

Agrarian South Network Research Bulletin

Nov — Dec 2023

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Editorial: Stop The Genocide! Free Palestine

In an instant, the October 7 resistance operation in occupied Palestine, launched from the besieged Gaza Strip, broke and remade the world. As we write, for six weeks Palestinians have been enmeshed in a popular war of national liberation against the settler-colonial Israeli state and its Euro-American sponsors, armorers, and puppet-masters. At the same time, Hezbollah, the Lebanese popular armed resistance forces, have opened the northern front against Israel. The West Bank, especially Jenin, one of the two traditional beating hearts of popular and armed resistance, is currently being invaded amidst a low-grade insurgency against the occupying forces. The Yemeni army has declared war against Israel, launching ballistic missiles and drones against Israeli cities and strategic installations. Meanwhile, in Gaza, aerial bombardments – of such ferocity as to be an extermination campaign – have gone alongside mechanized incursions. Although hundreds of thousands of people are still in the North of the Strip, Israel is systematically destroying hospitals and destroying the systems of infrastructure which make life livable.

What, why, how, to what end, with and against who? On the one hand, this resistance operation is above all the sovereign decision of the Palestinian people in the Gaza Strip. Hamas, to a lesser extent Islamic Jihad, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and the Democratic Front of the Liberation of Palestine, opened this front after over a year of preparation.

We do not think it is necessary to justify that this war is a war of liberation; and given that Israeli domination implies a state of

permanent violence, in different intensities and tempos over different geographies, we can only agree with Amilcar Cabral that “there is not, and cannot be national liberation without the use of liberating violence by the nationalist forces, to answer the criminal violence of the agents of imperialism.” Furthermore, this violence has functioned as a gigantic x-ray into the cultural and economic core of every society, every intellectual, every nation and every class on Earth. Its opening salvo was launched by nationalist fighters in the Gaza Strip, who have now been joined by large sectors of the regional Arab-Islamic bloc, in particular the Lebanese Hezbollah and Yemeni armed forces. All of these, forces, in turn, are backstopped by the 1979 Islamic Revolution in Iran, which is now the primary economic, military, logistical, and technological backbone of the entire resistance front. Meanwhile, the October 7 resistance operation has enlisted the entire imperialist axis in overt support for the Israeli war of national extermination being fought against the Strip, where the Israeli Occupying Forces, buttressed by foreign mercenaries, and Euro-American special forces and drones, are leveling homes, destroying hospitals, uprooting fields, and making the Gaza Strip literally uninhabitable. US aircraft carriers and battleships are in the Mediterranean, US weapons flow in a torrent into Israel, and Germany inks endless arms deals with the Zionist state.

Meanwhile, within imperial core states, fascist-level anti-speech laws spread like the weeds of a rotten civilization within parliaments, particularly within the state most advanced on the road to a fascist political culture, Germany, which has essentially legalized support for Palestine and targeted Arab and Muslim communities for repression.

US legislators are attempting to enlist the terror lists banning material support to ban student activism for anti-Zionism, with organizations already banned. Against this nightmare there is significant dissent South and North from the imperial eradication policies: Bolivia, Colombia, Honduras, Belize, Chad, and South Africa have recalled ambassadors or cut off diplomatic relations; anti-normalization laws are on the docket in Tunisia; and Indian, Italian, Greek, Belgium and US trade unions and trade union federations have called for cutting off arms shipments to Israel.

The liberation forces have retaken the strategic initiative. While the war does not seem winnable for Israel – for there is no scenario under which Hezbollah or Yemen will let the Gaza Strip fall – and there seems little scenario for Israel to even continue as a society, the risk of regional warfare elevates with each passing day. The tripwires for regional warfare come closer and closer to being triggered. Iranian and Arab population centers will not escape damage or destruction in the face of a regional war, nor will the IOF be able to shield its cities from the retaliatory violence it provokes.

This bulletin has several contributions which address these issues from various angles. The first, an edited interview with Mohammed Majdalawi, was conducted in the early weeks of the war. It touches upon the internal popular consensus around the mobilization and the resistance operation, the social-psychological impacts of the war, and an appraisal of the post “Arab Spring” political actors and landscape, above all in Egypt. The interview with Charlotte Kates touches upon post-Cold War criminalization of western solidarity activism

and diaspora organizing and its relationship with the national movement and its weaknesses. It shows how the US and its allied front put in place a multipronged financial, organizational, and legal counter-insurgency campaign against Palestinian popular organizing and anti-systemic and pro-sovereign political parties and militias in order to create a vacuum of dissent against the two-state “solution” and the “peace process” which keeps Palestinian national ambitions and the quest for sovereignty, liberation, and return frozen in amber, out of time. The piece by Al-Amjad Salama deals with two issues: one, the ability of the resistance axis to mobilize human material for the current war of popular liberation and the regional cradle which nurtures and protects that war, and how the resistance, in a situation of military, technological, and financial disadvantage, instead mobilizes its advantage: human beings. And second, the question of support for national liberation and the need to stand in solidarity with the actual forces waging that struggle.

Finally, we include several statements and bulletins from various tri-continental forces and institutions: the Birzeit University Teachers’ Union; BAYAN, in the Philippines; intellectuals in Tanzania, and our own Agrarian South Network.

The classic slogan of the Palestinian Revolution with which communiques ended, was “until liberation and return.” As a network, we offer this bulletin to better inform our comrades to support this struggle, until those goals are met.

Edited by Max Ajl

Enquiries, responses and submissions may be sent to the editors at:
agrariansouthresearchbulletin@gmail.com

Interview with Mohammed Majdalawi¹

Mohammed Majdalawi: Hello.

Max Ajl: Hello. Maybe you can start with a brief statement of where you are?

Mohammed Majdalawi: On my side, nothing is good. The situation is horrible in Gaza. It's beyond imagination. And the problem, and I think this is applicable for all the Gazans right now, that we cannot believe that what is going on is really going on – that it's for real, that the losses we are having are real. And I think collectively right now, we have just absorbed everything. But later, soon enough, I don't really know how we will live with what we experienced in the last three weeks, and what we will experience in the next few weeks. Let me just give you a brief example. Right now, I'm active in a lot of chat groups, in different applications, with people from different areas in Gaza. Some of them are in the Gaza Strip right now. Others are abroad, but the rest of their families are there. Yesterday when I was traveling back to the city I live in from Rome, when I woke up at 6 a.m., I realized that in one of these groups, that we have 10 participants in, we call it now the leftover Gazans. Two of them, one lost his brother-in-law with his nephew and his niece. And the other lost his sister and her kids. We sent our condolences, but after less than ten minutes, we were exchanging jokes about what's going on. You see, I'm trying to explain that people are not aware of the disaster that has happened. Those two participants in that group, maybe they will commit suicide in the future when they realize what happened to

them. Not to mention what happened over the past three weeks to all of us. And it's unimaginable outside Gaza, but also for the people who are there as well. And we will realize exactly what happened later, and I cannot imagine how we will live with that.

I was speaking with my mother today. The good thing that happened to me, by chance, was that all my family left Gaza two days before the operation, because we had a family event in Spain. My sister lives there. The plan was, they were supposed to visit me. But the plan, as it was planned from the beginning, was that they would leave for Spain to visit my sister, in fact just two days before the operation. So that, perhaps, gave me a huge deal of stability emotionally, psychologically, because my parents and my brother and my sister-in-law and their little girl are in Madrid. I was talking to my mother today about our home, which is the material accumulation we did for more than five decades, and she was telling me that three days ago, for the first time, someone managed to see it from 400 meters. And he confirmed that the house was still standing but was partly damaged. And we talked about that only for two seconds. But what I'm trying to say is that nothing is important right now, even for my mother. Because I told her in the first two days, please, mom, don't ask anyone about our house because it's inappropriate compared to the suffering of the rest of the people. But today, after two weeks of getting used to the ongoing catastrophe, I feel even my mother doesn't care about the house. She talked about it for only

¹ **Mohammed Majdalawi** is a Palestinian PhD student and writer from Gaza. He lives in Europe. This interview was conducted on October 26 electronically.

two seconds. I just wanted to give you an introduction, about the last few ideas I was thinking about in the past two hours.

Max Ajl: I'm so sorry for what's happening. I left Tunisia on Sunday and it was the first time I saw anything register itself on the entire population of Tunisia. Everybody in Tunisia is experiencing the attack like an attack on themselves, which is something I had not seen in ten years there – the level of politicized mobilization. People would do anything possible to support Palestine right now from Tunisia. People would overthrow the government if it was not supporting Palestine.

But let me let me start where I wanted to start. The reason I know your name is because you wrote something I believe, two years ago about the Palestinian armed resistance and the technological capacity – I'm paraphrasing – as the main acquisition, the main core of sovereignty in the Gaza Strip and something that was acquired through massive suffering and sacrifice and loss. This was the most important thing I had read about the Palestinian armed resistance that explained what it was, what it meant – an article which completely removed from the table this entire question of civilians or random rockets or what-have-you. It was a searing explanation of what it costs to acquire a resistance capacity. Starting from there, how do you see the October 7 operations? What is your perspective?

Mohammed Majdalawi: My perspective? I believe no one was surprised. We knew this was the inevitable ending point of all the currents that came together in Gaza in the past two decades. We knew we would

reach this point. We didn't expect, maybe, the losses on the Israeli side. But we knew that this accumulated capacity for armed resistance would eventually reach a point that no one would be able to halt it or to stop it, even the political leadership of Hamas. Because I don't think this was a decision that had been made by all the components that construct what we know as Hamas movement. I think that it could have been a decision of the armed wing of Hamas, and maybe they received a green light to do so. But when you accumulate all that capacity on that scale, at some point you won't be able to not use it. Furthermore, Hamas eventually managed to convince a huge fragment of the Gazan population, even amongst its political rivals, that the world or Israel wished, eventually, to physically eliminate the Palestinians in Gaza Strip. And that no matter what we do, we will not be accepted by the international community, or by the Israelis, or even by some Palestinian actors, because every actor in the Middle East treats Gaza as a political and demographic burden. No one wants to see it anymore, including, as I said, some Palestinian actors.

So, I believe they achieved a certain degree of assent from the rest of the Palestinians in Gaza, to do what they are doing. They think they have political legitimacy to do what they did. The third factor, which is very important, related to the second one, is that the Israelis did everything they could do to convince the Palestinians in the Gaza Strip that Hamas's political perspective is correct. That there would be no future for them in Gaza. The siege would last forever. They would never have electricity. They would never have freedom of movement, or food, or basic human rights. Those three factors came

together to create the inevitability of this operation. We were not surprised. Maybe we were surprised a bit about the efficiency of the fighters who conducted the operation. But other than that, I think nothing was really surprising for the Palestinians.

Max Ajl: And what about the Israeli reaction? How do you see that?

Mohammed Majdalawi: They were in a dilemma. They lost their balance. I think in this regard, we should speak about the Israeli and the American collective reaction. Because from the first minute, the immediate American response to what happened in the first few minutes after the operation surprised not only the Palestinians or the international community, but also the Israelis. Because the American intervention came or was seen as if to be saying, you are not qualified, generally, and especially after the operation, to cope with this situation. I think the American intervention came at the expense of Israeli sovereignty in this regard. The Israelis were surprised. It was beyond their imagination. They didn't know how to respond to something huge like this. They lost their stability. And they started the operation and realized two things. The first one: that the volume of violence used in the previous wars was the maximum. What else will you do? Just kill more children and women. This is the only option left. You will invade Beit Hanoun? You already did it three times. You want to bombard them with F-16s and destroy 40, 50, 60 percent of Gaza's cement blocks? They already did it. They want to kill thousands? They already did. So, they started from the point where they ended up in the previous

wars, which is almost the end of every military option available to them.

The other thing is that the Gaza Strip lacks a bank of targets sufficient to “pay the price” for the Palestinian operation. Gaza doesn't have the capacity to heal the Israeli arrogance or their military dignity or anything that occurred to them after the operation. Gaza Strip cannot offer such a price. It's beyond the ability of Gaza. That's what we are seeing now. They are killing children and killing women. You saw what happened yesterday. What we are seeing is beyond any imagination. And when Palestinians said that we were subjected to genocide in the previous wars, they were not lying. The Israelis couldn't think of something bigger than what happened in 2009, 2014, or even 2021, except increasing the volume of the fire and the blood and the destruction. This is all they had.

I wanted to say that what we are witnessing right now, the triangle that we have of the three factors, the three determinants of the whole thing: the Americans who are trying to convince the Israelis to refrain from a ground invasion into Gaza, because that would be another catastrophe for the Israelis. And they are trying to tell them: we have managed so far to provide political and ideological and media coverage justifying what you are doing with your F-16, and we are blessed to keep it this way in the near future. There is no need to invade the Gaza Strip. This is the American view. For the Israelis, I don't really think they are sure what they want to do. I don't think they are sure about anything. But what happened was huge. And they are trying to get something huge in exchange. But they are under pressure. The framework they are acting

within, says we cannot live anymore with the current situation. They cannot leave Gaza as it used to be in the past, because they think they must remove Hamas. But they don't know how. Hamas, I believe, are slowing their military operations, to try to create an impression that they have lost part of their capacity, perhaps to encourage Israel to invade, perhaps it is something they can deal with more than just receiving bombs from the sky. Those are the three determinants, the operational determinants that construct the current military situation.

