparatus of diverse thinkers, student and faculty activists, and political spaces. Further, numerous unintended targets are made vulnerable by these violent attacks, including staff, students, visitors, and other faculty members. When university administrators such as those at Vassar refuse to tally Arabs and Muslims who work on Palestine and are active in solidarity organizing, these Zionist intimidation tactics make the professional, economic, and psychological stakes of speaking up especially high.

The onslaught of e-mails and the deeply disturbing tone of several of them have led to the involvement of the Rutgers University Police Department with the Department of Women and Gender Studies. Their first visit to our department happened after faculty member Professor Brittany Cooper faced threats for writing publicly on issues related to anti-black racism in America. Harassing phone calls and e-mails first and foremost affect our staff, who are the frontlines of our communications, and complicit records of calls and e-mails for the authorities. Anonymous and cowardly threats create fear and worry not only for the stated target of these attacks, but more significantly for those who spend the most time in our offices, meaning our staff, the maintenance workers (who are the ones most often there after hours), work-study students, and our undergraduate and graduate students. In response to the campaign against me, the staff at Women and Gender Studies removed my name from the signs that announce our faculty and our officers. (I am currently serving as Graduate Program Director.) This was the first of extensive security measures, which I am not at liberty to further detail, that we were advised and also mandated to execute. The irony of turning to the police to investigate those policing our speech is not lost on anyone.

The letter was read by NYU Professor Andrew Ross on August 9 (see the video above) during the “Who Needs Museums and Biennales?” panel organized by Gulf Labor at the Venice Biennale. During an August 12 event at the Press Room — a parallel arts program that was held during the opening week of the Biennale and again as an auxiliary event during the current Creative Time Summit — Mariam Ghani talked about the “Artists’ Letter for Palestine.” Artist Pedro Lasch, another Summit participant who is one of the letter’s signatories, was also there to address the issues with Ghani and the Press Room audience.

During the Press Room discussion, Ghani cited the 1974 Venice Biennale, when the program was dedicated to the aftermath of Chile’s violent coup d’état. The 1974 event, which highlights the radical past of the Venice Biennale as one of the few institutional art platforms with a history of launching collective political action, was clearly on the mind of this year’s curator Okwui Enwezor as the press release for his exhibition, All the World’s Futures, explains:

Bringing practitioners across the fields of visual art, cinema, music, theater, dance, and performance, the events of the 1974 Art Biennale were spread across the entire city of Venice. Today, this remarkable and transformative episode in the history of the Biennale is largely forgotten. The dedication of the program of events to Chile and against fascism remains one of the most explicit attempts, in recent memory, by which an exhibition of the stature of the Art Biennale not only responds to, but courageously steps forward to share the historical stage with the political and social contexts of its time. It goes without saying that, in view of the current turmoil around the world, that the Biennale’s Eventi del 1974 has been a curatorial inspiration.
Artists Cancel Creative Time Summit
Appearances Over Israeli “Partnership”
[UPDATE 7]

Hip hop duo Rebel Diaz, artist Narcenio Hall and Cairo-based art collective Mostreem are boycotting the two-day 2012 Creative Time Summit in Manhattan because of what they are calling a partnership with an Israeli organization that is funded by the Israeli government.

Last night, Diaz made his announcement via YouTube video after being contacted by “Palestinian comrades,” who pointed out the conference had partnerships with the Israeli Center for Digital Arts, which is funded by the Israeli government. The partnership did not involve any financial exchange for the Creative time conference.

One half of Rebel Diaz, Rodrigo Venegas, told the influential Palestinian new website Electronic Intifada that they “made the decision not to participate, that we will show solidarity with the Palestinian community.”

UPDATE 7: Josh MacPhee has decided to jettison his whole talk about the Interference Archive in Gowanus, Brooklyn, NY, but is talking only about BDS and says Creative Time made a mistake by “partnering” with an Israeli organization that has not reject the Israeli occupation.

He says, “I believe in organized boycotts and not personal one ... politics is nothing if it’s not about my relationship with you.”

He says a sign-up sheet will be circulated to the audience for those who want to get involved. He also mentioned these three websites for more information:

- bdsmovement.net
- pacbi.org
- adalahbuy.org

been at the forefront of struggles for wages and labor reforms that challenge the very terms of Gulf petro capitalism, itself embedded in flows of capital and labor. The global cultural brands setting up in Abu Dhabi—Guggenheim, Louvre, British Museum, NYU—claim zero responsibility. They insist that the problems of the workers should be addressed to the government, to the subcontractors, to the middlemen, to the “sending country,” but never to the disinterested heights of art institutions themselves who possess a leverage they refuse to acknowledge.

