



# The Written Resistance

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## Letter from the Editors

Dear Readers,

Welcome to the first issue of The Written Resistance. We are very excited to embark on this journey of academic exploration and artistic dialogue, resurrecting an initiative last pursued by National Students for Justice in Palestine in 2017. Our mission is clear: to highlight student perspectives on an accessible platform, to foster healthy discussions and debates within our chapters, and to promote ideological unity throughout the student movement.

We firmly believe that left unity only emerges through open, respectful exchange, and that the success of our collective strategy will depend on transparency and shared knowledge. This newsletter will serve as a sanctuary for the diverse perspectives of SJP students and Palestinian youth across Turtle Island and beyond, promoting mutual understanding as we take steps to unify the student movement for Palestinian liberation.

The Written Resistance is not just a newsletter; it's an outlet that encourages us all to challenge our own beliefs, engage with different ideologies, and forge a path toward collective growth. We will set a precedent for intra-movement discourse, acknowledging that principled disagreement can lead us to more powerful solutions. Together, we will champion unity through intellectual camaraderie. Our healthy differences can be the foundation for a more resilient, focused movement.

Our board will not censor authors' opinions or views to foster internal debate and encourage principled struggle. As a component of a more significant mass movement, our network encompasses individuals with various backgrounds, identities, and beliefs. We believe this variety is an asset to our work, not a detriment. Readers, we encourage you to take this opportunity to engage thoughtfully with content that has the potential to challenge your preconceptions and beliefs. We also ask that you take care to differentiate between the personal opinions being expressed and organizational stances.

We would like to extend our gratitude to all the passionate students who have shared their writing and insights for our inaugural issue. As you delve into these thought-provoking articles, essays, and opinions, remember that these words are the seeds of a greater conversation. We invite you all to cultivate these ideas within your chapters and communities, and as always, consider contributing your thoughts and ideas to future issues!

Thank you for embarking on this journey with us; we look forward to witnessing the growth of the movement alongside you all.

In solidarity,

Editorial Board - المقاومة المكتوبة  
National Students for Justice in Palestine

## Different Struggles, One Path

Anonymous — College of William & Mary

Our generation is currently standing at the crossroads of change for many political struggles. National and international political and social standards are being challenged and changed to fit our generation's vision for the future. With so much change and momentum, it has become relatively easy to hyperfocus on a single issue as one sees the fruits of their labor bloom. As tempting as that may

be, we cannot forget that cross-struggle solidarity is how we got to this point in time and will continue to be the critical factor in determining whether our struggles will continue to be seen and addressed.

During my time in college, it has become abundantly clear to me that some progressive members of society in America have become blinded by internal struggles and have cast aside the struggles of those in the rest of the world. This aversion is unacceptable, and we must be willing to challenge it continuously. If one only cares for a people within a manufactured border and fails to look beyond, they fail to possess a key characteristic and tool of a successful revolutionary. If one's cause can accept the struggle and torture of others, then it is not genuinely progressive.

To highlight this point, we can look to the national stage in which democrats and liberals will give lip service to many progressive causes but gladly continue to support unconditional aid to Israel or continue supporting the unconstitutional banning of BDS movements within their states, ignoring the glaring infringement on Americans' first amendment right. Our peers who will eventually take up the mantle of the cause must see the error in this course of action. If we proceed down this path, the United States will almost certainly spiral into a new McCarthyist red scare; if one struggle is silenced, right-wing forces will be encouraged to continue suppressing others.

Additionally, it is essential for progressive causes not to shy away from standing up for all forms of resistance. Palestinians have the right to resist Israeli occupation and, under international law, cannot be criticized for doing so. People quickly forget that the occupation forces are equipped with the highest-grade equipment and weaponry while Palestinians make do with what little they have. Watching progressive causes discredit the right to resist is absurd,



especially considering Palestine's lack of international support.

Furthermore, for my fellow Arabs, we must stand up against corrupt Arab governments and institutions willing to sell out their people and Palestine simply to hold onto power. Our causes are undoubtedly linked as many of these reactionary regimes have been upheld by those who wish to perpetuate suffering in the Arab world to exploit the region's resources and labor force. Only through the spread of true democracy—untainted by foreign influence—can our region finally prosper. The Arab people know best what is needed and must be willing to struggle to rid themselves of these regressive regimes.

As Nelson Mandela said, “We know too well that our freedom is incomplete without the freedom of the Palestinians.” I call upon the revolutionary and progressive peoples of the world to continue to support the just cause of Palestinian liberation, for we all walk the same path in our fights against all forms of injustice and subjugation. Without the mutual support of all our struggles, we are all bound to fail. I'll end with a quote from the Prophet Muhammed ﷺ: *“The parable of the believers in their affection, mercy, and compassion for each other is that of a body. When any limb aches, the whole body reacts with sleeplessness and fever.”*

On History

Noor Rabudi — University of Texas at Dallas

History is the accumulation of the lives of humanity; for the oppressed, it is of the utmost importance to unlearn, re-learn, and reclaim history. As Paulo Freire puts it, history is intentionally taught monotonously using “the banking model of education,” where the student becomes a passive receptacle to “fill” with information. Education in the capitalist system grooms students to be submissive workers who accept their exploitation without complaint, a process converse to genuine education. To truly educate is to transform, to grant the oppressed the means of liberation, and to allow us all to transcend the categories enforced by our oppressors and reclaim our humanity.