Max Ajl: Let's talk a little bit about some of the responses at different geographical and political scales. First, can you give your impression of the different Palestinian responses? You were discussing earlier about how Hamas had convinced most of the population that the Israeli policy in Gaza was exterminationist. That's how the armed resistance is seen in Gaza. But then, and I'm sure you've seen this discourse in the West, I see many people stating, this is not an attack on Hamas. This is an attack on Palestine. And we shouldn't be talking about Hamas. And I find it surprising. Hamas is part of the Palestinian national liberation movement. How can we not talk about Hamas? What are your thoughts about these discourses? And how is Hamas seen internally?

Mohammed Majdalawi: I consider myself a political rival to Hamas, but I must be realistic. When we talk about Hamas's location in the political sphere today in Palestine, Hamas at a minimum represents more than 50 percent of the Palestinian population, wherever they are, except for Palestinians beyond the Green Line. This is a different

story. We can come to it later. But for the rest of the Palestinians, Hamas ideologically represents 30, maybe 35 percent of the Palestinians – but politically it exceeds 50 percent, just Hamas alone, not to mention the other factions that have adopted armed resistance. It's a well-organized faction compared to any other political entity we can think of in the Middle East, apart from Israel and Hezbollah. Hamas is politically efficient. And they are a youth movement. They still have a future in the Middle East, not only in Palestine. They are renewing their ideological discourse, shifting from Islamism to adopting a different discourse with a stronger national sense. So today there is something every Palestinian should understand and everyone concerned about what's going on in Palestine should understand and that is that we cannot imagine a political action exempting Hamas or that works against Hamas in Palestine. If any actor or Palestinian still thinks in a different way, he is out of the real world – he's living in his own world. This is the general Palestinian attitude.

Furthermore, this war, like any other war, managed to re-intensify the national sentiment for Palestinians everywhere and has crystallized the political position of other groups like those in Ramallah, which are now completely isolated politically and obviously have no future. And the rest of the West Bank, the other cities and refugee camps in the West Bank, there is very limited space for open and free action because of the entirety of the topographic changes that Israel carried out in the West Bank. Those changes set limits because we have very small demographic blocs today in the West Bank, isolated from each other, and people are free to move only in very

tiny spaces. So, we cannot expect something big from the West Bank. And Ramallah is completely out of the game, and I don't think that at any point in the future they will be part of any anti-occupation collective action. Finally, the disappointing thing that happened this time is the general attitude of the political class and political elites for the Palestinians beyond the Green Line. This is one of the hot topics we are discussing as Palestinians from Gaza, or from the refugee camps in the diaspora – that Palestinians from beyond the Green Line, over the past ten years, have occupied all positions, and brought themselves to the front lines of all the informal representation of the Palestinians in institutions and elsewhere, and even presented their discourse as a national discourse for the Palestinians. That revolved around the human rights approach – apartheid and settler colonialism, indeed apartheid is the new political agenda of the main liberal Jewish institutions in the US and Tel Aviv until the 7th of October 2023, because after this date the vast majority of them politically and mentally embraced the Israeli army's options. The Palestinian circulation of settler colonialism is merely an echo, in a more radical tune, of the Israeli academic debates in this regard. And some Palestinians affiliated with Israeli academia received this discourse from them and have started circulating it because apartheid, settler colonialism, and all the terms that you can derive from it like decolonization, decolonizing, serve as ways to avoid saying national liberation. Or, elsewhere, they say settler-colonialism rather than military occupation. This language provides a protective space for them, and they pay no price for circulating it, as it is within the Israeli political and legal tolerance's scope.

Furthermore, Gazans practically have no actual place within these frameworks, and take no part in their circulation.

That's also why they insist on using the term racism when they talk about Israel, because it's accepted by the Israelis, and practically exclude Palestinians in Gaza, diaspora, and West Bank. We, all the Palestinians, including Palestinians from beyond the Green Line who consider themselves part of the political group identified as Palestinians, have realized the invalidity of these terms. If you noticed, no one mentioned apartheid in the past few weeks because you cannot discriminate against people who are being genocided. All these discourses have collapsed. And there was a huge disappointment from the political class beyond the Green Line. And I think some groups in Gaza from now on will conduct campaigns to correct this internal instability in the relationships between Palestinians from different sectors. I think they will not allow a lot of people who have dominated the scene in the past ten years to pursue what they were circulating or doing in the name of the Palestinian cause. For the Palestinian Authority, I think it has been issued a death certificate. They will have nothing to say or to do in the future.

Max Ajl: And how do you see the broader Arab reaction and Iranian reaction?

Mohammed Majdalawi: I was just sending a voice message in a group for some activists, in Berlin and different cities. We were talking about Egypt. I was telling them, I had a strong belief that this time the Egyptian street would be an actor in or against the ongoing

genocide because in the past month they had an intensive internal polarization. I thought they might take what's happening in Gaza as an opportunity to go to the street and try to solve all their problems by relating them to Gaza – the presidential election, indeed all, of their issues. But I was surprised at how the organic movements and political parties were too lazy and they couldn't mobilize. Somehow, they, they were open to compromise politically with the Egyptian regime's attitude. I called it in that voice chat – because this is part of the official discourse of the regime – the national security considerations. They bought it and they were willing to discuss it in those terms. They celebrated the entrance of minivans to Gaza via the Rafah border checkpoint. That surprised me a bit because I strongly believed this time would be different. But I was mistaken.

I will say, concerning the reaction from the informal political actors in Egypt who are supposed to be supportive to the Palestinians – it is as if Gaza issued a death certificate for the current political class. Because from now on – and I should say, I'm not losing hope in the Egyptian people – but I will say that if we want to believe something could happen in the future, it will come from different political circles in Egypt, not from the current political class. What happened in Gaza issued a death certificate for the so-called Arab Spring political classes that emerged after 2011, confirming the death of this project with all its historical and regional backing. Gaza has put an end to the whole human rights approach and discourse. It's over. And we should start thinking how to prevent anyone from ever coming again to the public sphere or the political sphere and inserting this approach,

because, it's confirmed now, as an imperialist intervention. Also, all the crap that we derived from the liberal values that we have had in the past 12 years, in fact in the past 20 years after the 11th of September when they start talking about spreading democracy, etcetera. All those projects are invalid now. They cannot operate, I think, anymore in the Middle East, in the Arab region. I believe this is the most important thing that the war in Gaza is bringing to the global discussion. Apart from how this will affect the future of Israel. This is a different debate. But I'm talking about what is firmly linked to the debate in every Arab state and the relation between the West and the rest.

Max Ajl: I agree, although the grip of the regime is very strong in Egypt, not just on the imaginations of the elite liberal class, but also people are people are scared – it's a strong government. And there should be a strong leadership which doesn't exist.

Mohammed Majdalawi: I must say that I'm not expecting them to get rid of the regime. This is not what I'm saying. But I thought that we would see huge demonstrations. But there were not. And there was a high degree of willingness to compromise with the Egyptian regime narrative. It reflects a lack of information about what's going on in Palestine – actually, this problem is global. There are a lot of topics that need to be corrected. In fact, in the collective mental map we have a huge problem, not just in Israel. The “gringos,” the second and third generation of Palestinian immigrants to the US or to the Europe – they have been saying horrible things. I don't even know how they got their PhDs, to be honest, because they were circulating silly debates, and reproducing the

whole garbage that led us partly to this point. I cannot forgive them, because I believe that circulating the human rights approach and discourse in the last 20 years participated heavily in delegitimizing a huge part of the Palestinian population and their political choices. Even if you disagree with them. Because I disagree with Hamas, of course. But de-legitimizing Palestinian actors who represent at a minimum 80 percent of the Palestinian people and who are the actual national movement that we have and we have had in the last three decades – this is something colonialist.

Furthermore, for the Arab regimes, we must distinguish between two things. The collective emotional response was intense, and it showed again and again that Palestine is the major cause of all the Arabs, and a major premise in the social contract of Arab nations. But on the other hand, it demonstrated the current political classes are not qualified to do anything or even to represent their people. This is obvious. We know that that there was a huge and intense emotional interaction with what's going on. We can notice it on social media, on the internet, in how people spontaneously were responding to what they are saying, seeing and what they are hearing about the situation in Gaza. But all the political parties, all the political groups were unable to carry out any political action. And I think that what happened in Gaza sets a standard for evaluating the political class, the actors in the Arab regime. They will have to offer answers later. But what happened in Gaza largely shows that the current political actors – I mean the informal ones, are no longer qualified for anything serious, not just towards Palestine, but even in their own countries.

As for Iran, there's nothing significant I can say about Iran. It was the only active actor. And concerning the Arab political field, and the regimes, all the people concerned with what's going on, were looking to the south of Lebanon. It's good to have such an active demographic bloc, regardless of to what degree we agree or disagree with them. But it's a political catastrophe when you have hundreds of millions of Arabs and all hopes are hung onto two million in a country numbers less than 5 million. This is a political catastrophe.

But furthermore, it has demonstrated something. I don't know if it's good or bad. But the armed resistance, in the absence of any institutionalized political sphere, is still the only way to mobilize people. And that's why Hamas and Hezbollah are the most active two political actors in the whole Middle East. This is something we Arabs should think about it and consider.

Max Ajl: Absolutely. In both Tunisia and Libya, there have been calls for armed support for the Palestinian struggle. These are live slogans now in North Africa. Unfortunately, there's no capacity in the current moment. But people are seeing it as well. And the Arab League is not capable of doing anything, doesn't want to do anything that and that Israel doesn't respond to political pressure either.

Mohammed Majdalawi: Let us be clear, none of this necessarily means, let's go and fight Israel. This is not what we should argue with people about. It's about at least going out to the streets. For now this would be sufficient. Of course, this is not happening.

And all the other expressions sadly have been limited. Or not so useful. We saw some expressions in Iraq posing a radical discourse, but I'm not a big fan of it because it was obviously so religious and so dogmatic. But what we want to build or build on is a collective political movement and I think Palestine and the Palestinian cause has the capacity to establish something collective between the Arab nations.

Max Aji: I was struck by what's going on. I happened to be rereading some of Kanafani's work, about Palestine as being the doorway into a transformational change in the Arab region. I literally was reading it a week before the October 7th attack, and it was very clear that the level of political activation around Palestine, what it incited amongst the Tunisian population including its left, which had been simply defeated before October 7th, and it resurrected it. The Palestinian people and the Hamas operation and the popular cradle of the resistance gave a whole new life to politics in Tunisia. That was something: like seeing something rise from the dead.

Mohammed Majdalawi: I don't have any specific comments on that, but. I was disappointed to a high degree. In the past three years, we have started hearing critical opinions of the whole context that all the political classes in the Arab world went through in the past 12 years, and there was a feeling of disappointment among these classes. I thought after the 7th of October, the political actors in the Arab states would take what had occurred in Gaza as a pretext to reflect or mirror these internal social polarizations and use this intensive political infection in the streets. That obviously did not happen – so far at least. And

this was disappointing. But something else significant happened, I think a huge part of the Palestinian people realized the West is not as important as they thought or as they used to think. They realized that having the people in the streets in the Arab states is way more important than having them in London or New York or Berlin. They realized this, and maybe this will motivate political activists, particularly those who have radical perspectives, to adopt a collective approach between Arab activists. I think so. Above all this is the case because the West is confused. Even the usual solidarity movements with the Palestinians on the 7th of October were confused because they have systematized a way of thinking, a mental construct, that says we can only be in solidarity with Palestinians when he's a victim. But if he's stood up on his feet – we cannot imagine him this way. For example, in the first few hours the confusion was super clear for veteran supporters of the Palestinian cause. They were talking about two sides, about terrorism. This shows the limits of a whole international solidarity movement based on human rights discourse.

Finally, one of the dilemmas this time when I say that the Palestinian people in Gaza Strip and in the refugee camps, and even the Palestinians in Europe who came from refugee camps – we realized that we have no representation in any informal institution, or forums or leagues that work on Palestine. As a result, the actual Palestinian discourse that you read in Arabic has no place in the English material. And the social media did not help us at all. Facebook, for example, used to be a useful platform for someone like me – I posted a video clip for one minute. I have almost 5000 followers and another 600 friends. I collected

only 200 views, maybe fewer. And all the platforms which receive Western funds did not invite us to write anything. They wanted the tame version of any political interventions they can get from Palestinian activists. We are absolutely under siege in this regard, and Palestinian voices are muted. The things we watch on the TV, it's presented a human tragedy, but the political discourse, the political interventions are completely out of the scene. No one is listening to them. You only have Palestinians showing their victimhood.

Why Filipinos should stand with the Palestinian people

Bagong Alyansang Makabayan (BAYAN/ New Patriotic Alliance

29 October 2023

Mahal naming kababayan, (To our dear compatriots)

There is an ongoing humanitarian catastrophe in Gaza today - a genocide that has claimed the lives of more than 8,000 civilians, more than 3,500 of whom are children. Ordinary people, young and old, health workers and journalists, entire families have been wiped out, due to Israel's deadly bombings. It has bombed homes, hospitals, schools and places of worship. It has cut off electricity, water, internet and other communications services. It has denied Palestinians humanitarian aid including food, medicine and other basic needs by closing all entry points to Gaza. The daily bombings have taken place for more than 3 weeks now and a ground invasion has begun.