We combine analysis, art, and action. What can be done? Our partners in the Gulf Labor Coalition first brought these conditions of life, work, and debt to public attention. They called for an artists boycott of the Guggenheim Abu Dhabi in particular, demanding that certain conditions on the Island of Happiness be met. Trips have been taken to labor camps and construction zones in Abu Dhabi and Dubai. Reports have been written. Extensive meetings have been convened. G.U.L.F. brought a new element to this arsenal: artistic direct actions targeting the flagship museum in New York designed to incite solidarity, not benevolence. We have made unsolicited alterations to the building, to the spectator environment, and to the internal protocols of the museum itself, making it into a temporary zone of the marvelous while drawing connections between the speculative real estate booms and busts from Manhattan to Abu Dhabi. Banners were dropped, propaganda flung like confetti from the heights of the famous spiral, dissenting voices thundered and echoed throughout the rotunda, police were called in to secure the museum as it shut down. We have disfigured its corporate brand and magnified the pressure on the museum’s trustees to accept responsibility for the human suffering at the bottom of the subcontracting chain.

We realize solidarity is a verb. When we act in New York—the capital of the global artworld and global media alike—we perform on an outsized stage, and can amplify many voices, especially those that go unheard on Saadiyat Island. How do we understand that the struggles of the UAE’s migrant workers are connected to our own, and are a precondition to our own liberation? We do this not by imagining the worker as a victim to be saved, but rather as a fellow human whose freedom is bound up with our own. We have connected with their plight because our own dignity depends on it. Our liberation is either collective or it is nonexistent, so we assail the Guggenheim in New York because it is our gateway into a larger struggle. When we proclaim solidarity, we do not ignore very real differences of conditions, temporalities, experiences, power, and privilege. We hold on to the specificities of struggle because we understand that history is more awesome than good will. We will not be solidarity tourists. Spectacular actions are necessary yet insufficient on their own, but how do we sustain solidarity?

We imagine escalation—at the Guggenheim and beyond. The Guggenheim has been for us an urgent target in its own right. But it has also been a testing ground, a laboratory of learning, a training ground in the practice of freedom with ramifications far beyond the museum itself. Even if the Guggenheim Foundation trustees accede to the demands of the Gulf Labor Coalition and take independent action to protect the rights of workers and abolish their debts, our work would not be over. Saadiyat Island will still be there as a challenge and a target, along with every other cultural stockpile designed to embellish the lives of ultra-luxury elite at the expense of the lives of a great majority—especially the lives of black and brown people that are systemically devalued and rendered disposable under carceral neoliberalism. The workings of the artworld have long been bound up in the fine art of gentrification—the by-now formulaic intertwining of culture-driven development, realty speculation, and enclave policing that displaces poor peoples from urban neighborhoods. On Saadiyat Island, we see the speculative real estate paradise for a light-skinned overclass.

We who believe in freedom cannot rest. The ultra-luxury economy is deeply racialized, locally and globally. In the Gulf, Americans and Europeans doing business are called “expats,” whereas people constructing and maintaining these surreal cities in the desert are bachelor migrant workers. Actions within and against this economy must make the struggle against racism and white supremacy an essential part of their drive. This extends to the occupation, exploitation, and ethnic cleansing characteristic of Israeli policy—indeed, a global cultural boycott of institutions connected to Israeli Apartheid is well within our sights. Boycotts, strikes, pickets, die-ins, occupations, web-hacks, media hijacks...whatever the combination of tactics, our actions are at once oppositional and abundantly creative. As we disrupt and refuse the role that art is still be there as a challenge and a target, along with every other cultural stockpile designed to embellish the lives of ultra-luxury elite at the expense of the lives of a great majority—especially the lives of black and brown people that are systemically devalued and rendered disposable under carceral neoliberalism. The workings of the artworld have long been bound up in the fine art of gentrification—the by-now formulaic intertwining of culture-driven development, realty speculation, and enclave policing that displaces poor peoples from urban neighborhoods. On Saadiyat Island, we see the speculative real estate paradise for a light-skinned overclass.

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What time is it on the clock of the world?
- Grace Lee Boggs

On Direct Action: An Address to Cultural Workers

We amplify a cry reverberating across the globe. From Istanbul and Sydney to New York and Sao Paulo, the proliferation of direct actions is disrupting business as usual at elite cultural institutions: Black Lives Matter at the Museum of Natural History, climate protests at Tate Modern and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, collective pressure for boycott at Harfa’s Technion, and worker solidarity disruptions at the Guggenheim Museum NYC, to name only a few.