When applied to history, this banking model of education merely encourages rote memorization rather than the analytical processes needed to counter oppressive narratives. For the oppressed to learn their own history from their oppressors, all the while being told they are subhuman, is a crime. True history is intentionally hidden by historians, who claim that the colonized never existed before they were “elevated” to civilization by their conquerors. These are the same historians who, to this day, call colonized peoples illiterate, savage, and uncivilized. Yet through unity, the

oppressed can combat the legitimization of their oppression.

Everything depends on the masses. As student organizers, we must remember this core truth every step of the way. When Zionists claim “Palestinians never existed,” we must have the people objecting, not just officers, organizers, or political leaders but the masses. As organizers, we have all seen the insecurity within the movement, misplaced individualistic belief in the electoral process, and devotion to corrupt politicians. These politicians continue to tell the masses that protesting or advocating against imperialism accomplishes nothing, that they need to trust the system, and that they must come to the polls and vote. We must push back against this ridiculous charade and assert not only the intelligence of the masses but also our political power and responsibility.

As Frantz Fanon said, our responsibility to political education is not merely to make political speeches but “relentlessly and passionately, to teach the masses that everything depends on them.” The history taught to the oppressed is designed to dehumanize, demoralize, and convince us of our supposed powerlessness. However, the masses may realize their enormous capacity to create change through political education and the reclamation of history. We must resolve that no matter how hard the colonizers and their historians push their lies and encourage us to accept subjugation, the masses will bring forth their own liberation.



A Palestinian Child, by Any Other Name, is Still a Child — Saja Saleh

Say "No" to IHRA

Anonymous — UNC Chapel Hill

One day this past April, I woke up to a message notifying me that the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill's student

government would be voting to adopt the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance's definition of antisemitism that very night. This message shocked and concerned me, being both a Jewish student and an active member of Students for Justice in Palestine. While the concept behind IHRA's "definition" of antisemitism sounds harmless enough, in reality, it is a tool to shut down opposition to Zionism by defining anti-Zionism to be *prima facie* bigoted and off-limits, thus stifling the ability of students, academics, and concerned citizens to speak out against Israeli crimes against the Palestinian people no matter what the truth is.

The International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance is not a high-profile organization. It is an international body comprising 35 member nations and ten observers. Among these members are multiple countries that engage in state-sanctioned Holocaust revisionism and countries like Belgium, which still refuse to apologize for their genocidal legacies in Africa. So as you can imagine, they are very sincerely committed to the prevention of antisemitism and addressing the crimes of genocide.

In 2016, IHRA released a “working definition of antisemitism,” the one our student government tried to adopt and which has been the subject of many successful and failed attempts to enshrine in various governments and institutions around the world.<sup>1</sup> The definition includes a list of eleven examples of alleged antisemitism, seven of which are related to Israel. Some of these are reasonable, “Accusing...Israel as a state, of inventing or exaggerating the Holocaust,” for example. But others are not. Another item is “Denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination, e.g., by claiming that the existence of a State of Israel is a racist endeavor.” The second clause clarifies that “self-determination” means for the State of Israel, a state that only exists through the continued denial of Palestinian self-determination on their lands. Israel was created in 1948 to have an artificial Jewish majority, accomplished through the ethnic cleansing of over 750,000 Palestinians. It is absurd, even under liberal standards of freedom of expression, to say that it is on par with Holocaust denial to hold the opinion that Israel was founded through racism. In fact, the idea of a state “for” a particular ethnic group is racist because it entails privileging one group over another. Therefore there can be no Jewish state, or any ethnostate for that matter, that is not fundamentally racist.

Of course, some proponents of the IHRA definition would say that acknowledging the ethnic cleansing of Palestinians—known as Al Nakba, Arabic for the catastrophe—is okay. These proponents would advocate that the real problem is saying the concept of a Jewish homeland is inherently racist.



But Israel was always meant to be created in the land of Palestine, to be defined as a “Jewish state” with a primarily Jewish population. Jews made up less than 1/3 of the residents of Palestine in 1947, so its founding necessitated policies that would discriminate against non-Jews.<sup>2</sup> Even ignoring statements by both left- and right-wing Zionist leaders like David Ben-Gurion and Ze’ev Jabotinsky that Palestinians would need to be expelled, ignoring the plans of Zionist militias to violate the UN partition plan and conquer all of Palestine, ignoring the massacres of Palestinians committed before the British Mandate officially ended, the very idea of Israel is racist through and through.