The crisis in Palestine has deep historical roots and did not happen just on October 7, when the forces of Hamas and the Palestinian Resistance attacked Israel. Palestine has been under a brutal Israeli occupation for the last 75 years and Gaza has been subjected to the worst forms of collective punishment for many years now.

Before Israel came into being in 1948, Palestine was a land under the Ottoman Empire and then the British Mandate. Here, Jews, Christians and Muslims lived together as their holy places were located in Jerusalem. It was in 1948 that the Zionist movement, through force of arms, expelled the Palestinian people from their lands and established what is

now known as the state of Israel. Zionism is a movement and ideology that seeks to establish a nation for all Jews. To accomplish this, they engaged in the ethnic cleansing of Palestinians from their homeland. The establishment of Israel was supported by the US and UK as this provided support for imperialist interests in the Middle East which included huge oil reserves.

Gaza is a narrow strip of land, separated from the larger West Bank, near the sea and surrounded by walls. It is like an open-air prison or concentration camp, where Israel controls what goes in and out of the area. Its population is more than 2.2 million, making it one of the most densely populated areas in the world. Israel's continued occupation of Palestine has led to more land-grabbing, killings and arrests of Palestinians. These oppressive conditions led them to engage in armed and unarmed resistance against Israel. This is no different from the revolution waged by the Katipunan against Spanish colonialism, or the struggle waged by Macario Sakay and General Antonio Luna against US colonialism.

Instead of addressing the just demands of the Palestinians to return to their lands, Israel intensified its war on the Palestinians, with backing from the US, UK and other imperialist powers. What is happening in Gaza now is genocide. It violates international humanitarian law. It is the wholesale violation of the rights of the Palestinian people. It is utterly unacceptable.

There were Filipinos reportedly killed in the fighting on October 7. There were Filipinos also reported as captives taken to Gaza, and cannot be safely released because of the constant bombings carried out by Israel. Important information have now started to surface that many Israeli casualties on October 7 were due to Israel bombing and shooting at vehicles and houses of their own people, as the IDF fought the Palestinians. Israeli survivors have spoken about this.

The issue now is not between Israel and Hamas, but between Israel and the entire Palestinian people. In the face of a brutal occupation, the Palestinian people have a right to resist by all means necessary, including waging armed struggle. This is not terrorism. Meanwhile, nothing can justify the indiscriminate bombings and killings of civilians in Gaza and the West Bank. This is not a religious conflict as many Jews all over the world and within Israel itself have opposed the occupation and ongoing genocide.

It is very alarming that the Philippine government supports Israel's occupation and genocide. The Philippines is the third biggest buyer of Israeli arms from 2018-2022, with purchases amounting to \$275 million or more than P15 billion, at a time Filipinos were reeling from poverty. These weapons were then used to kill Filipinos in the fake "drug war" and in counter-insurgency operations. Israel's profits from these arms sales are used to support occupation and genocide against the Palestinian people. Recently, the Philippines abstained from voting on a crucial United Nations resolution on the issue of the humanitarian crisis in Gaza. The Philippine

stand is influenced by the US and Israel which both voted NO to the resolution.

There are many similarities between Filipinos and Palestinians. We both have a history of fighting colonialism. We both aspire for a society where there is genuine development, peace, freedom and democracy. We both are opposed to human rights violations. But there can be no genuine peace without justice. There can be no freedom and democracy under foreign occupation and aggression.

As Filipinos and as human beings, we need to make a stand and let our voices be heard. With our common colonial history and with the ongoing massacre of thousands in Gaza, we have a duty to stand with the Palestinian people. We should rightly condemn the ongoing genocide against Palestinians. We should call for a stop to the bombings in Gaza and the targeting of civilians. We should support the call for the opening of border crossings so that urgent humanitarian aid including food, medicines and fuel could reach the Palestinian people. We should likewise call for the safe release of all Filipino and Israeli captives in Gaza and the immediate release of all Palestinian prisoners held in Israeli jails. We need to call on the Marcos regime to strongly condemn the killings of Palestinians and to ensure the safety of Filipinos in Gaza, Israel and neighboring countries. Filipinos would not have to work in dangerous countries if they only had decent jobs in the Philippines.

Let us uphold the right of the Palestinian people to be free and to return to their homeland. This is the only long-term solution to the crisis. In solidarity with struggling people

worldwide, let us fight for a world with peace based on justice, genuine freedom and democracy.

Long live the Palestinian people! Long live the Filipino people!

BAYAN - October 29, 2023

Interview with Charlotte Kates¹

Max Ajl: Thank you so much for taking the time, Charlotte. What I would like to talk with you about today is, first, some of the difficulties Samidoun is encountering, but furthermore, something probably much less known amongst a global radical audience: the function and history of the “terror” list. And why is it incumbent upon us to resist these so-called terror lists in our contemporary moment; and how this interacts with contemporary dynamics within the actual Palestinian national liberation movement and the various forces who engage with that movement outside of Palestine. If we can start with one thing, something that burst out onto the news very recently is Samidoun was banned by the German state. Can you briefly give us some context for that?

Charlotte Kates: So essentially, two days ago, German Interior Minister Nancy Faeser announced she was officially implementing bans against two entities in Germany: Hamas, the Palestinian Islamic resistance movement and Samidoun, Palestinian Prisoner Solidarity Network. Now this might seem like kind of a large mismatch at first, because Hamas is a massive organization, one of the leading organizations in the Palestinian resistance, and Samidoun, while a growing kind of global organization, a network of activists for liberation of Palestinian political prisoners, isn't playing the same role in the forefront of Palestinian resistance. But it's very clear the German state views this kind of organizing in Germany as a fundamental threat to what they've declared as their reason of state, which is the maintenance and development of the Zionist project in occupied Palestine.

Now it's important to note that this didn't come out of nowhere, and it didn't just come after October 7. So, it is true that German Chancellor Olaf Scholz announced several days after October 7 that he was going to seek a ban on Samidoun and Germany, and that this was meant to appease, but also further and advance the tremendous anti-Palestinian anti-Arab anti-Muslim racist wave of propaganda that has been directly used in Germany. It's not just a natural phenomenon. This is something that has been supported, managed and sustained by the government and leading media corporations to dehumanize Palestinians and to advance Germany's imperial goals in the region, because it's important to, just, like note that a lot of times this is phrased as if there's a problem with German guilt and that this is an expression of German guilt and the German states guilt about the Holocaust and its rejection of nationalism and the fact is that nothing could be further from the truth. Nothing could be further from the truth. Rather than being some kind of expression of guilt or sorrow over the crimes committed by the Nazi regime against Jews and against Russians, against millions and millions of people in Europe, which would lead them to object to genocide, to take a stand for justice for all peoples, what's going on here is the projection of German imperial power. It comes hand in hand with the advancement of Germany's role in NATO. It comes hand in hand with Germany being one of the second largest supplier of military support to the Zionist regime. It comes hand in hand with Germany's investments in the region. It comes hand in hand with Germany's view of

¹ Charlotte Kates is the international coordinator of Samidoun Palestinian Prisoner Solidarity Network. Also involved with the National Lawyers Guild, the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, the International People's Tribunal on US imperialism, sanctions, blockades and coercive economic measures.

Arabs and Palestinians from the region as a source of cheap labor for its industries and not as people that have the right to speak of protest and demonstrate if they are refugees or living in Germany. This is not an expression of guilt. This is not an expression of sorrow. This is not misdirected guilt or misplaced emotions. What is happening is Germany playing its role as an imperial power alongside the United States, Canada, Britain, France and Italy in its alignment with the Zionist project after October 7, when the Palestinian resistance demonstrated very materially that it has the power and the ability to strike a significant blow and especially in alignment with other regional forces that are part of the resistance camp, posing a serious threat to the maintenance of the Zionist project in occupied Palestine, but fundamentally to the maintenance of U.S.-led imperialist domination in the region, and that's why we've seen this kind of outrageous, hysterical response. This kind of wide ranging racist propaganda that seems to be meant to incite lynch mobs against Palestinians and Arabs and people who support Palestine in Germany and France and all of these countries.

That's why in Germany we've been seeing bans on demonstrations, police attacks. People are sitting down and having a vigil in Frankfurt and the police are coming and spraying water hoses on them in scenes reminiscent of the civil rights movement. You have cops attacking people walking down the street, you're wearing a keffiyeh holding a Palestinian flag or saying free Palestine on Sonnenallee, a major street in Berlin, which has always been kind of a center of Arab social, cultural, and economic life in the city. There are, daily, hundreds, if not thousands, of cops deployed almost as an occupying force that are charged with everything from attacking children for

wearing a keffiyeh to sending cranes down the street to grab a Palestinian flag off of a third or fourth floor balcony. This didn't just start October 7. The Nakba marches have been banned in Berlin for the past two years. Palestinian Prisoners Day protests have been banned.

There have been days when there are hundreds and hundreds of people arrested in Germany daily for protesting for Palestine and what we've seen is essentially the acceptance of the Zionist project into the modern version of German imperialist fascist nationalism that Zionism is reflected as this kind of force within Germany. If you look at the kind of hate messages and racist messages that the thousands of people in Samidoun Deutschland receive overwhelmingly, these are messages that are sent with people with German flags. In their bios, some of them even end their messages with Heil Hitler. You have this kind of recreation of a fascist project, with the target being Arabs and Palestinians. And this comes hand in hand with the rehabilitation of fascists in Eastern Europe and Ukraine and elsewhere, as part of this anti-communist cause and the promotion of NATO. You see the banning of the letter Z, the banning of the Russian flag at commemorations of the victory in Europe and World War Two, and the defeat of Nazism. These things come hand in hand. This is not an expression of guilt. This is an expression of fascist repression and imperialist domination. What we're seeing is the targeting of Palestinian Arab communities in Germany as part and parcel of that project. And it's important to note here that Samidoun in Germany is largely made up of young Palestinian refugees who have been expelled from their homeland, have been denied their right to return with their families for the past 75 years. Who have come from the camps of Gaza and Lebanon

and Syria, and who currently are being subjected to an extremely high level of political oppression in Germany, including this kind of ban. They're people being threatened with deportation, with stripping their residency, with political bans that criminalize them for going to demonstrations or attending protests. And this isn't even just happening to Samidoun activists. It's even happening, for example, to medical students that wanted to attend a conference of Palestinian doctors in Europe.

They've also received letters stating they're going to be deported from Germany, so it is notable in this context that Germany has focused on Samidoun and even when it's engaged in widescale repression against any expression of solidarity and sympathy for Palestine. And that's because Samidoun unequivocally expresses its support for the Palestinian resistance as a Palestinian prisoner support organization. The Palestinian prisoners are part and parcel of the resistance. Their leaders of the resistance, whether it is the resistance, or student organizing and land defense or leadership in the armed struggle. It's that the resistance and the prisoners' movement are one front, and because the message of not just October 7, but this entire period of building the Palestinian resistance alongside the regional resistance, is something that presents a threat to imperial domination in the region. The tip of this attack must be directed at those who openly speak for the Palestinian resistance and the liberation of Palestine from the river to the sea, and not those who are advocating for a future Palestine that could be incorporated into an imperialist project.

MA: In this context, it's probably worth noting that the silence or inability to see Germany as an organic part of the imperialist front also has let Germany be the

leading edge of NGO based neocolonial counterinsurgency in the Arab region, especially in the post so-called Arab Spring. It's been particularly pernicious and kind of containing the radical edge of mobilization for national liberation in Tunisia because Germany does not have superficially, or at least the reputation of the same level, the same kind of colonial legacy that France and the UK and the US have, and this has really enabled Germany to play this role, although we're also starting to see real fractures because many of the young people and not so young people who are associated with those NGOs in the Tunisian context, are actually taking very firm stances against the German imperial project and the concordant silence on Palestine and Zionism.

On our topics, what I really want people to understand is the literal criminalization of Samidoun and any type of expression of support for Hamas is carrying on a slightly older legacy going back two decades, emanating, of course from the imperial heartland, the United States, where the terror list was passed. And there's a context now where there have been attempts to call any form of anti-Zionist or even simply let us say pro-Palestinian activity as material support for terror. There's legislation put forward in the US Congress, the US Senate, reflecting that. So I would like it if you can actually give us a primer about the origins and history and function of the terrorist list, and how they've been used to fracture contemporary Palestinian liberation organizing.

CK: And I want to note, in agreement with your point about NGOisation, that all of Germany's major political parties view the existence of Israel as part of their reason and justification for existence. Again, given that that's been incorporated into the German

national imperialist project, and they've historically found it useful to use these kinds of party affiliated NGOs to create a supportive environment for Germany in the region, even at the same time that they practice these heavy levels of repression, but in the past four years, what we're seeing is an increasing demand even on these NGO workers, particularly in the Arab region, to accept and support the maintenance of the Zionist project. So it's pushing towards a greater conflict that is no longer able to be concealed in the name of kind of a project of infiltration through the NGO community.