We see that actions are employing a diversity of tactics. At times, uninvited assemblies inside museums are announced. At other times the unexpected occurs, unheralded. Actions take aim at a range of targets: labor exploitation, white supremacy, the capture of public space, climate injustice, gentrification, police violence, Israeli apartheid, rape and sexual assault, and more. They are beautifully disruptive within their own arenas of concern. But these concerns are also connected.

We know that by hacking the media machine our actions can have deeply transformative potential or they can reinforce existing norms and power relations. They can accept the limits of a given context—and implicitly affirm them—or they can change the nature of that context altogether. Let our actions be an opportunity to test, to unlearn, and to train in the practice of freedom.

We are the Global Ultra Luxury Faction (G.U.L.F.). Our name aggressively reflects back to the actually existing artworld its true nature: a spectacular subsystem of global capitalism revolving around the display, consumption, and financialization of cultural objects for the benefit of a tiny fraction of humanity, namely, the 1%. But we believe that a shift is beginning to occur. We strike the global ultra luxury economy in the interest of making a new spectacular form: the oil sheikdoms of the Persian Gulf. These states aspire to be a prime recreational playground for the global 1%. Artistic and educational institutions from New York to Paris have eagerly contributed their brands to the development of the de luxe cityscapes of the Emirates. We see monuments to “culture” woven into a monstrous assemblage of fossil fuels, financial power, and imperial geopolitics. Holding up the pyramid—bearing the weight of the entire edifice—are the legions of workers from Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, Nepal, Philippines, Sri Lanka and, most recently, Cameroon, Uganda and Nigeria, who seek dignity and a better future for their families. They are drawn to the Gulf by economic precarity in their home countries, and typically end up bonded to their work through debt. Many of these workers have

We target global systems and local conditions at once. G.U.L.F. names an overarching system, but it also evokes a specific location which exemplifies that system in its most spectacular form: the oil sheikdoms of the Persian Gulf. These states aspire to be a prime recreational playground for the global 1%. Artistic and educational institutions from New York to Paris have eagerly contributed their brands to the development of the de luxe cityscapes of the Emirates. We see monuments to “culture” woven into a monstrous assemblage of fossil fuels, financial power, and imperial geopolitics. Holding up the pyramid—bearing the weight of the entire edifice—are the legions of workers from Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, Nepal, Philippines, Sri Lanka and, most recently, Cameroon, Uganda and Nigeria, who seek dignity and a better future for their families. They are drawn to the Gulf by economic precarity in their home countries, and typically end up bonded to their work through debt. Many of these workers have

We are living, working, and creating in an expanded field of empire. This field is marked by mortal crises—crises of finance resulting in gaping inequality, of climate, of dispossession and displacement, of poverty and neo-colonialism, of state violence and creeping fascism, and always of patriarchy. But this field is also traversed by freedom struggles, from the striking workers in Abu Dhabi and Dubai to the insurgents in Palestine, Ferguson, Athens, and beyond. G.U.L.F. itself emerged, in part, from the occupation of Wall Street. There, inspired by uprisings in Tunisia, Egypt, Greece, and Spain, we bypassed the institutions of a corrupted representative democracy. We put our bodies directly on the line at the symbolic doorstep of global capital. Wall Street is an abstract space, everywhere and nowhere at once. By de-occupying it, we created space for collective powers to surge forth and for struggles to connect with one another. Walking together, we have asked questions. How do we live? What is freedom? What does solidarity look like? What role can art play?

Since the bombshell by Rebel Diaz, hip hop artist The Narcylist (Yassin Alsalman) explained via tweet that the Electronic Intifada post convinced him to pull out of his planned participation in the Creative Time Summit in Dubai.

He explained his reasoning via Twitter:

Mosireen, which has also pulled out, was previously confirmed to take part in the Saturday workshops.

According to Electronic Intifada, Creative Time has removed at least one page featuring the Israeli-government-funded organization.

UPDATE 1: Creative Time has clarified to Hypervigilant that the partnerships have not been scrubbed, as EI suggests, but they have only been reorganized and these organizations previously listed as “Partners” are currently listed only as “Sites” and listed here: creativetime.org/summit/sites

UPDATE 2: We reached out to Rebel Diaz over Twitter and received the following response:

UPDATE 3: Speakers from ‘Tidal Journal’ are addressing the CT Summit boycott and explaining that we should consider the boycott that is happening.

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Dear Participants of Living as Form (nomadic version):

We have become aware that your work is being exhibited at the Technion - Israel Institute of Technology in Haifa as part of Living as Form (nomadic version), the Creative Time exhibition that is being toured internationally by Independent Curators International (ICI). As admirers of your work and this critical exhibition—which includes so many exemplary projects that imbue our everyday actions and lived environments with community participation, imagination, and political commitment—we are concerned about the disconnect between the artists’ orientation toward social justice and the exhibiting institution’s central role in maintaining the unjust and illegal occupation of Palestine.