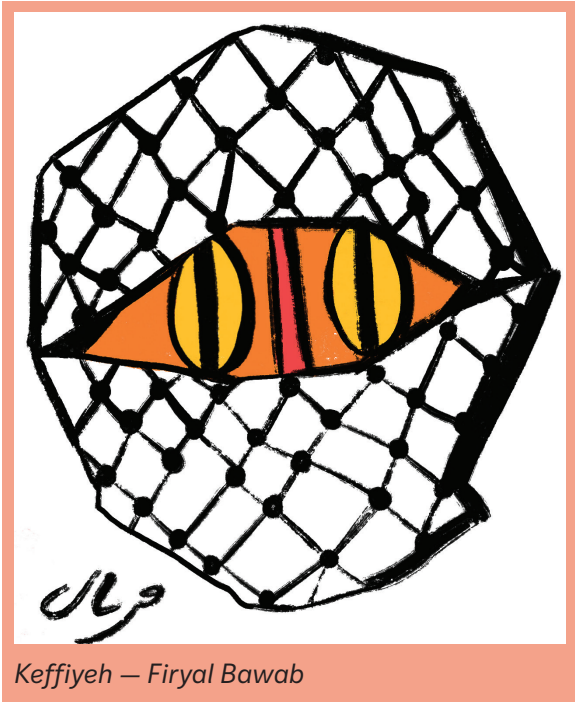
Another item in the IHRA definition is “Drawing comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis.” It is a shame that our only point of comparison for atrocities is the Holocaust. But there is a clear parallel when Israel at times restricts the number of calories allowed into the Gaza Strip, just as the Nazis rationed calories per person in the Warsaw Ghetto.<sup>3</sup> Settler mobs committed what even an IDF commander called a pogrom<sup>4</sup> in the village of Huwara in the West Bank, with an Israeli government minister doubling down on this initial statement, insisting that Huwara should indeed be destroyed.<sup>5</sup> To claim to speak for the Jewish people while excusing the kind of pogrom our ancestors fled is disgusting.

IHRA proponents want to manipulate the severe problem of antisemitism to restrict free speech and academic freedom at a university already under fire for hiring discrimination against faculty with “unpopular” viewpoints. This brings me to IHRA’s final example of antisemitism: “Holding Jews collectively responsible for actions of the state of Israel”. I agree with this in theory, but IHRA proponents want to have their cake and eat it too. They say it is antisemitic to claim that Jews are responsible for the actions of the State of Israel. Then again, they also say that the Zionist state collectively represents the Jewish people and our right to self-determination. By its own definition, the IHRA working definition of antisemitism is antisemitic.

You may wonder what happened with the UNC student government’s sneaky attempt to adopt the IHRA definition. After discovering this motion, a coalition including UNC SJP, the Muslim Student Association, and other student groups rapidly coordinated a testimony to be presented at the student government meeting. The student senator introducing the resolution heard about this effort and withdrew the resolution for the remainder of the school year that afternoon. This attempt reminded us that our opposition, the Zionists, are not nearly as powerful as they want to appear. Their obsession with utilizing procedural

maneuvers to shut down activism on and off campus is a sign that they are losing, and they know it.

<sup>1</sup> IHRA. (2016, May 26). *What is Antisemitism?*. International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance.  
<sup>2</sup> JVL. (2023, April 25). *Jewish & Non-Jewish Population of Israel/Palestine*. Jewish Virtual Library.  
<sup>3</sup> Sanders, E. (2012, October 17). *Papers Show Israel Counted Calories to Limit Food to Gaza During Blockade*. The Seattle Times.  
<sup>4</sup> Mezzofiore, G., Alkhalidi, C., Salman, A., & Elbagir, N. (2023, June 15). *Israel’s military called the settler attack on this Palestinian town a “pogrom.” Videos show soldiers did little to stop it*. CNN.  
<sup>5</sup> Goldman, P., & Khan, A. J. (2023, March 1). *Israel should “Erase” Palestinian village, minister says after settler rampage*. NBC News.



Keffiyeh — Firyal Bawab

## Columbia University Complicit in Denying Palestinian Students’ Right to Education, Mobility, and Free Expression

Zainab Khan — Columbia University

In 2019, Columbia’s School of General Studies launched a dual-degree program in partnership with Tel Aviv University in Israel. The exchange program allows Columbia students to study abroad in Israel and to graduate with two degrees—one from each university. While the exchange program was announced in December 2019, it didn’t launch until the fall of 2020. This past semester, Columbia University Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) and Columbia/Barnard Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP) began re-circulating a petition which calls for the “...suspension of this program until Israeli academic institutions end their complicity in ethno-nationalist practices and military occupation.”