It's being exposed before the world and at this point there is kind of a choice that must be made. For example, German foundations are associated with political parties and have funded Palestinian organizations, Palestinian NGOs that were engaged in kind of the human rights project, and that then later the occupation regime labeled terrorist organizations in its incessant drive to impose this label on any Palestinian project that doesn't completely comply with their demands, and the German state kind of officially rejected those, but Nancy Faeser – the same interior minister who issued the bans against Hamas and Samidoun – said that she actually supports those designations. What we're seeing is even in this realm, the German state is now saying, it's all out for Israel and the Zionist project in the region. And one can say that there's going to be some positive developments that come out of that in terms of the weakening and exposure of what that German influence means for people organizing in the region. But that's a little bit of a digression, just to say that when we talk about Palestinian organizing, anti-imperialist organizing, liberation movement organizing has always been branded as terrorism from the Haitian Revolution and certainly throughout the history of the

Palestinian liberation movement, the term terrorism has constantly been used to denigrate people's movements fighting imperialist powers. So, on the one hand, there's nothing new about that. As concerns Palestine, and in the United States in particular, because I'm going to focus on the US here for a little bit, there have been previous past persecutions of Palestinians, the prosecution of the Los Angeles 8. They just didn't take place within the framework of the current legal system: this so-called crime of material support for terrorism. The reason why we're going to start in the United States is because most of the so-called anti-terror legislation that has been adopted around the world, particularly in the post 9/11 2001 era has been based on US legislation. A version of the US legislation is what's in use in Canada. It's what's in use in most European countries. It's what's in use in Australia. It's what's in use in the Philippines to target the Filipino National Democratic movement. This has been spread worldwide as a model for this kind of legislation. In Germany, when we talk about the persecution of Palestinians happening today, we can look back 50 years in the early 1970s, when there were mass deportations of Palestinians, there are generations of Palestinian German children whose mothers had German citizenship and whose fathers were Palestinian that didn't grow up with their fathers because they were deported. We're not saying that the persecution began at this time, but there is an important context. We're now looking at the post-Oslo era – the Oslo project was this attempt to impose a liquidationist settlement on the Palestinian cause and to redirect the compass of the region away from the liberation of Palestine and to the normalization of the Zionist regime in the region. This was the Oslo Accords. The Declaration of Principles was signed in Washington DC for the creation of

the so-called Palestinian Authority, allegedly leading to a limited sovereignty and statehood in parts of the West Bank and Gaza. This was a project that was supported by Palestinian capitalists, who saw this as a potential to maintain kind of a base for capital and banking in the region and to seek accommodation as part of the imperialist order. And of course, that date of 1993 is no accident. We're talking about the point after the fall of the Soviet Union and the Socialist bloc in Eastern Europe and a time of capitalist and imperialist triumphalism, and repeated declarations of the end of history and the resolution of all struggles, in the interest of capitalism and imperialism and eternal domination of the United States. In that context, the Oslo Accords were adopted by the PLO under Yasser Arafat. They were signed officially by Mahmoud Abbas, today's PA President, and the Zionist regime. There were a lot of illusions at the time about the Oslo Accords, and it's important to be clear about that because while there were many Palestinian political forces that rejected the Oslo Accords, there was also kind of a great deal of popular propaganda, and there had been a great deal of trust developed in the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization. The Oslo Accords were essentially stealing the fruits of the First Intifada from the Palestinian people and instead of achieving any kind of independence, self-determination, or sovereignty, instead put Palestinians on the path to this kind of subordinate construction of and a colonial subordinate authority that would be in connection and security coordination with the Zionist regime and with the United States above that.

We don't need to talk in detail about what's wrong with Oslo. There's a great deal of scholarship and Palestinian political work about that, and it's a whole conversation in

and of itself. But it's important to note that Palestinian political forces, some inside the PLO and others outside of it, such as Hamas, Palestinian Islamic Jihad movement, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine at that time, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, other Palestinian factions, some of them quite small, others of them, as you know, quite large and mass movements objected to the Oslo Accords and began to speak out against them and say that this is a betrayal of the Palestinian cause and that what we're fighting for is the liberation of Palestine.

And of course, this is also when we saw a significant escalation, particularly in the armed struggle by Hamas, by Palestinian Islamic Jihad in particular. This was also a period of crisis for the Palestinian left, for the aforementioned reasons regarding the loss of their international support and frameworks at that time. What you're seeing is this attempt to impose this Oslo project for the final liquidation of the Palestinian cause. And you're also seeing Palestinian resistance forces organizing themselves and fighting back, the resistance in Lebanon getting stronger and stronger and stronger. This is in the decade before the final liberation of southern Lebanon in 2000 and the United States was determined to impose this project and impose the normalization of Zionism on the region. In 1995 in the context explicitly of supporting the Oslo Accords and maintaining what was called the Middle East peace process, then President Bill Clinton issued an executive order listing several organizations in the region and declaring that if you were attempting to support any of these organizations financially, these funds would be frozen. You can't in the United States create a criminal law by an executive order. This was the first step in the process of creating this kind of legislation and

creating the list. Now it's important to note here they did include in addition to all the Palestinian organizations and in addition to the Lebanese resistance, Hezbollah, they also included Kach and Kahane Chai. And it's important, and they included these as like kind of names as “unacceptable” Israeli organizations that were also in violation of the peace process to create this mirage of two sides. One should note that those organizations have now been removed from the US terrorist list, but also no one was ever prosecuted under them. It was quite acceptable and remains quite acceptable to be openly honest and to promote and fundraise for Kahanist organizations inside the Zionist project. No one has ever been prosecuted for it, as far as we know. No one has even been investigated for it, so this was always a fig leaf and it was never something that indicated any kind of serious US response or indication. It did indicate kind of what kind of politics the US felt were productive for the Zionist colonial project to pursue, and which ones they thought were unproductive.

So in 1996, after the bombing of the Oklahoma City federal building, there was this big push for stronger death penalty and anti-terrorism laws. And of course, this had nothing to do with so-called foreign terrorist organizations, but that was the political context. That was used to pass a piece of legislation called the AEDPA, the Anti-terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996, and this is where this list of foreign terrorist organizations designated by the Treasury Department and then the State Department was institutionalized into US criminal law which made it illegal to engage in what was labeled material support, which at the time was understood as financial support or the provision of armaments to these organizations. And once again, the justification that was provided for the

creation of the terror list was that allowing these organizations to receive material support would undermine the Middle East peace process. So, it was very specifically created to protect the Oslo project from resistance organizations in the region that were seeking to achieve their liberation in Palestine and Lebanon again and to liberate their land and their people from Zionist colonialism, rather than allowing the US and its partners in Europe to determine the future of the region. That is why the terrorist list exists. It's in the executive order. We don't need to guess about why they were doing this. They made it very clear that the maintenance of Oslo was the reason for the creation of this list. And of course not to go too deeply into the entire history of what was happening at the time, but what we did see in 2000 was the upsurge of what's been called the Second Intifada or the Al Aqsa Intifada, in September 2000 in reaction to the same policies that we see today with the massive upsurge in settlers in the West Bank, the ongoing violence, the denial of any form of sovereignty. That, and of course, the escalating Palestinian armed resistance, that of these organizations that were being targeted and of course not to mention six months before or less than six months before the outbreak of the Al Aqsa Intifada, we saw the final liberation of southern Lebanon by Hezbollah.

So that's a clear indication that we don't need to rely on this process of the US constantly giving the occupation billions of dollars in weapons each year, while promising there'll be a Palestinian state in the future. There's another way to achieve liberation and this is very visible. In this context the movement was developing and of course what we also saw one year later was September 11, 2001. This, of course was used to pass another whole range of repressive

legislation, including, most infamously the so-called USA Patriot Act, and in the Patriot Act there was an extension of the definition of material support for terrorism to include this entire range of kind of activities, such as providing training or education or communications equipment, or “services.”

There was, then, this very detailed and vague list of what could be considered material support for terrorism. These are the frameworks. Every now and then they'll put some far right, reactionary, or criminal organization on the list. That doesn't change the list's purpose, which has always been to promote and preserve imperial domination and to also separate communities in exile in the United States and in other countries that have similar laws, from being a part of their national liberation movements by rendering it illegal to do so. That's always been these laws' purpose. It's also to sever the solidarity movement from the liberation movement by creating a context of threats of material support of terrorism. Instead of speaking about the resistance forces leading the movement, people and movements are pressured to speak about alternatives to the resistance, whether that's NGOs, people that are set up as spokespeople as civil society. The purpose of this kind of legislation isn't to just throw hundreds or thousands of people in jail. The purpose is to create political change, to create [conditions to] dissolve the resistance movement by separating it from its global supporters and of course, in the Palestinian context where there are millions upon millions of Palestinians in exile and diaspora who have been denied the right to return home. The diaspora organizing that is part and parcel of the Palestinian liberation movement, that's been the point of these laws from the very beginning.

It's not a side effect. This is the reason why they exist. Of course, there are several cases in the US that are particularly well known. The case of the Holy Land Foundation 5, in which a charitable organization that raised millions and millions of dollars for Palestine, one of the most effective charitable organizations and fundamentally independently supporting the steadfastness of the Palestinian people, supporting schools and hospitals and social programs that were being supported by Palestinians in exile and diaspora and by their supporters to maintain the steadfastness of the Palestinian people. And not through the United States, not through Germany, not through France, not through any of these NGOs that you see the European flag and the US flag everywhere in Palestine indicating the money's origins. This was meant to be money that was given independently to support Palestinian steadfastness against the occupation, and that's why the Holy Land Foundation was seen as a threat. That's why it was attacked. Currently, there are still three people serving sentences of 20 years and up to 65 years in federal prison after being convicted of material support of Hamas, and they weren't even able to show that the people involved gave money to Hamas. What they argued was that by supporting the social framework that sustained and supported the resistance movement, that was also material support for terrorism. And it was an important case because it kind of showed that in the United States, you can completely divorce the aspects of, for example, armed struggle from the social aspects of the resistance, and that the social aspects of the resistance are equally criminalized because the state does actually recognize the relationship between the social aspects of the resistance and the armed aspects of the resistance.

In creating that kind of fundamental popular base of support, this is also the era of the Sami al-Arian case, in which people won those cases. And Sami al-Arian got a grand jury, and instead of either prosecuting him again or giving up on the case, the US essentially came up with a whole series of other demands. So trying to coerce him to appear before a grand jury to provide testimony against other Palestinians. And when he refused to do this, he was jailed and later was deported to Turkey. So that was another of the main legal cases in the US about material support. There have been a whole lot of other material support cases. Many of these are this kind of FBI manufactured plans where no actual resistance group or organization was ever involved. You have the FBI or other police agents convincing people that they'll be doing something to support some kind of an armed action – in many cases, these are not Palestine related – and then convicting the people who agreed or were coerced to be part of this. In many cases, the people targeted are marginalized, struggling with mental health, and this is essentially a framework of the manufacturing of these cases. But I just wanted to talk about a couple of those really high-profile Palestinian cases where there was a meaningful outcome and there was a meaningful goal of fundamentally changing the way in which Palestinians inside Palestine are able to relate to Palestinians in exile and diaspora.

This legislation has been used as a basis for the current framework of the terrorist entities list in Canada. It's related to the to the legislation that was passed in the European Union and Post 2001 with a list of designated terrorist organizations, similar legislation in the UK and Australia and elsewhere. Basically, all of the imperialist powers and many of their subordinate states, including

Arab reactionary regimes, have adopted some form of this type of anti-terror legislation with a list of organizations that varies from country to country, but fundamentally always takes its fundamental beginnings from the list that was created in order to maintain the Oslo project at the expense of the Palestinian people and to maintain the colonization of Lebanon at the expense of the Lebanese people. That's why this legislation exists. It never existed for another reason, and we should understand that the reason why terror laws exist, is to maintain imperialist domination in the region and to provide a criminal mechanism of undermining the connection of the diaspora to their own liberation struggle of cutting off any form of meaningful international solidarity to those who are on the front lines confronting and making a fundamental political change in the way that people advocate and speak about Palestine and other liberation movements.

MA: It seems that there have been two other prongs of the terror list that have been advanced in the recent period. One of them has been to a cleave off and create a kind of safe Palestine organizing in the US and Europe and to create this separation between that and the on-the-ground National Liberation movement. The other is a prong which has advanced more recently, but has long been in the offing, which is actually an attempt to criminalize anti-Zionist activity in the US under the ages of claiming that anti-Zionist activity itself is support for Hamas.

CK: This first point that you made is kind of part and parcel of the entire project. After Oslo you had two parallel tracks that involved kind of imperialist state involvement in Palestine. One of them was, of course, this criminalization track where you have this tremendous amount of state

power, surveillance resources, criminal law, not to mention, you know, propaganda deployed to criminalize the Palestinian resistance.

Then at the same time you have the push for NGOization and this is a major factor of the post Oslo era. So during the Oslo process, what we saw is a systematic transformation of popular organizations that had been part of the popular mass resistance in the Intifada, away from being popular organizations that depended on the Palestinian people and having an Arab and international dimension, and popular support of the struggle for funding and resources into a professionalization and an NGOisation that saw the dependence instead going to essentially the European Union and its member states, the United States was footing the bill for the PA's so-called security agencies, which were charged with directly arresting, surveilling and harassing the resistance and stopping it physically while the Europeans took on the job, largely of being the provider of funding to NGOs and the creation of more and more and more of this kind of multiple levels of NGOs which, while officially nongovernmental organizations, were connected directly to the same Western governments that were responsible for the ongoing crimes against Palestine. So this funding was often initially perceived as, well, if we can get something out of these countries, we might as well take it. We might as well take what we can get, but what we saw over the years and over the decades was that what was initially kind of provided directly or without much question or without much challenge, shortly developed into extreme levels of conditional funding and support. While USAID is perhaps the best known in this context, most of the European agencies engage in it as well. In order to receive this kind of EU funding, particularly in the

present day, organizations need to assert that not only are they not affiliated with any of the banned or listed resistance organizations like Hamas, the PFLP, et cetera. Not only did they have to assert that they're not a wing or connected to these organizations, but that none of their employees are connected to these organizations.