Technion has, for decades, been a crucial research center for the development of technologies used by the Israeli Defence Forces against Palestinians in regular and widespread acts of surveillance, land theft, unwarranted eviction, restriction on movement, and violent repression. As the leading science and technology university in Israel (the world’s top exporter of drones), Technion has been central in the development of military unmanned aerial vehicles such as the “Stealth drone,” which can fly up to 1,850 miles and deploy two 1,100-pound bombs by remote control. Technion has also innovated remote-control capabilities for the Caterpillar D-9 armored bulldozer, an effective tool in the continued destruction of Palestinian homes (over 27,000 of which have been destroyed since 1967, according to the Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions). Technion works closely with Rafael, the Israeli government company that designs advanced weapons systems, and Elbit, one of the two main contractors of the electronic detection fence, a key component of Israel’s Separation Wall in the West Bank (read more about these partnerships here).

So far, six collectives—Jennifer Altora & Guillermo Caizaralda, Otho Dilet?, Céline and Garin Wade Condrelli, the Decolonizing Architecture Art Residency, the U.S. Social Forum, and Women on Waves—have withdrawn on ethical grounds concerning Technion’s direct relation to the Israeli occupation and/or on the grounds of its violation of Palestinians’ call for boycott, divestment and sanctions (BDS) against Israel until it complies with international law and ends its occupation of Palestinian land, dismantles the Wall, ensures equality for Palestinian citizens of Israel, and respects, protects, and promotes rights of Palestinian refugees to return to their homes.

Since a broad base of Palestinian civil society called for BDS in 2005, thousands of activists, artists, and civil associations have courageously refused participation in Israeli cultural and academic institutions, noting their deep ties to governmental policies of apartheid and practices of settler colonialism. The BDS strategy has seen growing success. Support includes endorsement by a long list of luminaries, including Judith Butler, Naomi Klein, Angela Davis, Arundhati Roy, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Alice Walker, Eduardo Galeano, Brian Eno, John Berger, Roger Waters, the late Gil Scott Heron, and many others. Last year the American Studies Association endorsed the boycott of Israeli academic institutions; divestment resolutions are quickly spreading around the United States and the world. You can read more about the campaign for the academic and cultural boycott of Israel here.

Thank you to the intensive actions of the movement for Black Lives. “I can’t breathe...ONE! I can’t breathe...TWO! I can’t breathe...THREE!...” Chanted eleven times in a continuous loop, this cry echoed throughout the streets of New York City in December following the failure of a grand jury to indict the officer who killed Garner. At once mournful and militant, the chant conjured Garner’s words as a source of collective strength in the face not only of police violence, but white supremacist order in which black lives continue to be systematically extinguished. As a coda to the eleven banners, we also produced a twelfth in the same style, but instead declaring “When We Breathe We Breathe Together.”

The twelve banners were deployed throughout the city during the Millions March through Manhattan, and beyond that into the wildcat march that shut down the Brooklyn Bridge on the way to Pink Houses in East New York, where the NYPD had killed Akai Gurley a month earlier. In the two years since, they have taken on lives of their own, moving and reappearing across multiple actions, sites, and events, most recently at the founding assembly of Abolition Square in City Hall Park.

Banners do much more than communicate a message. They are a choreography of direct action and media circulation. They can be used to create and hold space: physically, visually, and in the public imagination. Whether heading up a march, blockading an intersection, framing the entrance to a park, or affixed to an official structure of power, banners can mark sites of injustice and resistance, and map linkages between such sites.

But it is not really about banners. Banners are nothing without the bodies that activate them, and the breath that animates those bodies in turn. As we gather in number and strength, our struggle is to breathe in common, to liberate ourselves from the deadly chokehold of structural racism and settler-colonialism: from Brooklyn to Bethlehem and beyond.
When we breathe, we breathe together. Under this banner, we, the Direct Action Front for Palestine, endorse the historic platform issued by the Movement for Black Lives (M4BL) and Black Lives Matter (BLM). We stand in solidarity with this righteous call for justice, and we salute you for validating BDS, the campaign to boycott the Israeli state and its institutions. Descending directly from the anti-apartheid efforts to isolate South Africa, the platform’s BDS endorsement is a recognition of the commonality of our separate predicaments as we confront regimes of simultaneous racist violence and liberal complicity. The mutually entwined structures of white supremacy and Israeli apartheid are being shaken to their core as we speak, and our voices, dreams, and actions echo one another as never before.