By partnering with Tel Aviv University, Columbia has made it blatantly clear that its sense of academic integrity is non-existent. Columbia University has chosen to remain complicit in the ethnic cleansing and repression of Palestinians, escalating its

support by pursuing this exchange program. Dean Lisa Rosen-Metsch of the School of General Studies stated that this program will allow students to “...not only benefit from being immersed in a wide range of cultures and experiences but will also make an immense contribution to the Columbia undergraduate classroom.”

Considering the Zionist entity’s brutal, calculated, systematic disenfranchisement of Palestinians, it is impossible to fathom how this partnership could contribute to the Columbia community in any positive manner. Similar exchange programs between the United States and Israel have consistently been proven to import racist, anti-Black, and Islamophobic values, as outlined in the Deadly Exchange report published by Jewish Voice for Peace. Numerous organizations such as Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, and B’tselem have upheld that Israel is an apartheid state.

The systematic dispossession of Palestinian land and discriminatory laws implemented by Israeli authorities have been well-documented, yet the lack of response from governments and international bodies has emboldened other authoritarian states to carry out similar human rights violations without restraint. In his book *Hostile Homelands*, Azad Essa describes how India has strategically deepened its occupation of Kashmir with impunity. Following the Zionist state’s lead, India has carried out extrajudicial killings, arbitrary detentions, torture, surveillance, and home demolitions, as well as restricting the mobility of the occupied Kashmiri population.

The ongoing Black liberation and abolitionist movements encompass responses to similar state repression and global policing. These movements simultaneously emphasize the importance of cross-movement building and practicing solidarity. Oppression stemming from imperialism, colonialism, and capitalism is designed to allocate power, resources, and control to a small minority at the expense of the global majority. Just as we acknowledge the urgency of establishing international solidarity across our connected struggles, the governments and elite of imperial and colonial states acknowledge the benefit of working alongside those invested in maintaining these systems of oppression.

While governments and international bodies refuse to hold Israel accountable, corporations and

institutions across the world are intimately involved in perpetuating the colonization of Palestine. In response, Palestinian civil society has called for solidarity with the Palestinian struggle for freedom, justice, and equality from citizens worldwide. The Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions movement (BDS) upholds a simple principle: Palestinians are entitled to

the same rights as the rest of humanity. Borrowing tactics from the South African anti-apartheid movement, the call for BDS urges economic action to pressure Israel into complying with international law. BDS is now a vibrant global movement made up of unions, academic associations, places of worship, and grassroots movements across the world. Eighteen years after its launch, BDS has had a major impact in challenging international support for Israeli apartheid and settler colonialism. It is important to note that although the freedom to boycott is a constitutional right within the United States, many states have proposed or passed legislation to unconstitutionally criminalize the BDS movement.

As students and affiliates of Columbia University, we collectively hold a great deal of power, influence, and responsibility. Student activism on college campuses has historically been an influential and effective means of political and social change; the Atlanta Student Movement in the 1960s, for example, served as a driving force during the Civil Rights Movement, calling for an end to segregation and structural racism. The student protests against the Citizenship Amendment Act in India serve as another example. Passed in 2019, the CAA granted citizenship to six groups of persecuted minorities, explicitly excluding Muslims. This blatant religious discrimination sparked months of protests at Universities across India and internationally, many of which were violently suppressed by the Indian government.

By participating in this exchange program with Tel-Aviv University, the Columbia administration has made it clear that

it will disregard the call of BDS and continue to normalize relations with the Zionist entity. Columbia’s dual degree program shamefully ignores the existing international frameworks that condemn the Zionist entity and uphold the right of return for Palestinian refugees. This partnership cannot contribute positively to the Columbia University community, and will certainly import values rooted in the subjugation and ethnic cleansing of Palestinians. As University affiliates, we have a moral obligation to counter these normalizing efforts.

We must support and uplift efforts to Boycott, Divest from, and Sanction Israel. Today, this looks like signing onto the petition being circulated by Columbia University SJP, Columbia University JVP, and Barnard College JVP, raising awareness of the Palestinian struggle inside and outside of the classroom, and getting involved with the grassroots organizations actively mobilizing and advocating for Palestinian liberation.

### UCLA Must Stop Repressing Pro-Palestinian Counter-Narratives

Firyal Bawab — University of California, Los Angeles

Student tuition should not support Israel’s oppression of Palestinians. UCLA must divest from all weapons manufacturing immediately.

The University of California owns \$140 billion in assets that are managed by BlackRock, the world’s largest investor in weapons manufacturing. According to CodePink, the investment management

company indirectly supplies Israel with jets and missiles to perpetrate war crimes against the Palestinian poeple by investing in weapon manufacturing giants, including Boeing and Lockheed Martin. BlackRock fuels the war industry. UCLA profits from it.