That none of their employees are a member of these organizations. That none of the recipients of their services are a member of these organizations. So essentially what you have is this funding being used to undermine and tear apart the structures of the resistance movement from within. One of the reasons why we've seen such a great deal of success, for example, on the part of Palestinian Islamic Jihad as a growing force on both in a popular on certainly on the level of the military resistance. But it's also important to note on a popular level as well is because they rejected this path of NGOisation. I mean, they've gotten the reputation of rejecting the social or popular approach to struggle at all, but that's not really true. That's not really an accurate descriptor of the work that they do, but by rejecting this approach to NGOisation, what this also meant was that they did not experience the condition whereby their members were gradually stripped away and recreated, not as members of their organization, or as members of the resistance, but instead as NGO employees that constantly have the role of creating new NGO employees and limiting their understanding, analysis and promotion of what's happening in Palestine to the level of human rights violations and steering clear from having any discussion of national liberation, which has been largely the case for most NGOs, including those who are doing good work, valuable work, valuable support work, valuable documentation. There's a

whole realm of politics that they're fundamentally forbidden from entering, because if they enter them, they will lose millions and millions and millions of Euros of funding. And this isn't a question of greed. This is a question of a trap that was set up by imperialism for this purpose. This isn't a question whereby there are founders of NGO's who want to be greedy and they want to get money. The issue is that you've set up a program that, say, funding 100 families and supporting their kind of agricultural work or supporting, you know, 15 clinics. Well, you've now become dependent on the European Union to fund those projects for you. And if you reject this framework that's been imposed upon you of political conditions, of severance from the resistance, well then you don't have access to those funds anymore. And you can't provide the programs, so this isn't a trap that was kind of accidentally created. It's a trap that was deliberately created and it happened side by side with this process of criminalization. What this meant was that particularly in the West, we started hearing more and more about how we need to listen to Palestinian civil society. And in this context, Palestinian civil society was differentiated from the Palestinian resistance forces, and the Palestinian, certainly from the Palestinian armed resistance, but also from the Palestinian political resistance as well. And so it, you know, these organizations would in many cases produce excellent human rights documentation, very useful and meaningful information about the kinds of crimes that were being committed on a daily basis. But the forbidden connection was to say, and that's why Palestinians are resisting.

That's why we are part of this resistance movement rather than an alternative to it. So what you have is this discourse in the West and in the solidarity

movement where people are constantly talking about NGO leadership as the leaders of the Palestinian people, whereas in Palestine these are just seen as people who are with NGOs and are not the leaders of the Palestinian people, not the leaders of the Palestinian resistance. And so, you have this duality that has been created by on the one hand, the process of negotiation and on the other, the process of criminalization. Because what that means is that at least until the current period, this kind of advocacy was seen as a safe alternative, a safe alternative because we constantly talk about how nonviolent we are. And this has been one of the real downfalls of what could be considered BDS. And I'm not talking about the boycott of Israel here. When I say BDS, I'm talking about this kind of official presentation whereby you are obliged to repeatedly talk about not just how the obvious fact that it is, in fact nonviolent, to boycott and divest from Occupation. But that it's a normatively nonviolent approach. Thus, an alternative, a more ethical alternative to the Palestinian resistance, and of course, this is something these kinds of organizations, including like the Boycott National Committee, are loathe to say in Arabic because it would completely deprive them of their political and popular legitimacy. But unfortunately they have not hesitated to say in English and even to attempt to coerce organizations around the world from working with, for example, Samidoun. They state the reason because we speak about armed resistance and armed struggle. This is not a dispute over tactics or a dispute over personalities. This is a full on recognition that the purpose of this NGOisation is to be an alternative to the armed resistance that also includes in terms of even what international solidarity movements are supposed to envision as their role in supporting the liberation of Palestine, and that in some cases

these kinds of NGO officials are willing to actually play that disciplinary role themselves, in which they demand that organizations, for example, like Samidoun but not only like Samidoun like The Mapping Project in Boston, for example, must be boycotted and excluded if they go beyond the acceptable bounds. And fundamentally, the conditions that are set by the United States and Europe on what is acceptable in Palestinian organizing and organizing for the liberation of Palestine and that by and large, what's acceptable, being something that's very different than what the solidarity movements for Palestinian liberation were saying in the 1970s and the 1980s, when you had people in Europe and the United States going to the camps in Lebanon and openly joining the Palestinian struggle, including the armed resistance. There is a strong history of solidarity for Palestine, that shouldn't be just like, papered over by saying, wow, we have the largest solidarity movement we've ever had. There have been extremely strong socialist and revolutionary and anti-colonial linkages with the Palestinian cause. I mean, certainly in the Arab region, which I wouldn't call a solidarity movement because it's part and parcel of the Arab liberation struggle, but also around the world and even in the imperial core, that were very effective and that would achieve things that are almost impossible to consider today because of the ways in which our horizons have been limited. And it's worth knowing and going back to that history. You know, when we were talking about Germany earlier and I love to bring back kind of these old posters and events from the German solidarity movement with Palestine, both from the German Democratic Republic but also even from Western Germany, that were unequivocally part of the radical left that used the logos of Palestinian resistance organizations, for example, the PFLP images

of Palestinian fighters with guns and said this is what we're in support of, with no equivocation.

And so there are tremendous gains that have been made in the solidarity movement today, particularly because of the rise and the strength and power of the resistance, the decline of the United States and the rise of reaching an era where we can talk meaningfully about a multipolar or a pluripolar world. But at the same time, we should be able to go back to this history and not allow our horizons to be to be constrained by these two parallel mechanisms of criminalization and the creation of a safe alternative or NGOisation in order to constrain the Palestinian struggle to a very narrow perspective that's meant to seek accommodation and imperialism rather than an overthrow of the system in alignment with regional forces that are also fighting that system, such as the Lebanese resistance, the Yemeni resistance. But finally what we are seeing, especially in the post October 7th era, but also before then in the pushing of the IHRA definition which when we see that kind of global map of who's adopted the IHRA definition, we're fundamentally looking at the imperialist powers and states that they have coerced – it's the opposite map of the countries that have recognized Palestine and it's a map that is the very same countries that are aligned up to support the Ukraine war project on behalf of Ukraine as a proxy state for the US and NATO.

The IHRA definition is not some neutral or just kind of general Zionist approach that's meaning to confront anti-Semitism. It's very similar to what we see taking place in Germany. It's another way to rehabilitate fascism and Nazism and the process of anti-communism and NATO rebuilding, while saying that Palestinian Arab

liberation movements are the source of anti-Jewish hatred. It's almost obscene to look at but it is something that is central to the promotion of this project, in the past several years, but it's been escalated dramatically in the post October 7th context. What we're seeing is that this process of providing a safe alternative and the NGOisation process did not achieve all its goals.

There's still a Palestinian resistance movement, stronger than ever before. Even this process of "the carrot and stick" hasn't broken the popular cradle of the resistance. In fact, it's only developed further. Now there's less and less of an incentive for these powers to continue to promote this kind of so-called safe alternative and are instead just promoting a full criminalization of the Palestinian cause and the Palestinian struggle, including any kind of anti-Zionist activities. We just saw in front of the French Senate how a bill was introduced to criminally prosecute people who insult Israel, but right now, even with that, I mean that legislation might be unlikely to pass. But there have been several people already sentenced to six months in prison for graffiti, or said, Viva Hamas or long live the Palestinian Resistance. Members of political parties have been called in for interrogation for making social media posts that said victory to the Intifada and congratulated the Palestinian resistance on a successful action on October 7th. So, while we see an even more dangerous phenomenon happening, criminalization is already happening. And this isn't just restricted even to Palestinian, Arab and communities in France. Communities labeled as Muslim have faced the worst brunt of repression. Yet, this is being done against leftist activists, against communists, against revolutionaries who view support for the Palestinian resistance as part and parcel of their reason for existence and reason for

organizing, particularly in the \imperial core. There's this spectrum of repression that we in Samidoun in our organizing need to confront. And we can say that on one end we have the imprisonment policy, the mass imprisonment of Palestinians inside Palestine, occupied Palestinian, '48 and the West Bank. For that then we can include PA political imprisonment of Palestinian resistance supporters in the reactionary Arab states, imprisonment of people like George Abdullah in France. Or the Holy Land Five in the United States. This is the one clear end of this repression. Of course, we can even go beyond that to the mass murder and genocide that's taking place in Gaza today. But then there's a whole series of forms of repression that less than this, but still clearly state directed attempts to silence the movement: the banning of Samidoun in Germany, the attempt to dissolve the collective Palestine Vaincra in France. You have so far toothless, or non-legally binding is the term they also use for the IHRA resolutions that were passed, for example in the Senate and in the House by Florida Governor Ron DeSantis to attempt to kind of semi-criminalize National Students for Justice in Palestine and SJP chapters, but without being able to provide any meaningful criminal penalties and saying that, for example, showing a picture of a person on a glider entering Palestine like a little cartoon picture, this is material support for terrorism now. Under the current legislation, that doesn't work because of the purpose of the legislation, was to prevent people from communicating and corresponding with each other.

So one of the fundamental legal principles is there must be some kind of direct coordination. You cannot have material support for terrorism simply comprising, saying, "I like math. I like Islamic

Jihad. I like the PFLP. I think they're good guys. I think they're revolutionary movement." That's not material support for terrorism under the law in the US, nor is drawing a picture of a resistance fighter and putting it on a poster and sharing it around the world. You're not actually coordinating with the organizations and the legislation was constructed to target the behavior and the practice that they saw as most threatening, which was direct coordination with these organizations to build one movement. That's what they criminalized. Now they're saying wait, this is insufficient because even though we criminalized that, we haven't succeeded in criminalizing this kind of popular public support and sentiment.

The fact that people looked at what happened in October 7th, aside from all of the lies, all of the propaganda, all of the atrocity stories and what they saw was a people inside living under occupation, living under colonization and saying, "We have the potential to take back our land. We have the potential to win." That's a responsive sentiment, that can be a political response, but it's also responsive sentiment. What we're seeing right now on the part of these states, the escalation in Germany and France, in the United States and elsewhere is an attempt to respond to that popular sentiment of solidarity with intense criminalization and to say, "Well, you might feel sympathy with the Palestinian resistance. But what if we can send you to jail for that?" And so that's why all of these countries which do not hesitate to impose sanctions on states from Venezuela to Cuba to Iran under the premise that they are preventing people from engaging in public demonstrations, have not hesitated to clamp down on demonstrations with physical violence, criminalization, arrests, passing of new legislation to criminalize political activity. Literally every single one of these

things has been used and in many cases the story is completely false in relation to the target of imperial power. But all these things are routinely used as justification to impose sanctions upon and engage in an economic and physical war against countries around the world that resist US imperialism.

While the US, France, Germany, Britain present themselves as beacons of freedom, democracy, freedom of expression, freedom of association, and what we see in this post, October 7 era—in this era of the developing multipolar world—is that these countries are giving up the pretense of the niceties of bourgeois democracy. When it comes to the need to save the empire and where we're seeing that happening on the front lines right now is about Palestine. But we will see it in a lot of other places as well if this continues. The Macron government in France, has moved from trying to dissolve Palestine related organizations, to Antifa, and now it's against an environmental group, which, by the way, has now spoken up about Gaza and that environmental group might not have spoken up about Gaza or about Palestine before, but now they have, because the criminalization that they're facing leads them to actually recognize and understand more deeply France, not just as a creator of climate change, but as an imperial power that is a creator of climate change directly at the expense of people in the global South. And only by building that kind of solidarity is it possible to confront criminalization and repression inside France as well as to fight climate change in a meaningful way. What we're witnessing is an era in which these states are willing to give up their pretense of human rights, freedom of expression, and freedom of speech to suppress what they view as an existential threat to the empire. And yet, you know, we're having this interview today on a day when literally

millions of people around the world are out marching for Palestine and showing that kind of criminalization which has been fundamentally insufficient to suppress the Palestinian resistance movement, has likewise been insufficient to suppress the immense amount of popular support that exists out there for the liberation of Palestine and the very real and horrific recognition of just how horrific the crimes of imperialism have been and continue to be currently in Gaza, but also everywhere around the world. And that's a future that they don't want to complete, but it's a future that we have to do everything that we can, including confronting and fighting back against these legal mechanisms that are intended to prevent people from ever being part of an anti-imperialist movement. So we absolutely have a responsibility to fight back against the terror list.

We've got to fight to get resistance organizations off the list, but we've got to fight to bring down these structures altogether because the only reason they exist is to extend imperial power. They don't exist for any other reason. They exist to destroy our movements. They exist to demobilize us, they exist to separate us from one another, and we have to resist that separation, that splitting, that attempt to create an acceptable alternative of the future within imperialism. Because what we see in Gaza today is the future within imperialism, there is no other future there, and the only way we can get a different one is by fighting back and resisting on all fronts.