The struggle for Black liberation is primarily waged on U.S. soil—the very same land that hosted plantation slavery and European conquest—but it has always been an international struggle. Whether through the framework of pan-Africanism, Third Worldism, Black Power, or the black Atlantic, black struggles have been held up as a global litmus test for human freedom, and especially among people in the throes of decolonization. The resurgence of this long, decolonial movement among black diasporic peoples was most recently sparked by chronic police brutality in American cities. But BLM’s impact resonates all around the world, and strikes a common chord in places like Palestine where resistance to the cruelty of the Occupation has also attracted international allies and widespread condemnation of Israel’s apartheid policies.

We produced eleven of these banners as an implicit memorial to Eric Garner. In cellphone video from July 2014, Garner is seen uttering the phrase “I can’t breathe” eleven times as he is choked to death by the NYPD while being arrested for selling loose cigarettes according to the “broken windows” policy of NYPD commissioner Bill Bratton (the latter of whom has recently been deposed).
It certainly includes a revived anti-semitism, if by that we mean the hatred of Jews. So often this fear is used to explain why justice must be suspended or ignored in the case of Palestine. The mantra is “Never Again.” After the Rwandan genocide of 1994, President Paul Kagame observed that “never again became wherever again.” Under the terms of the United Nations Convention on Genocide, to kill one person because of ethnic hatred is genocide. The rule is simple. Never again for anyone. There are no sides in never again.

My question is: why does policy not change? What does this situation teach us about the connection between intellectual radicalism, conscientious investigative journalism in an era of Internet explosion, and policy? I believe this situation, with its uneven balance of legitimized violence and extra-state organization of violence, is or should be a lesson for us to rethink how to intervene. What are the chances for democracy with the state gone and no global governance? We do not need such a teaching text. But Israel-Palestine has become that for us, rather than a situation, with its uneven balance of legitimized violence and extra-state organization of violence, is or should be a lesson for us to rethink how to intervene. What are the chances for democracy with the state gone and no global governance? BDS is an ethical guideline and something one adheres to in solidarity. It is not a law, which if violated, brings punishment. It is a proposal, an advice, an opportunity to rethink. That is why words like “violation” are misleading. As artists we always have agency. We each act in affinity with the rule and to the best of our understanding. Determining whether a specific event is to be boycotted (or is boycottable) becomes a process of inquiry and dialogue. Before we were to present at the Creative Time Summit in 2012 on “Inequality,” Mosireen Collective and Rebel Diaz withdrew. They cited the cultural boycott of Israel. After that, we engaged with Creative Time to understand the situation. We sought guidance from PACBI. We had many conversations. When we were told no money was flowing from Israel to the Summit, we asked Creative Time to address the controversy publicly. When they did not, we scrapped our presentation and spoke about the call to boycott Israel and what was happening outside of the Summit walls. We struggled to do what we thought was the right thing.

But when we saw Creative Time clearly disregarding BDS two years later by exhibiting ‘Living as Form’ at Technion Institute of Technology in Haifa, Israel, we were forced to immediately spring back into action. We knew Creative Time was aware of the boycott. They had promised to facilitate conversations about BDS that did not happen. So we organized as artists, contacting Creative Time and reaching out to artists in the show to let them know what was happening. A week or so later we put out a call to withdraw from the show.

For us, the act of boycotting is not simply about measurable success and failure. We ask instead: how can we create spaces that counteract the multiple forms of oppression that structure our relationships? With Gulf Labor and G.U.L.F. (Global Ultra Luxury Faction), we are participating in a boycott of the Guggenheim Museum that began in 2011. We are seeking to support workers in their struggle for better work and living conditions on Saadiyat Island in U. A. E. as well as decent pay and conditions in the art world here in New York. We try to create new bonds of solidarity between artists, students and workers, as we all resist the 1% of global museums everywhere.

Boycott changes our own relationships and practices in the face of multiple and intersecting forms of oppression. Whether one claims to be against racism and white supremacy, patriarchy, colonialism, apartheid, or occupation matters little if we refuse to acknowledge our own complicity in the existence of the injustice. As artists, we should take action in our lives and in our practice to fight that injustice. The conversations we have, the learning and unlearning that ensues, and the bonds formed, those are all “wins.” That engagement is an act of love.
We write today from a place of love, as well as hurt, for an artworld to which we in part belong. We write for and with our community of friends, colleagues, and mentors - as a Palestinian artist and activist, a British-Jewish Asian professor, and an Indian artist and PhD student, who have been actively involved in two widely reported cultural boycotts.

It feels to us as if we have traveled back in time to a moment before the most recent Gaza war and before #BlackLivesMatter. Here, serious people are again debating what side to take on the call to observe the cultural boycott of Israel (PACBI), which is a part of Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS). In truth, in a world where history is always written by the victors, remembrance always struggles against forgetting.