Yet the UC doesn’t end its support of Israel at investment alone. In 2016, the UC Board of Regents attempted to denounce anti-Zionist discussion—a move to delegitimize any and all criticism of Israel. The following year, a group of ten UC Chancellors issued a joint statement condemning the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions movement (BDS) against Israel, a Palestinian-led campaign designed to financially pressure Israel to end the apartheid occupation. The UC Academic Council, the faculty-driven governing body of the Academic Senate that handles non-legislative matters, stated that the Regents and Chancellors violated existing shared governance processes by trying to establish an academic norm. This norm is pro-Zionism, pro-apartheid, and pro-settler colonialism.

On May 15, 2021, thousands of people across Turtle Island attended protests to mark the anniversary of Al Nakba, or “the catastrophe.” Students rallied to affirm their commitment to the Palestinian struggle for liberation. “We walked all the way across Wilshire,” said MM, a fourth-year economics and public affairs student who attended the protest in Los Angeles. “Everywhere you look, it’s Palestinian flags. I think some people said it was 20,000 people, and I believe that, if not more.”

In the face of overwhelming pro-Palestinian solidarity from the student body and faculty

## PALESTINIAN FEMINIST COLLECTIVE

The Palestinian Feminist Collective (PFC) is a body of Palestinian and Arab feminists primarily located on Turtle Island (the uncaded lands known as North America).

We are an intergenerational collective of activists, organizers, creators practitioners, thinkers, artists, scholars, healers, water and land protectors, life-givers, and life-sustainers.

We are committed to achieving Palestinian social and political liberation by confronting systemic gendered, sexual, and colonial violence, oppression, and dispossession.

PALESTINE IS A FEMINIST ISSUE







@palestinianfeministcollective



@palfeminist



Palestinian Feminist Collective

## OUR FEMINIST PRAXIS

Through an *anti-colonial* approach, we center the political urgency of the Palestinian struggle.

We resist the normalization of Zionist violence, oppression, and hegemony in all aspects of public and private life, including within feminist spaces.

We are inspired by and borrow from past and present Palestinian, Arab, Black, Indigenous, and Third World feminist movements, thought and practice.

We advance Palestinian feminism as a liberatory philosophy and practice necessary to create the world we want to live in.

[palestinianfeminsitcollective.org](http://palestinianfeminsitcollective.org)



alike, Chancellor Gene Block’s silence was violent. The University’s silence was so deafening that prominent UCLA faculty wrote an open letter condemning Block for ignoring violence committed against Palestinians. The Office of the Dean of Students did design a “letter of care” to Palestinian students, but the letter itself had little material value and was a weeks-late show of compassion made intentionally out of the public gaze.

These large expressions of solidarity are a welcome sight when Palestinian advocacy has been repressed for so long across the UC system. Take, for instance, the David Horowitz posters incident, in which flyers labeling students and faculty as terrorists and murderers were plastered across campus. Or, the wrongful smear campaign against guest lecturer Rabab Abdulhadi, whom UCLA later investigated for hate speech. The UC Academic Senate did determine that the professor who invited Abdulhadi was well within her right to do so, but the University has never apologized for its baseless accusations.

It’s not just the institution of UCLA that perpetuates anti-Palestinian ideology; it’s also our elected leaders. In 2018, the LA City Council unanimously voted to stop Students for Justice in Palestine’s National Conference from being held at UCLA. Thanks to the protection of the First Amendment, the conference proceeded, but organizers faced over-policing and immense legal backlash. SS, a member of UCLA’s Graduate Students for Justice in Palestine and a doctoral student in anthropology, said politicians condemned UCLA for hosting the conference: “[they were] relying on the same, Islamophobic, orientalist, anti-Palestinian, anti-Arab tropes [...] equating SJP with terrorist organizations, [saying] they should not be a part of the collegiate experience.”

In a Los Angeles Times op-ed, Block again unfairly antagonized SJP, which by extension threatened pro-Palestinian advocacy on campus. “I have fundamental disagreements with SJP, which has called for a boycott against and divestment in Israel, actions that stigmatize that nation,” Block wrote. “The attempt to ostracize Israeli thinkers, and to declare off-limits even discussion with Israeli academics runs contrary to the values of inclusion, debate, and discussion that are crucial to any university.”

The chancellor did not adhere to the principles of inclusivity when he violated the scope of his office by antagonizing SJP and condemning BDS. But inclusivity is crucial when the academic system forces Palestinians to sit down with their oppressors and argue repeatedly for their own basic human rights and liberation. “The general tactic is to build this web of acceptability of the repression,” said an

SJP board member who asked to remain anonymous for personal security. “If they can smear us and associate us with terrorism, with hate, with racism, with violence, with all of these aspects, it is suddenly okay—the repression we face in response to it.”

The UC may laud itself as a neutral body, but neutrality ignores the structural underpinnings of domination and portrays systematic violations as arbitrary. “Neutrality” sides with dominant narratives and with the status quo of imperialism; not with the oppressed.