MA: I was going to ask you why it's incumbent upon us to resist the terror list and what can be done. But I think you made that point extremely clearly. I have one small point, only partially related to that which I think you are in a position to educate us

about: can you talk a little bit about the contemporary orientation of the more Marxist inflected groups on the ground in Gaza and the West Bank and elsewhere and their relationship with the more Muslim, ideologically identified groups like Islamic Jihad and Hamas, because this is something that I think is very not adequately understood and is helpful for people to understand.

CK: Well, let's just be clear that in terms of like the armed resistance that's happening in Palestine, the groups that are leading this, the groups that have the strength, that have the mobilization, are Hamas and Islamic Jihad, as well as some organizations that are most closely associated with them, like such as the Popular Resistance Committees and some other organizations and Gaza on a political and an ideological level as well as on a military level. But it's important to understand that we're talking about very different levels of capacity between these different organizations. The Palestinian left is 100% lined up with the resistance. The PFLP, even the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, which back in 1999 was removed from the US terror list because they agreed to accommodate with the Palestinian Authority and the Oslo Process and to leave the alliance of factions confronting at the Oslo Accords, today in 2023, the DFLP and its national resistance brigades are part and parcel of this fight that's going on. Every Palestinian left organization with any kind of meaningful presence is 100% on board with the development of the resistance, with the actions of October 7th, with the leading role of the Islamic resistance movement and with participating in what's been called the joint operations room of the Palestinian resistance in Gaza and elsewhere, there isn't a debate taking place about this and there isn't an internal struggle about this and the

Palestinian movement left organizations are 100 percent part of this resistance and supporting it. But the forces are leading it, the forces that have the highest level of popular mobilization, the highest level of popular support and the level of military advancement and development are the Islamic resistance forces. Finally, I want to note, Islamic Jihad is a very interesting example and it's worthy of more conversation and discussion because they've actually always had an approach that specifically focuses on the oppressed, the role of workers in the movement, that does class analysis. It's not an approach that rejects a class analysis. There's a very strong class analysis that Palestinian Islamic Jihad has, and that's reflected in the kind of work that they do. But that said, the left is in complete and clear alliance with Islamic forces and is does not view this as a contradiction. It views this as absolutely necessary for the liberation of Palestine, and absolutely necessary for the next stage. It's difficult to imagine a future after this in which forces will continue to kind of prop up a bankrupt so called PLO that is only reflected in the Palestinian Authority and it's continued security coordination with the occupation inside the West Bank and is actually suppressing the movement to stand with and to engage and struggle directly with Palestinians in Gaza. It's very difficult to understand a future in which that that emerges as a viable organization any longer. It's very clear that there is a Palestinian national unity and that Palestinian national unity revolves around the resistance.

October 7 marked a reassertion of a Palestinian revolution. And not only a Palestinian resistance and all of the forces that are part of the resistance, that are part of the revolution, that want a liberated Palestine are part and parcel of that, and that includes

the Left. That includes the Islamic forces, that includes nationalist forces. On the ground in Gaza right now there is a united front. All those forces routinely speak to it, including the Islamic forces. There's no contradiction there. The contradiction is between imperialism and Zionism, and the Islamic forces are engaged and speak quite clearly. They're engaged in a national liberation struggle and if we want to support the Palestinian left, we can and should do that part and parcel supporting the Palestinian Left is supporting the alliances that they have and supporting the actual resistance that's on the ground, but also to not just mythologize Palestinian left organizations, but to look at what actually exists in reality in Palestine and build the movement that is necessary to be the international popular cradle of the resistance, because it is in our hands to do that. It is in our hands to fight back against repression and it is in our hands to reject repression and take on the tasks that are necessary, because this movement needs a Palestinian popular cradle. It needs an Arab popular cradle. In many ways, it has those things already. But what we can do is make an international popular cradle and we can see that in these numbers that are coming out to the demonstrations despite all the propaganda and despite the lies, there is a fertile ground for that. And that is a responsibility to act on and build for.



STOP THE GENOCIDE! FREE PALESTINE!

The **Agrarian South Network** adds its voice to the condemnation of the genocide being perpetrated by the Zionist state against the Palestinian people with the backing of the United States and the European Union.

It is unacceptable that a settler colonial state continues to exist and that it is allowed to practice apartheid and carry out the extermination of the people it occupies.

It is unacceptable that the imperialist war machine of the West is once again unleashing its full force against an oppressed people of the South.

The NATO-Zionist alliance is entirely responsible for the violent confrontation in Palestine.

We express our unconditional support to the struggle of the Palestinian people for freedom and justice.

We call on our governments to break ties with the Zionist state and confront imperialism.

This is the defining moment of the 21st century. Imperialism and colonialism must be defeated once and for all.

PARE O GENOCÍDIO! PALESTINA LIVRE!

A **Rede Sul Agrário** (*Agrarian South Network*) acrescenta a sua voz à condenação do genocídio perpetrado pelo Estado sionista contra o povo palestino com o apoio dos Estados Unidos e da União Europeia.

É inaceitável que continue a existir um Estado de povoamento colonial, que lhe seja permitido praticar o apartheid e levar a cabo o extermínio do povo que ocupa.

É inaceitável que a máquina de guerra imperialista do Ocidente esteja mais uma vez a libertar toda a sua força contra um povo oprimido do Sul.

A aliança OTAN-Sionista é inteiramente responsável pelo confronto violento na Palestina.

Expressamos o nosso apoio incondicional à luta do povo palestino pela liberdade e pela justiça.

Apelamos aos nossos governos para que rompam os laços com o Estado sionista e enfrentem o imperialismo.

Este é o momento decisivo do século XXI. O imperialismo e o colonialismo têm que ser derrotados de uma vez por todas.

أوقفوا الإبادة الجماعية! فلسطين حرة!

إن المسؤولية عن المواجهات العنيفة الواقعة في فلسطين تعود بالكامل على التحالف الناتوي-الصهيوني.

إننا نعرب عن دعمنا غير المشروط لنضال الشعب الفلسطيني من أجل الحرية والعدالة.

كما ندعو حكومات بلداننا إلى قطع العلاقات مع الدولة الصهيونية ومواجهة الإمبريالية.

إننا نعيش اللحظة الحاسمة في القرن الحادي والعشرين. يجب هزيمة الإمبريالية والاستعمار مرة واحدة وإلى الأبد.

تضم شبكة الجنوب الزراعي صوتها إلى الأصوات التي تدين الإبادة الجماعية التي ترتكبها الدولة الصهيونية ضد الشعب الفلسطيني بدعم من الولايات المتحدة والاتحاد الأوروبي.

من غير المقبول أن تستمر دولة استعمارية استيطانية في الوجود وأن يُسمح لها بممارسة الفصل العنصري وإبادة الشعب الذي تحتله.

ومن غير المقبول أن تطلق آلة الحرب الإمبريالية في الغرب العنان مرة أخرى لكامل قوتها ضد شعب مضطهد من الجنوب.

SIGNED 524 (19 Nov. 2023)

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Luwiza Naum te interessa	Brazil	Michael Witter	Jamaica
Lyn Ossome	Kenya	Michelle Kim Gardner	USA
Lyra Gastilo	Philippines	Mico Orda	Philippines
Magali Villalba	Argentina	Milagros Sinchicay	Argentina
Magda Pucci	Brazil	Milenna Aranda	Paraguay
Malena Peralta Martínez	Argentina	Minnie Lopez	Philippines
Mamadou Goïta	Mali	Moddy Barba	Philippines
Manish Kumar	India	Monica Nicor	Philippines
Manuela Morales	Brazil	Monica Torres	Brazil
Marcelly Vieira	Brazil	Monyafane Edwin Mlangeni	South Africa
Marcelo Magalhães	Brazil	Moushumi Basu	India
Marcelo Rosa	Brazil	Nabanita Samanta	India
Marcelo Silva	Brazil	Nada Ibrahim	Egypt
Marciana Marques	Brazil	Najat Aguidi	France
Marcilia Brito	Brazil	Nancy Kachingwe	Zimbabwe
Margarida Gonçalves	Portugal	Nara Maiele Lopes de Assis	Brazil
Maria Carlotto	Brazil	Narasimha Reddy	India
Maria Clara Biggi	Brazil	Nathali Mainardes de Castro	Brazil
Maria Clara Pereira de Souza	Brazil	Neil Quinding	Philippines
Maria Eduarda Braga	Brazil	Nelson Berndt	Brazil
Maria Eduarda Côbo Leite	Brazil	Nicholas Odoyo	Kenya
Maria Eduarda Eckermann Guimarães	Brazil	Nico Hinestroza	Guatemala
Maria Eduarda Fonseca	Brazil	Nicole Croscob	Brazil
Maria Julia Duarte Freitas	Brazil	Nicole Siqueira	Brazil
Maria Meneses	Brazil	Nicolly Santos	Brazil
Mariam Dhawale	India	Nihal Salama	Egypt
Mariana Duarte	Brazil	Nikko Elles	Philippines
Mariana Spinelli	Brazil	Nilson de Paula	Brazil
Mariana Ventura	Brazil	Nishamil Hayeesa	Thailand
Marilynn Hermans	Netherlands	Noe Avila	Philippines
Marina Marcela Herrero	Brazil	Nolha Base	Philippines
Marina Menin	Brazil	Norwin Gonzales	Philippines
Mário Angelo Sartori	Brazil	Nozel Fabila	Philippines
Mario Ney Rodrigues Salvador	Brazil	Olemárcia Silva dos Santos	Brazil
Martiniello Giuliano	Morocco	Oliva Silva	Brazil
Mary Jane Corporal	Philippines	Onurcan Ülker	Turkey

Oriana Figueron Fernández	Uruguay	S.L. Padma Iftu	India
Orlando Daluyo	Philippines	Sabatho Nyamsenda	Tanzania
Pâmela Spinelli	Brazil	Samara Lins	Brazil
Paris Yeros	Brazil	Samea Regina Silva Araújo	Brazil
Patrick Bonnici	Malta	Sammer Siman	Brazil
Paula Carolyne	Brazil	Sandra Garcia	Brazil
Paula Fernández	Spain	Sara Larijani	Iran
Paulo Neves	Brazil	Sarah Molpu	France
Paulo Ulisses Maia Dantas	Brazil	Sarah Raymundo	Philippines
Paulo Vilarinho Junior	Brazil	Satyaki Roy	India
Pedro Silva	France	Sepehr Norouzi	USA
Penélope Pereira	Portugal	Shanelle Jane Gapasin	Philippines
Peter Weitman	USA	Sherwin Solidor	Philippines
Pinei Hickland	New Zealand	Shiela Bonifacio	Hong Kong
Pooja Lal	India	Shruti Chandra	India
Praveen Jha	India	Sibth Hassan	Germany
Precious Nicole Emphress Valdez	Philippines	Sienna Wu	Philippines
Priscila Krawczuk	Argentina	Simã C. Lima	Brazil
Quimey Cruz	Argentina	Simran Sharma	Canada
Rafael Pecate	Philippines	Sirisha Naidu	India
Rafaela guerra	Brazil	Sneha S Najeeb	India
Raiara Ohanna	Brazil	Sofia Cáceres	Argentina
Raiza Jane Marcelo	Philippines	Sofia Canto	Brazil
Rajinder singh	India	Sofia Melro	Brazil
Rakhee Kewada	Zimbabwe	Sofia Sánchez	Colombia
Rama Dieng	UK	Sol Quiñonez	Argentina
Rasigan Maharajh	South Africa	Sonia Martins	Brazil
Raven Rich Moran	Philippines	Sophia Isabelle Diño	Philippines
Rayanne Kessya	Brasil	Sophia Oliveira Abes	Brazil
Rebeca Souza	Brazil	Soundarya Iyer	India
Rechelle Lecera	Philippines	Srishti Yadav	India
Regina Celia Santos	Brazil	Star Mary	Brazil
Reymart Coja	Philippines	Steven Mberi	Zimbabwe
Reymart Dequina	Philippines	Suhani Koli	India
Ricardo Jacobs	USA	Suvarna Swain	India
Ricardo Messias Queiroz	Brazil	Suzana Fernandes	Brazil
Richelle Bejino	Philippines	Swati Birla	USA
Rizza Noynay	Philippines	Sylvia Uchoa	Brazil
Rohith Jyothish	India	Taha Zeinali	Germany
Rohwen Angelo Andres	Philippines	Tamara Arteaga	Spain
Rome Bermejo	Philippines	Tania Borja	Bolivia
Romina Paez	Argentina	Tatiana Ortiz	Chile
Ronna Cecilia Bat-og	Philippines	Taynara Mendes Da Silva Brasil	Brazil
Rose Anne Torrecampo	Philippines	Tereza Raquel Costa Lima	Brazil
Rose Mensah-Kutin	Ghana	Tereza Soares	Brazil
Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz	USA	Thais Santos	Brazil
Roxanne Tulfo	Philippines	Thais Stefania	Brazil
Ruth Hall	South Africa	Thalita Cavalcante	Brazil
Ruth Nyambura	Kenya	Thamires Gomes	Brazil
Ryan Christian Acob	Philippines	Thayanne Maria Rocha	Brazil

Theresa Rosalada	Philippines	Vijoo Krishnan	India
Thi O'Leary Ryan	Ireland	Vincent Cama	Canada
Thiago Lima	Brazil	Vinícius de Oliveira Bessi	Brazil
Tony Frankish Belchez	Philippines	Vivian Gadila	Philippines
Trish Muli	Philippines	Vladimir Rodrigues	Brazil
Uriel Camingawan	Philippines	Walter Chambati	Zimbabwe
Utsa Patnaik	India	Wander Mickael Dias Soares	Brazil
Vaishnavi Jha	India	Webert Estevam	Brazil
Val Cupello	Argentina	Wilson Pinilla Guerrero	Colombia
Valentina Dechigne	Argentina	Yasmin Alves	Brazil
Valéria Tenorio de Almeida	Brazil	Yasmin Shokry	Egypt
Vanna Colo	Philippines	Yasmin stoque	Brazil
Vera Poh	Singapore	Yassha Nair	Malaysia
Victor Gabriel Santana de Menezes	Brazil	Yoli Glenda da Silva Serrão Serrão	Brazil
Victoria Vic	Brazil	Yul Buridas	Philippines

We Are All the South: A Call from Birzeit University Union of Professors and Employees to academic and cultural communities worldwide.