A country is divided—literally, a sixteen metre high wall runs across it. Where are you in this situation if you take no side? This is the myth of the neutral space for art, the so-called “white cube” projected onto a country. So often we come across folks in the “art world” who wonder whether one is pro-Palestine or pro-Israel, as if we are talking about a football match instead of justice, liberation and freedom. When we are talking about Palestinian lives, there is no side to be on but that of life itself.

The purported balance served by claiming not to take sides allows people to evade the need to speak about settler colonialism, apartheid, illegal occupation, racism, military experimentation on people, open-air prisons, out of concern that speaking about these issues would not be balanced. Where is the balance between an oppressed and an oppressor? There is none. So, then, how can a ‘balanced’ report on the matter be accurate or serve its journalistic function of advancing knowledge?

More precisely, we do not take sides when justice is the question. Either there is justice or there is not. For months now, we have been marching and chanting “No Justice, No Peace.” Let us reflect on what is actually being said. There was no justice for Mike Brown, Tamir Rice (aged 12), Eric Garner, Yvette Smith, Aiyana Stanley-Jones (aged 7) and many more at the hands of the police, so it is not a question of taking sides. If we see the absence of justice, we realize that we must continue to protest. If we are forced to argue that Palestine is different, that it is not so simple, that there is not a clear question of justice, then perhaps we need to reconsider how we are posing the question.

“To fight for a truly democratic, nonracist, humane, sustainable, economically viable, safe and secure world for the people of Palestine/Israel is merely to demand what we have been struggling to achieve in this country for decades. As long as the lives of Salem Khaleel Shamaly and Eric Garner and countless others can be snuffed out by the state or vigilantes for merely being rendered a criminal threat, then none of us are really free.” - Robin D.G. Kelley

The International Court of Justice ruled in 2004 that Israel’s Separation Wall was illegal, prompting Palestinian civil society to request a boycott of Israel when no changes had resulted from this verdict a year later. A court ruled. The loser in the case refuses to abide by that ruling. No justice.

The situation is one of settlement in which a colonial power believes itself to be the arbiter of last resort. Just as Britain did not heed residents of the Thirteen Colonies in North America (to say nothing of the Native American Indians) in 1776, believing them to have no standing, so too does Israel see the indigenous population of Palestine as people without legal presence, who are socially dead. This is the local result of the global resurgence of colonialism, sometimes as in Israel-Palestine as settlement, more often, as in Greece, a country being subject to external economic control. The situation is heading toward global crisis, as Oxfam have calculated that the top 1% worldwide will have more wealth than the bottom 50% of the entire world’s population in 2016. As governments cannot or will not respond, the frustrations caused are producing a rising extremism.

Against Amnesia: The Cultural Boycott of Israel Matters

by Amin Husain, Nicholas Mirzoeff, and Nitasha Dhillon

MTL Collective

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Hypeallergic

BDS IS
THE FLOOR
NOT THE
CEILING

Decolonize
This Place
George Jackson in the Sun

In 1971, San Quentin guards killed George Jackson - African-American revolutionary, Black Panther, writer, poet and prison activist during a purported escape attempt of which James Baldwin wrote, “No black person will ever believe that George Jackson died the way they tell us he did.” Sentenced to one year to life for allegedly stealing $70 during a 1959 robbery, Jackson had become an eloquent spokesman for the black power movement in his 11 years of incarceration. He amassed an extensive library to educate both himself and fellow inmates about “US colonial fascism,” led the Black Panthers inside prison, became one of the Soledad Brothers and was unfairly charged with the murder of a white guard, and wrote two seminal books - Soledad Brother, dedicated to his brother Jonathan, killed while trying to free George, and the political treatise Blood In My Eye. In it, he described a black struggle for justice and equity from “the monster’s heart” and insisted, “We have a momentous historical role to act out if we will.”

After Jackson was gunned down, prison authorities stripping his cell and library of over 100 books found handwritten copies of two poems; they were published in the Black Panther Party newspaper as a single poem under Jackson’s name, and praised by the militant paper Right On for reflecting the sensibility of black oppression in America. It was only later discovered Jackson had taken the poems, “Enemy of the Sun” and “I Defy,” from Enemy of the Sun, an anthology of Palestinian poems published by black radical printers Drum and Spear Press; the book was among 99 titles made public this summer by the Socialist Liberation News. Of the confusion over the source of the poems, which have since had “a long black life” and are still circulated under Jackson’s name, one activist writes, “Perhaps it did not matter who composed the verses, for they bespoke of the same world, the same anguish and the same terrors….of human beings and their capacity to suffer, to endure, to survive and to fight.”