### We Too, Have Learned the Intifada

*Anonymous - University of Texas at Dallas*

In 1986, a group of Kashmiris protested to support the Palestinian struggle in Srinagar, Indian-occupied Kashmir, marching and waving flags. Within the crowd were the future leaders of the Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF), Kashmir’s most prominent pro-independence anti-colonial party: Yasin Malik, Ashfaq Majeed Wani, Hamid Sheikh, and Javid Mir.

Kashmiri revolutionaries have always found inspiration in the anti-colonial liberation movements of North Africa, Vietnam, and Palestine, starting with the ideological founder of the modern Kashmiri struggle for national liberation and co-founder of the JKLF, Maqbool Bhat, also known as Baba-e-Qoum or “Father of the Nation.” The JKLF has maintained a consistent stance on Palestinian liberation, and the Kashmiri masses have always expressed solidarity with and love for Palestine.

During protests against the brutal occupation forces, Kashmiris have wrapped scarves around their heads in the style of the iconic Palestinian keffiyeh. Kashmiri academics combatting Indian colonial narratives have borrowed significantly from the works of Edward Said and Frantz Fanon, eagerly incorporating the wealth of post-colonial literature led by Palestinian scholars. Kashmiri feminists have learned from Palestinian feminists and laid siege to the colonial victimizations of Muslim women. We have watched the Palestinian liberation movement grow and expand, drawing parallels between fervent Zionist and Hindu nationalism or between the actions of Palestinian collaborators and the colonial collaborators of Kashmir. From Palestine, we have learned never to forgive or forget the occupation’s violence.

In Palestine, Kashmiris find hope.

In Palestine, Kashmiris remember that the occupier is not invincible, that the guerilla warfare tactics of a marginalized people have laid waste to the Zionist settler project, and that Palestinians—with little international backing—manage to strike fear into the hearts of their occupiers.

We remember their weapons and their determination, the songs of their people, the strength of their youth and their revolutionaries, upright and steadfast in their beliefs. We remember that Palestinians never die, that the struggle never dies: Palestine is immortal. The Palestinians remind Kashmiris that the occupier is not a God but a human whose colonial machine can be torn apart.

Palestine shows us that the struggle is timeless, from the Palestinians who were forced out in 1948 to their descendants leading marches and protests in 2023, holding the keys of their great-grandparents as they remind the world of what they lost and what they will take back. Kashmiris will never forget the martyrs, the land, and the refugees of 1947, but we will take back every drop of blood, every life lost, and every bit of land swallowed up by the ravenous occupation.

As Zanaan Wanaan, a Kashmiri feminist organization, once sang:

*Israeli tarkeeb, chuv tohi aazmaanwaan  
Aes ti hyochmuth falestini intifaad*

*You have learned Israeli tactics,  
But we have learned Palestinian intifada*

Every empire falls; that is the nature of history. But to the destructive force of capitalism, the people of the world united will deliver the finishing blow. From Palestine to Kashmir, we will be free.

### Unifying the Student Movement: For Whom?

*Anonymous – University of Washington, Seattle*

The two years since the pivotal Sword of al-Quds battle<sup>1</sup> have seen a notable surge in resistance across occupied Palestine, particularly among the youth and students. Amidst heightened Zionist oppression, the "Nabulsi Generation"—named after martyr Ibrahim Al-Nabulsi—has orchestrated a comprehensive mobilization of Palestinian society against the occupation and its escalating offenses.<sup>2</sup> This mobilization encompasses tactics such as general strikes, the formation of resistance brigades like the Lion's Den, increased focus on the prisoners' movement, and the advancement of the student movement. This final element will be the focus of this article.

When advocating for the "unification of the student movement," we should ask ourselves: for whom and with whom are we unifying? As Palestinians, internationalists, and leftists residing in the United States, we are responsible for remaining connected and accountable to the Palestinian people's movements within occupied Palestine, liberated Gaza, and the region's refugee camps. Within this broader context, we must align with Palestine's already active combative student movement.



Student elections held within the Universities of occupied Palestine both reflect and enhance the people’s popular cradle.<sup>3</sup> The student movement is currently more united in its pro-resistance stance than it has been since the betrayal of the Oslo Accords.<sup>4</sup> In recent student government elections, popular organizations have secured majorities at Bethlehem University, An-Najah National University, and Birzeit University. At Birzeit University in Ramallah, the Islamic Bloc won a majority of the 2023 council seats despite student council members and supporters facing severe repression by the Palestinian Authority (PA). In June of this year, Islamic Bloc member Abdul Majeed Hassan was arrested and tortured by PA security forces just weeks after being democratically elected to lead the Birzeit student council. Both the IOF and PA routinely harass and arrest Birzeit student council members who publicly uphold their people’s struggle.<sup>5</sup>

In 2022, the student bloc upholding the political line of the revolutionary leftist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) claimed the majority of seats in the student council of Bethlehem University. However, organizations adhering to this political line and all other anti-Oslo factions forming the historical Rejectionist Front face sanctions from the U.S. State Department under the Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO) designation. These repressive measures prevent Palestinian communities and solidarity groups across Turtle Island from maintaining ties with the Palestinian popular struggle under the looming threat of incarceration and deportation.