On the twenty-seventh day of the genocidal war being waged by the settler colonial state of "Israel" against the Palestinian people in Gaza and throughout historic Palestine, coinciding with the date of the infamous Balfour Declaration on November 2, 1917, which marked imperial endorsement of the Zionist colonial project in our land, we declare to the world that we are still alive and engaged in our national struggle for freedom and self-determination. We declare that our people, with a population of more than 15 million worldwide, remain steadfast in Palestine and throughout the diaspora. We renew our call to our partners in the world, advocates of justice and freedom, and those in solidarity with our just national struggle, to stand with us against the most brutal waves of genocide and ethnic cleansing we have faced for more than seven decades.

We initially issued a statement at the beginning of this war entitled "We Are All Palestinians" to emphasize the century-long war against Palestinians and the historical injustices it has carried. We also solidified our people's uncompromising will to engage in all forms of revolutionary acts as we face unprecedented levels of colonial violence. Today, we address you with a statement entitled "We Are All the South." The imperialist forces and its hegemonic power, which has long nurtured the Zionist project in our land, have once again aligned themselves with the old-fashioned narrative known as the "clash of civilizations against barbarism," aiming to break the will to life and freedom

among the Palestinian people. We want to frame the situation as we see it and as we live it, not only because of this most recent iteration of violence, but because we have long endured and thrived through the violence of settler colonialism.

During this war, the settler army targeted our people in Gaza, located in the southern part of our Palestinian coastline, unleashing unprecedented violence through the most destructive weapons accumulated in its arsenal, supplied and re-supplied by its Western allies. While the war waged from the skies in Gaza, this campaign also included killing, destruction, and brutal arrests against our people in the West Bank, Jerusalem, and the 1948 occupied territories. The settler state employs all kinds of colonial violence from its well-rehearsed arsenal, both physical and legal, including targeting our academics and university students inside "Israeli" universities, merely for expressing sympathy with the victims of the aggression in Gaza and its open wounds. This is in addition to the McCarthyist campaigns targeting Palestinian academics, students, intellectuals, and artists around the world in unyielding attempts to silence their voices.

From our national, ethical, and humanitarian standpoint, we must inform you of the current situation across Palestine and the diaspora in the academic and cultural fields:

Since the start of this savage war on Gaza, in addition to the homes, hospitals, orphanages,

mosques, churches, and shelters under the care of the United Nations, "Israel" deliberately and systematically also targeted schools, universities, academic institutions, and cultural centers with direct shelling and ceaseless bombing. Their military actions have physically destroyed institutional infrastructures in Gaza and paralyzed the educational process in all academic institutions across Palestine, targeting 53 universities and other institutes of higher education affecting around 250,000 students and 3,000 secondary and primary schools affecting nearly 1,500,000 students. They have intensified their campaign against intellectuals threatening them with physical harm, arrests, and threats of their livelihoods. This current campaign has also featured targeted expulsions of professors, students, and workers in both the academic and cultural fields.

In addition to its direct involvement in the crimes of the Zionist apartheid system, "Israeli" academia is now actively participating in the genocidal war by utilizing its human, intellectual, and promotional resources. This campaign has received official support from some Western academic institutions further exposing our people and those who are in solidarity with us to violent measures working towards a suffocating silence and erasure of Palestine and Palestinian voices everywhere we exist. As we

observe the aggressiveness of these institutions, we call on all our comrades in the world, in unions, academic institutions, research centers, and collectives, to activate their engagement in the BDS movement, which aims to end international support for "Israel's" oppression of Palestinians and pressure "Israel" to comply with international law through a campaign of boycott, sanctions and divestment of "Israeli" institutions. The genocidal war being waged by "Israel" today leaves no room for doubt about the principles, objectives and need for the BDS movement and its call initiated in 2005.

The timid and apologetic attempts made by a few academics and intellectuals in the early days of the war to "condemn violence on both sides" do not deserve a response. However, we once again need to emphasize that there are not "two sides" in the current genocidal war, but rather a criminal army exercising brutality against a besieged people defending their lives and their right to defend life. This is a new round of the long war waged by the Zionist colonial settler state against the Palestinian people and their resistance. It is a war that clearly demonstrates the excess of Palestinian righteousness in the face of the excess of "Israeli" force, where there is no moral equivalence between the colonizer and the colonized, and there never will be.

There is no equivalence between their swords and our blood, and there is no equivalence between the iron of their bombs and the flesh of our victims.

Therefore, the clarity of the horrific genocide in Gaza today leaves no room for debate about the form, mechanism, or purpose of solidarity with Palestine and Palestinians. It compels us to remind you of the common human, intellectual, and ethical

grammar in our collective struggle against all colonial conditions in the world. We remind you that solidarity begins with recognizing the sovereign voice of the oppressed and that they have the right to determine the form, means, and ends of their struggle. You are our partners in our humanity, and you are our partners in the battle to defend it: we are all the South, we are all Palestinians, we are all resistance, we are all Gaza.

2 November 2023

Birzeit University Union of Professors and Employees, Occupied Palestine

On the beginning of talks [political speech] in the presence of the great confrontation

Al-Amjad Salama

Wednesday, 18 October 2023

Published originally in Arabic in [Al-Akhbar](#), trs. Haithem Guesmi

In the name of the Lord of Mujahideen and the oppressed

I started writing this article more than one year ago in the wake of the Zionist aggression on Gaza in August 2022. I started writing it but I was too lazy to finish it, if the expression is adequate to the nature of the postponement. The main reason for the delay may be the nature of the topic itself. It is difficult to compress contexts that have taken decades to shape, into some few words and ideas that contain just one dimension, one adequate to our individual convictions. It is also hard to explain how forces arise combatting hegemony and continue to grow and succeed in their goals – with uneven levels but with good to excellent efficiency – in a region submitted to the hegemony of the global center or empire. It is hard, too, to explain the positions of people and their split in groups based on the position of every individual in the struggle with the hegemony of the empire – and perhaps what is harder still is to confront acquaintances and friends with these assessments.

There is no doubt that today we are facing a clear picture in the region, where the forces that have positioned themselves in relation to the United States (the empire – the center) have aligned along one axis, which is countered by the axis of resistance. For those aligned with the American axis, the following question is of no concern to them, as they will find answers to it that correspond to their personal narrative, which they impose on themselves with the

dawn of each new day. As for the rest – the supporters of the axis of resistance, its states, and its forces, as well as those in the gray area – the fundamental question is how the forces of this axis succeeded in gathering the elements of strength that enabled them to overturn much of what we had been seeing in the region.

I did not feel that the momentum of the event in August 2022 was sufficient for the answer to be significant at the time. Although, in my understanding, any victory and resilience of Palestinian resistance represents sufficient momentum to highlight any related issue. But today, we may be facing the most significant event in the past four decades, and I am not claiming that my awareness is capable of fully comprehending all the data and consequences of the Palestinian crossing on the 7 October, or even the magnitude of the achievement of Palestinian resistance itself. However, the momentum of that morning requires us to return to the above question: How did the forces of resistance succeed?

Comprehensive Mobilization

Each of us has their own theories and interpretations of the continuous growth of the resistance forces in the region, each in line with their different views on the dynamics of the conflict, even if we agree on its essence. However, I will explain the context of this growth through a theoretical framework centered around a fundamental term: “mobilization.” I will use this explanation as a window into the nature of

our positions in the ongoing conflict in the region and the world.

If we closely examine the facts in the arenas where the active forces of the resistance axis operate, we will find that the common denominator among all these forces and the primary governing factor in the development of their effectiveness is their ability to mobilize. Here, mobilization is not limited to assembling people at political events and military formations alone. Instead, we are talking about comprehensive mobilization, which includes the mobilization of resources in all aspects of life surrounding the communities in which these forces operate. We can discuss that this factor is one of the fundamental elements in the rise and fall of states – but that is a topic for another article.

When scrutinizing any of the active forces within the axis of resistance, it becomes clear that their most important and primary trait is the causes they uphold, whether it's national liberation in each arena or a shared commitment to the Palestinian cause – namely, the necessity of liberating all of Palestine from the river to the sea. What we see as the first resources mobilized by the forces of the resistance axis are morality and legitimacy. These resources secure solidarity, support, and empathy for the goals of these forces. It's important to note that the forces within the axis did not invent the causes they espouse; instead, they are the heirs of real and legitimate causes that have been forsaken, in one way or another, by their previous carriers. The axis inherited these causes and gained legitimacy because they approached them sincerely as real objectives for their actions on all fronts, whether political, social, or military.

And then there's the development and mobilization of cultural resources. Here, we are talking about the production of intellectual and conceptual tools that contribute to understanding the issues and provide the practical framework for collective action, leading to the development of organizational templates. These resources do not necessarily require framings of morality and legitimacy for mobilization and can be transferred as an experience from one arena to another among the forces in the axis, thus contributing to comprehensive mobilization in each arena. Among these resources are literary and media productions, and even the presence on the digital space through social media. While the effectiveness of the forces in this aspect of mobilization may be less than in other areas, it is still sufficiently effective.

Despite the relative differences in effectiveness between the mobilization of moral and cultural resources, one of the fundamental factors we observe when examining the resistance forces across the region is the popular embrace. This popular embrace is also a form of resource mobilization. It involves mobilizing social and organizational resources. Here, we are talking about infrastructure, whether it's physical or social. In the material aspect, it usually refers to services provided by the state. However, as we see in many conflict areas in Western Asia, the active forces in the resistance axis participate in filling the gaps left by the shortcomings or absence of the state itself.

Mobilizing social infrastructure is more complex and involves building social networks that require a high level of

understanding of your surrounding community and sensitivity to its needs. In other words, you cannot disregard your society and impose theoretical frameworks that are foreign to it and then expect it to follow you into battle, whatever that battle may be. The ability to mobilize social and organizational resources is what has allowed the forces in the resistance axis to build social networks that not only show solidarity with the resistance but also adopt it and repeatedly demonstrate their willingness to engage in wars and pay the price in blood for the legitimate causes embraced by these forces.

And perhaps, in the context of this review, it may cross our minds that one of the most crucial aspects of mobilization for the forces in the resistance axis is the mobilization of material resources. This includes financial resources, properties, equipment, and supplies, whether they are of a military, social, or economic nature. This is one of the fields that surface prominently in the work of the resistance forces, where you can see these forces accumulating military equipment, various types of weapons, and continuously increasing their ammunition quantities, in addition to controlling how these resources are allocated, as states do.

Another point indicating the high level of mobilization of material resources is self-production of these resources and the mechanisms through which the active entities in the resistance forces add value to these resources. When we talk about creating or adding value, we are talking about using somewhat simple material resources to manufacture a missile in a workshop or a group of workshops to form a production line equivalent to those in

modern weapon factories. For example, it could involve converting simple mechanical machines - in the contemporary engineering sense - into individual aircraft that can cover dozens of kilometers.

However, the conclusion that material mobilization is the most important factor in which the forces of the resistance axis have succeeded is not accurate. While the quantitative and qualitative accumulation of weapons in this axis is impressive, the most commendable factor for these forces is their success in establishing highly effective and efficient human cadres and developing them at all organizational levels. This success represents the mobilization of human resources, which includes factors such as labor, experience, and skills, whether through volunteer work or dedication. These factors make up the human capital of the forces within the axis, which is embodied in volunteers and dedicated individuals. This human capital is the face of the forces in the axis, and the individuals around whom part of the cultural resources will be built, and those who will become the active entities controlling the mobilization of material resources. In a context where material resources are limited, human capital is the most crucial factor.

The Lord

But where do we fit in the context above as individuals? Simply put, we are mobilized in the projects we support. Just as the forces of resistance carry out comprehensive mobilization, so does the American axis in the region carry out its own comprehensive mobilization efforts. As individuals, we interact with the issues presented before us and carry what we find

suitable, consuming cultural materials and showing solidarity with the forces that represent the causes we hold. Some of us may even get involved in the organizations we align with. Even many of us in the gray area are mobilized.

In the gray area, there are two types. The first type does not believe in national liberation from hegemony, and the liberation of Palestine, and this is not truly in the gray zone but an individual mobilized within the narrative of their beliefs within the imperial axis. The second type of gray acknowledges the existence of a national liberation issue and the legitimacy of the Palestinian liberation cause but objects to the forces representing these causes today. In reality, this is another narrative presented by this shade of gray, a narrative that conceals the inability to bear the material and social burdens of engagement in the social construction of the resistance forces. This type is also mobilized within the imperial axis.