It was that “magical mistake” of authorship, born of the “radical kinship” between Palestinian and black American prisoner’s experience, that prompted the exhibit George Jackson in the Sun of Palestine. Created and curated by Greg Thomas, a black English and African studies professor at Tufts University, it opened on October at the Abu Jihad Museum on the campus of Al-Quds University, a Palestinian university with campuses in Jerusalem, al-Bireh and Abu Dis, the site of the exhibit. The goal of the museum is to “reflect the willpower and the challenges of the Palestinian people… to tell the world about the suffering of Palestinian prisoners inside and outside Israeli jails. The Jackson exhibit is the first to highlight the struggle of political prisoners outside of Palestine. It includes drawings, woodcuts, political posters and other art tied to Jackson’s life and the Palestinian and U.S. prisoners’ movements and the Sowards of solidarity within Palestinian and American prisoners, letters from Jackson and coverage of his life and death, photos of Palestinian art from the Apartheid Wall, and other artifacts tying the movements together.

I Defy

Talk about exile—I defy silence my argument with chains and a foolish prison cell I defy Turn plague and sadness against me I remained defying cut my wrists with my bloody chest I defy cut my leg I mount the wound and walk and with my violence I defy with my forehead I defy and with my teeth and the teeth of songs—I defy and kill me—I defy I kill death and come to you a defying God

All what I own of my father’s and grandfather’s inheritance is to defy!

All what I understand from the wind and the secrets of erasat villages and the songs of springs on drying grass a conceit and a sob the roots of the tree memorize it for me a sob: To defy

All the eyes of children living within me in bloody exile All what I live of my absent country in name and deed a scream bruising me—to defy!

My anger dips oil and honey my pain bears almonds, figs and roses so jall my piece of bread I defy

Over the past week, the delegation has met with refugees, Afro-Palestinians, a family that was kicked out of their house by settlers in East Jerusalem, and organizations representing Palestinian political prisoners, Palestinian citizens of Israel, and the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions movement (BDS).

Black Lives Matter co-founder Patrisse Cullors said apartheid is what immediately struck her about what she saw on the ground.

“This is an apartheid state. We can’t deny that and if we do deny it we are apart of the Zionist violence. There are two different systems here in occupied Palestine. Two completely different systems. Folks are unable to go to parts of their own country. Folks are barred from their own country.”

Charlene Carruthers, national director of BYPD100 said what immediately struck her was the capacity for violence, even when it’s not immediately noticeable to foreigners.

One such example is in the narrative projected against Palestinians. Carruthers recalled their delegation crossing paths with a tour group led by Israeli authorities.

“They were clearly receiving a completely different story about the occupation. It’s deeper than just spreading lies, the false narrative is violent.”

Community organizer Cherrell Brown said she saw many parallels between state violence against Palestinians and Black Americans.

“So many parallels exist between how the US polices, incarcerates, and perpetuates violence on the black community and how the Zionist state that exists in Israel perpetrates the same on Palestinians,” Brown said.

Brown also commented that the struggles are not the same.

“This is not to say there aren’t vast differences and nuances that need to always be named, but our oppressors are literally collaborating together, learning from one another – and as oppressed people we have to do the same,” she said.

For Steven Parggett, communications director for Dream Defenders, visiting the Dheisheh Refugee Camp outside of Bethlehem made these connections clearer: “A camp doesn’t have to have a fence with barbed wire all around it in order to be a place where displaced people are struggling to survive.”

Parggett said that Black people in the United States are also displaced refugees.

“Our refugee camps are lower income communities and project buildings all around the country that many would not be living in had we not been taken into slavery generations ago. Rather than having the Israeli Defense occupation in our hoods, we have the occupation of police officers who often prove to have little disregard for our lives, being that they are not from these communities,” Parggett wrote.

Hip-hop was a unifying force for the delegation, Parggett said, connecting the group’s struggle inspired by hip-hop in the US and use it as a tool to amplify their own voices.

St. Louis-based rapper and activist Tef Poe said his experience in the camps connecting through hip-hop was the best day of his life.

“A refugee camp with a bunch of people fighting for their lives and using hip hop to lift their spirits and spark the minds of the children and break down gender barriers between young girls and boys,” Tef posted to Facebook. “I spent a day with these ppl... Most amazing day of my life. Thanks be to the Most the struggle is beautiful.”

This trip is another chapter in the recent history of Black-Palestinian solidarity. In November, a group of 10 Palestinian student activists visited Ferguson and St. Louis, meeting with people organizing in the streets. A month later, upon their return, the students hosted a series of events at their university in the West Bank to raise awareness with the Black struggle and stand in solidarity. Dream Defenders unanimously passed a resolution to support the Palestinian Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions movement in this interval.

Moving forward, delegates expressed a desire for Black and American action in support of Palestine.