A major reason for the success of these student organizations is their determined rejection of the Palestinian Authority, which they identify as a wing of the Zionist occupation. These students rightfully highlight the essential role that the PA and the Palestinian bourgeoisie play in policing and suppressing Palestinian society in deference to the United States empire and its puppet regimes.<sup>6</sup> The student movement has progressed past the concern that combating internal collaborators constitutes “airing dirty laundry,” instead positioning resolving these internal contradictions as necessary to strengthen the popular struggle.

So, what key political principles underpin the Palestinian student movement? These encompass the rejection of the PA, rejection of both micro- and macro-normalization with the occupation, recognition of armed struggle as an essential facet of Palestinian popular resistance, and advocacy for a unified front. All these political principles converge to cultivate a generation of Palestinian youth poised and willing to champion the Palestinian proletariat—the backbone of

the resistance. This demographic includes the unemployed and dispossessed in refugee camps, the agricultural laborers and smallholder farmers, and the exploited working class.

It is essential to resolve our internal contradictions to bridge the international student movement with its Palestinian counterpart. The student movement should not be oriented to train a new generation of employable academics or NGO staffers.<sup>7</sup> We must organize and mobilize a generation of young people and students to work in step with the mass movement in Palestine— young people willing to change themselves and make the sacrifices necessary to achieve Palestinian liberation and return.

In recent years, a notable struggle within the movement has been with the self-avowed BDS National Committee (BNC), the central coordinating body of the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions Movement. While the call to engage in international BDS campaigns predates their formation in 2005, the Ramallah-based BNC remains the most well-known campaign and resource hub. The BNC hosts essential materials and resources, but their greater strategy for liberation contradicts the principles of mass-movement building above. The BNC and its affiliate organizations prioritize relationship building with “liberal” Zionist actors—including American bourgeoisie politicians such as Elizabeth Warren and Ed Markey—over engaging with and consolidating the international forces struggling towards Palestinian liberation.<sup>8</sup>

Despite ostensibly including the Council of National and Islamic Forces—a loose coalition of the aforementioned Palestinian resistance parties and factions—within their umbrella, the BNC has repeatedly fought other organizations for sole ownership over the acronym “BDS” and even exclusive use of revolutionary artist Naji Al-Ali’s iconographic Handala. Most recently, BNC General Coordinator Mahmoud Nawajaa signed a letter condemning and isolating the Mapping Project, a US-based collective of pro-Palestine anti-imperialist organizers expanding a BDS campaign in Massachusetts. This letter compounded the state’s ongoing repression campaign against the MP’s organizers.

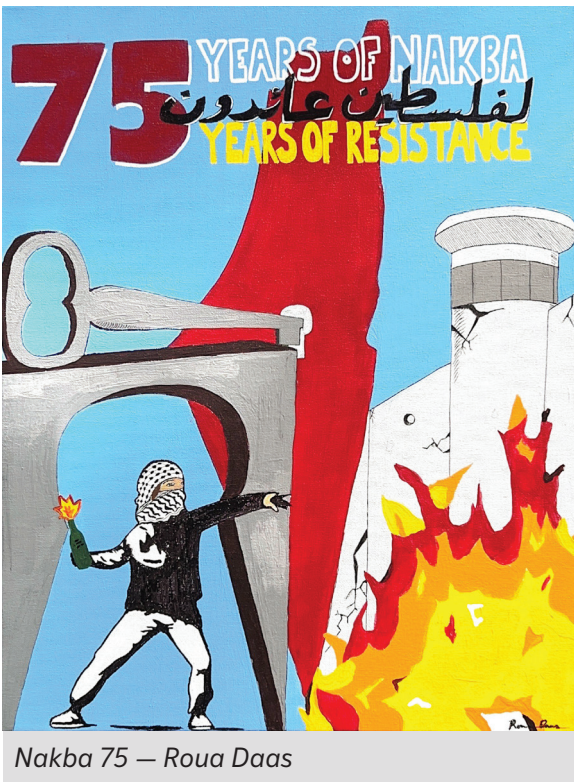
National Students for Justice in Palestine, the Palestinian Youth Movement, and several other diaspora mass organizations spoke out in defense of the Mapping Project.<sup>9</sup> They implicitly rebuked the BNC for claiming a “monopoly on movement tactics,” referencing similar cease-and-desist letters from the BNC sent to Within Our Lifetime, the Samidoun Prisoner Project, and other organizations over the last decade. While many of these actions were concealed from the public,

we must oppose the BNC’s pattern of behavior and address their relationships with organizations that isolate and smear principled comrades. Addressing these contradictions is necessary to build up true unity.