So, in a nutshell, if you believe in the legitimacy of national liberation issues and the liberation of Palestine and see them as a social priority without which the development of your society cannot progress, how can you refuse to work with those who have mobilized effectively for these causes, in a region that has not witnessed such achievements before? How can you reject the harvest of the blood of tens of thousands of fighters and cadres who left everything behind and gave their lives for a cause they believe in? And how can you refuse to acknowledge the accumulated efforts of hundreds of creative leaders who stormed the frontlines, unafraid of death, and many of them met it?

And here we return to the Lord. I must confess that despite my knowledge of the various meanings of the term “Lord” in the Arabic language, I didn't truly grasp its depth until I was reading about the structure of the Carthaginian Empire during the First Punic War. “Lord of the Campaigns” is the term they used for their supreme military commander. In this historical context, they used “Lord” to mean “master” or “leader,” the master of war or its leader. Going back to this historical moment, you can reject the convictions of those who mobilize hundreds of thousands across various regions, including Yemen, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, and especially Palestine. They mobilize them comprehensively, allowing them to confront the American axis and enabling Palestinian resistance to achieve a resounding victory on the morning of the 7 of the current October. However, you cannot reject the results of their comprehensive mobilization of the peoples of these countries, or at least substantial parts of them, in the cause of national liberation and the liberation of Palestine. If you truly believe in these issues, you can convince yourself that the Lord who taught them comprehensive mobilization is the Lord who suits your convictions and personal narratives, whether in the form of a creed or a set of ideas or historical contradictions shaped by circumstances or coincidences of fate that brought this group of cadres and leaders together at this point in history, or that the Lord is Allah. But at this moment, where the possibilities of a major confrontation are high, it is important that we preface our words with “In the name of the Lord of the Mujahideen and the oppressed.”

SOLIDARTY WITH PALESTINE

TANZANIAN INTELLECTUALS STATEMENT CONCERNING THE RIGHTS AND DIGNITY OF A HUMAN BEING ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD¹

We, Tanzanian intellectuals concern about rights and peace have been deeply dismayed following the cruelty going on in the Gaza area in Palestine. We shall not be silent as we see and witness the cruelty, suffering and deaths of children, women and people of Gaza perpetuated by Israel. Such injustice is intolerable. Mwalimu Nyerere urged us when he addressed the UN General Assembly before stepping down as president:

To be silent when we see danger,

*To refrain from attacking policies which we see to be contrary to the interests of justice and
peace,*

To do these things would be to surrender our freedom and peace,

That we shall never do.

We intellectuals who have signed this statement will not be silent while we openly see the aim and objective of the Apartheid state of Israel committing genocide against Palestinians. Israel plans to kill and chase away all Palestinians so that it can extend its borders and swallow the remaining Palestinian land. In this mission Israel receives moral, military and imperialist support from United States of America and its allies: United Kingdom and France.

As we condemn the cruelty of Israel and its allies, we are calling on the Government of Tanzania to take a firm standing through breaking of all relations with the Zionist Israel.

Lastly, we are calling upon our countrymen and women of Tanzania not to be bystanders. Tanzanians should come out by any means to openly show our solidarity with the Palestinians as South Africans did.

* 89 signatories

21st October 2023

¹ Translated by Diana Kamara.

MSHIKAMANO NA PALESTINA

TAMKO LA WANAZUONI WA KITANZANIA WANAJOALI HAKI NA UTU WA BINADAMU POPOTE PALE ALIPO

Sisi, wanazuoni wa Kitanzania tunaajali haki na amani, tumeguswa sana na ukatili unaoendelea katika eneo la Gaza nchini Palestina. Hatuwezi kufunga midomo yetu wakati tunaona na kushuhudia ukatili, mateso na mauaji ya watoto, wanawake na watu wa Gaza yanayoendeshwa na Israel. Dhuluma ya kiasi hicho haivumiliki. Mwalimu Nyerere alituasa katika hotuba yake ya mwisho aliyoitoa kwenye Baraza Kuu la Umoja wa Mataifa kabla hajang'atuka:

*To be silent, when we see danger;
To refrain from attacking policies which we see to be contrary to the interests of peace
and justice,
To do these things would be to surrender our freedom and our dignity;
That we shall never do.*

*(Kukaa kimya, tunapoona hatari,
Kujizuia kupambana na sera tunazoon kuwa kinyume na maslahi ya amani na
haki,
Kufanya mambo haya kutakuwa ni kusalimisha uhuru wetu na utu wetu;
Hilo hatutalifanya kamwe.)*

Sisi wanazuoni tuliosaini tamko hili hatutakaa kimya wakati tunaona waziwazi nia na lengo la nchi ya kikaburu ya Israel ikitenda tendo la mauaji ya kimbari dhidi ya Wapalestina. Israel inataka kuua na kufukuza Wapalestina wote ili itanue mipaka yake na kuyameza maeneo yote yaliyobakia ya Wapalestina. Katika tendo hili, wanaungwa mkono kwa hali na silaha na ubeberu unaoongozwa na Marekani na washirika wake, Uingereza na Ufaransa.

Pamoja na kulaani ukatili wa Israel na washirika wake, tunatoa wito kwa Serikali yetu kusimama kidete na kuchukua msimamo thabiti wa kuvunja mahusiano yote na mamlaka katili ya Uzeyuni wa Israel.

Mwisho, tunatoa wito kwa Watanzania wenzetu kutokukaa kimya. Wajitokeze kwa njia zozote zinazofaa na kuonyesha wazi wazi mshikamano wetu na Wapalestina kama wanavyofanya Waafrika wenzetu huko Afrika Kusini.

JINA

1. Prof Issa Shivji
2. Dr Ng’wanza Kamata
3. Sabatho Nyamsenda
4. Kasori, S.H.
5. Richard S. Mabala
6. Demere D. Kitunga
7. Abdulla M. Othman
8. Amil Shivji
9. Ian Bryceson
10. Bernard Baha
11. Sheikh Ponda Issa Ponda
12. Stephen A. Ruvuga
13. Gibson E. Mdakama
14. Hamad Rashid
15. Agness Bweye
16. Idrisa Kweweta
17. Natasha Shivji
18. Bubelwa E. Kaiza
19. Theodora Pius
20. Muhemsi Mwakihwelo
21. Malaika Haji
22. Christina Mfanga
23. Richard Hanga
24. Prof Saida Yahya-Othman
25. Lina Andrew

WADHIFA/TAASISI

Profesa Stahiki wa Sheria (UDSM)
Mhadhiri Mwandamizi (UDSM)
Mhadhiri Msaidizi (UDSM)
Katibu Mstaafu wa Mwisho wa Mwl
J.K. Nyerere
Mwandishi na Mhadhiri Mstaafu
Mfeminia
Mwenyekiti (Tanzania Palestine
Solidarity Organisation)
Mkurugenzi (Zanzibar International
Film Festival – ZIFF)
Profesa Stahiki wa Viumbe vya
Bahari (NMBU)
Mwanaharakati wa Haki za Ardhi
Tanzania
Katibu Mkuu (Shura ya Maimamu
Tanzania)
Mkurugenzi Mtendaji (Mtandao wa
Vikundi vya Wakulima Tanzania –
MVIWATA)
Mwanachama (Jukwaa la Wajamaa
Tanzania – JULAWATA)
Mwanahabari (MVIWATA FM)
Mwanachama (JULAWATA)
Katibu wa Sera na Utafiti (ACT–
Wazalendo)
Mhadhiri (University of Cape Town)
Mwenyekiti Mtendaji (Tanzania
Transparency Forum – TRAFO)
Mkuu wa Programu (MVIWATA)
Mwanachama (Rastafari United
Front – RUF)
Mratibu (MVIWATA Ruvuma)
Mwenyekiti (Umoja wa Wanawake
Wavujajasho wa Manzese –
UWAWAMA)
Mwanachama (MVIWATA)
Profesa Mstaafu (UDSM)
Mratibu (La Via Campesina – Kusini)

26. Nicholas Macha	na Mashariki mwa Afrika)
27. Prof Chris Maina Peter	Afisa TEHAMA (MVIWATA)
28. Emmanuel Mvula	Profesa Stahiki wa Sheria (UDSM)
29. Fulko Nduguru	Wakili wa Kujitegemea
30. Joseph Chiombola	Afisa Ugani (MVIWATA Dodoma)
	Afisa Programu Mwandamizi
	(HAKIARDHI)
31. Prof Mohammed Bakari	Profesa Mshiriki (UDSM)
32. Dr Wilbert Kapinga	Wakili Mwandamizi (Bowmans
	Tanzania Ltd)
33. Tahir H. Othman	Mwanachama (Umoja wa Waliosoma
	Cuba)
34. Prof Karim F. Hirji	Profesa Mstaafu (MUHAS)
35. Avith Albert	Afisa Ugani (MVIWATA Dodoma)
36. Nizar K. Visram	Mhadhiri Mwandamizi Mstaafu
	(IFM)
37. Prof Chambi Chachage	Mwanazuoni
38. Deus V. Rweyemamu	Afisa Mtendaji Mkuu (Centre for
	Strategic Litigation)
39. Othman N. Kilo	Mwanachama (MVIWATA)
40. Sylvester Yatuba	Mwanachama (MVIWATA)
41. Victor Kamugasha	Mwanachama (MVIWATA)
42. Veronica Sophu	Mwenyekiti Mstaafu (MVIWATA)
43. Ida Hadjivayanis	Mhadhiri Mwandamizi (SOAS
	University of London)
44. Capt Ibrahim M. Bendera	Wakili wa Kujitegemea
45. Francis J. Mgaragu	Mwanachama (MVIWATA)
46. Dioniz G. Kuzenza	Mwanachama (MVIWATA)
47. Ramesh Chauhan	Mkemia Mstaafu
48. Daniel W. Abdalla	Mwanachama (MVIWATA)
49. Inessa Hadjivayanis	Mwanafunzi wa Uzamivu na Mshauri
	wa Sheria (SOAS)
50. Dr Ringo Tenga	Mhadhiri Mstaafu (UDSM)
51. Goerge Hadjivayanis	Profesa Mstaafu
52. Malkiadi Mayenga	Mratibu (MVIWATA Tawi la
	Manyara)
53. Salha Hamdani	Mtafiti
54. Mustafa A. Mmeto	Mwanachama (MVIWATA)
55. Mendrad S. Nziku	Mwanachama (MVIWATA)
56. Edmund Tarimo	Afisa Ugani (MVIWATA Dodoma)
57. Nassoro Kitunda	Mhadhiri Msaidizi (UDSM)

58. Prof F.E.M.K Senkoro	Profesa Mstaafu (UDSM)
59. Prof Kulikoyela K. Kahigi	Mbunge Mstaafu (Jimbo la Bukombe)
60. Prof Mugyabuso M. Mulokozi	Profesa Mstaafu (UDSM)
61. Prof Theresa Kaijage	Profesa Mstaafu
62. Walter Bgoya	Mchapishaji (Mkuki na Nyota Publishers)
63. Dr Azaveli Lwaitama	Mhadhiri Mwandamizi Mstaafu (UDSM)
64. Richard Nevava	Wakili wa Kujitegemea
65. Dr Abunuwasi Mwami	Mhadhiri Mwandamizi (SAUT)
66. Riziki S. Mngwali	Mhadhiri Mstaafu, Chuo cha Diplomasia
67. Mtatura A. Mtatura	Mhitimu (CBE)
68. Mohamed Yateri	Afisa Ugani (MVIWATA Dodoma)
69. Aizeck Ndwanga	Afisa Ugani (MVIWATA Dodoma)
70. Norbeth Mwalongo	Mratibu (MVIWATA Njombe)
71. Fatma Mwishehe	Afisa Ugani (MVIWATA Tawi la Manyara)
72. Michael Mbago	Mwanachama (MVIWATA)
73. Leonard Kashatila	Mwanachama (MVIWATA)
74. Bakari S. Omar	Mwanachama (MVIWATA)
75. Mariamu Wakuganda	Mwanachama (MVIWATA)
76. Prisca J. Nanga	Mwanachama (MVIWATA)
77. Glory Mrosso	Afisa Ugani (MVIWATA Dodoma)
78. Shabani Msinde	Mfanyakazi (MVIWATA)
79. Sirasi P. Nanga	Mwanachama (MVIWATA)
80. Prof Abul Sheriff	Profesa Mstaafu wa Historia (UDSM)
81. Aeshi H. Mashaka	Mwanafunzi (UDSM)
82. Prof Amina Mama	Profesa (University of California, Davis)
83. Ahmed Rajab	Mwanahabari
84. Mary Ndaro	Mfeminia
85. Zitto Kabwe	Mwanasiasa
86. Prof Ikaweba Bunting	Kaimu Katibu Mkuu (Global Pan African Movement)

FORGIVE ME MY CHILD

*Tears have dried up
Feelings are frozen
I don't know what to do
I don't know where to complain.
Humanity has evaporated
Dignity has been buried
Brutality has taken over
Imperialism-Zionism has gone mad.
Forgive me my child of Palestine
I'm unable to say
Inna Lillahi... ..*

By Issa Shivji

*Nov 12, 2023
Dar Es Salam*