“I believe the Black Lives Matter movement can benefit greatly by learning about struggles outside of the U.S., but particularly the Palestinian struggle,” said Patrisse Cullors. “I want this trip to be an example for how Black folks and Arab communities can be in better solidarity with one another.”

Cherrell Brown sees joint action as a way to global freedom.

“I want us to take back things we can do in the now, as Americans, to raise awareness and action around Palestinian liberation. I want us to reimagine what society could and will look like when we’ve dismantled this white-supremacist patriarchal and capitalist society. I want us to do it together. I want to bring back these conversations in #DDPalestine and stories in #DD held that it will help add to this global struggle to get free.”

The full list of delegates includes five Dream Defenders (Phillip Agnew, Ciara Taylor, Steven Parggett, Sherika Shaw, Ahmad Abuznaid), Tef Poe and Tara Thompson (Ferguson/Hands Up United), journalist Marc Lamont Hill, Cherrell Brown and Carmen Perez (Justice League NYC), Charlene Carruthers (Black Youth Project), poet and artist Aja Monet, Patrisse Cullors (Black Lives Matter), and Maytha Alhassen, a USC PhD student. Carlissai Upson and follow their last few days using #DDPalestine on Twitter and Instagram.

Read more at EBONY http://www.ebony.com/news-views/dream-defenders-black-lives-matter-ferguson-rips-take-historic-trip-to-palestine#zz24OuQ9fF
Representatives at the forefront of the movements for Black lives and racial justice have taken a historic trip to Palestine this week to connect with activists living under Israeli occupation.

Black journalists, artists and organizers representing Ferguson, Black Lives Matter, Black Youth Project 100 (BYP100), and more have joined the Dream Defenders for a 10-day trip to the occupied Palestinian Territories and Israel.

The trip comes after a year of highly-publicized repression in Ferguson, the Gaza Strip, and West Bank including East Jerusalem, as well as solidarity between these places.

Ahmad Abuznaid, Dream Defenders’ legal and policy director and a co-organizer of the delegation, said that the goal of the trip was to make connections.

“The goals were primarily to allow for the group members to experience and see first hand the occupation, ethnic cleansing and brutality Israel has levied against Palestinians, but also to build real relationships with those on the ground leading the fight for liberation,” wrote Abuznaid. “In the spirit of Malcolm X, Angela Davis, Stokely Carmichael and many others, we thought the connections between the African American leadership of the movement in the US and those on the ground in Palestine needed to be reestablished and fortified.”

Abuznaid said the trip represented a chance to bring the power of Black organizing to Palestine.

“As a Palestinian who has learned a great deal about struggle, movement, militancy and liberation from African Americans in the US, I dreamt of the day where I could bring that power back to my people in Palestine. This trip is a part of that process.”

Dream Defenders, Black Lives Matter & Ferguson Reps Take Historic Trip to Palestine

Leaders from American racial justice movements connect with Palestinians living under occupation

**ENEMY OF THE SUN**

I may - if you wish - lose my livelihood
I may sell my shirt and bed.
I may work as a stone cutter,
A street sweeper, a porter.
I may clean your stores.
Or rummage your garbage for food.
I may lie down hungry,
O enemy of the sun,
But
I shall not compromise
And to the last pulse in my veins
I shall resist.

You may take the last strip of my land,
Feed my youth to prison cells,
You may plunder my heritage.
You may burn my books, my poems
Or feed my flesh to the dogs.
You may spread a web of terror
On the roofs of my village,
O enemy of the sun,
But
I shall not compromise
And to the last pulse in my veins
I shall resist.

You may put out the light in my eyes.
You may deprive me of my mother’s kisses.
You may curse my father, my people.
You may distort my history.
You may deprive my children of a smile
And of life’s necessities.
You may foul my friends with a borrowed face.
You may build walls of hatred around me.
You may glue my eyes to humiliations,
O enemy of the sun,
But

I shall not compromise
And to the last pulse in my veins
I shall resist.

It is the return of the sun,
Of my exiled ones
And for her sake, and his
I swear
I shall not compromise
And to the last pulse in my veins
I shall resist,
Resist—and resist.
I remember when I used to get teargassed, I used to just remind myself this pain will pass as to not collapse. It helps! #Palestine #Ferguson

And of course DON’T wash your eyes with water.

Always make sure to run against the wind/to keep calm when you’re teargassed, the pain will pass, don’t rub your eyes! #Ferguson Solidarity

Solidarity with #Ferguson. Remember to not touch your face when teargassed or put water on it. Instead use milk or coke!

Made in USA teargas canister was shot at us a few days ago in #Palestine by Israel, now they are used in #Ferguson.
The oppressed stands with the oppressed.

#Palestine stands with #Ferguson.