Our interventions against the imperialist and Zionist targets on our campuses and communities should be consolidated and directed to serve a mass anti-imperialist movement, complementing the parallel movement within Palestine. We must therefore question our relationships with organizations and individuals that have outright condemned or sidelined Palestinian popular organizations, the Palestinian resistance, and the loose alliance of regional anti-imperialist actors known commonly as the Axis of Resistance. These necessarily include organizations choosing to build unity with liberal imperialists rather than the Palestinian popular movement.

The pivotal question remains unanswered: with whom are we uniting, and for whom does our movement stand?

<sup>1</sup> Kawas, H. (2022). First Anniversary of Seif Al-Quds Battle.  
<sup>2</sup> Hosseini, H., Et Al. (2023). *New Equations in the Palestinian Struggle*. Rookery Press.  
<sup>3</sup> Abu-Jildeh. (2022). Udaï Tamimi, Lions’ Den and the Popular Cradle in Palestine.  
<sup>4</sup> Saleh, M. M. (2022). Political Analysis: The Implications of Hamas’s Victory in the Birzeit University Student Elections.  
<sup>5</sup> MEE Staff. (2023). West Bank: Hamas-Linked Bloc Wins Second Major Student Election.  
<sup>6</sup> Aji, M. (2011). The Palestine Papers, or How Everything You Thought You Knew About the Peace Process Was Wrong.  
<sup>7</sup> Al-Saleh, S. (2022). The Palestinian Left Will Not Be Hijacked – A Critique of *Palestine: A Socialist Introduction*.  
<sup>8</sup> Murad, N. L. (2022, June 21). *The Mapping Project is Not Antisemitic But it is Destructive Activism*. Mondoweiss.  
<sup>9</sup> Palestinian Youth Movement. (n.d.). *Reject Repression: Support The Mapping Project*.





# Rooted In Resistance

Jenine Samara — College of William & Mary

Sitting on the cold tiled floor with a large metal vat between her legs was my Teta, in the basement, kneading dough. Her hands were wrinkled and smelled faintly of olive oil, ornamented with a simple gold wedding band on her left hand. The gentle curves that decorated the ring matched the warm lines of age that showed on her face and fingertips.

Smells of cardamom and turmeric danced through the air while pots of rice hissed on the stovetop. My mother and aunts bustled about the kitchen and dining room table, hauling large salad bowls while my cousins looped in circles around them. The melody of chatter and laughter was accompanied by the subtle hums of the Quran and Al-Jazeera in the background. To some, the thought of so many sounds, smells, and people interacting would appear as a cacophony of sorts. To me, it was my refuge. I still vividly recall falling asleep to the urban white noise and waking up to sugary jasmine tea, warm bread, and salted cucumbers.

My heritage is made up of the memories made in the small Brooklyn basement I long for whenever I seek comfort. But it is also intrinsically made of people I've never met and a place I've yet to see. I long for the Palestine that my father recalls. One of life and rich culture, woven through cities like embroidery on a thobe. I also long to viscerally understand the grief accompanying his place in the diaspora.

When I left the familiarity of my childhood home in a Palestinian-American enclave, I was quickly made aware that my view was not a worldview. Enveloped within the walls of academia, the truths that emanated from my home in the form of endless political banter and rich heritage dissipated into facts, figures, and apathy that made my truth appear foreign. As I embarked on my studies, the word 'conflict' casually lounged in the course catalog listings, as if the struggle my father and grandparents endured was nothing but a tug-of-war. My eyes and ears desperately searched for the words "apartheid," "war crimes," "occupation," and "injustice," only to be left with the resounding chatter of "birthright" and "religious conflict." A guise of unbiased rhetoric covered anything that spoke to the struggle I knew.

The same pattern carried out as I settled into my new social circles, as I felt myself grow transparent in front of my peers. I sat there feeling defeated, my given name laden with the struggle and grief of my people, the name of a war-ravaged town unbeknownst to my counterparts as I heard the glamor of Tel-Aviv boasted about by

those who felt more deserving of it than me. The turning point came when someone quipped, "Israel and Palestine are the same thing depending on who you speak to." I knew then that I had to muster up eighteen years of everything I knew to break down these misconceptions and unfounded beliefs. When someone later came to me and told me that I humanized something that she previously held distant, I knew that I had power. The small light that my predecessors kindled could be leveraged

through my voice. My work is in its infancy, as is the work of all young Palestinian Americans. We cannot make the mistake of forging ahead as individuals. Instead, we must reach for the commonality that binds us and wield its force as the impetus to educate, change, and challenge the status quo, to level the playing field. Whenever someone replaces the phrase "Arab-Israeli conflict" with "Israeli apartheid," it is a small success. Small successes in unison become the powerful agents of change.

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## Unoccupied

Nouran Abusaad — University of Texas, Dallas

I write this for those who keep Palestine in their hearts,  
Fighting for it in all the world's parts,  
At the risk of being blacklisted,  
Rejected, abandoned, even arrested.

Someday,  
You'll walk the streets of Jerusalem's old city,  
Tripping on the hem of your clothes, you're in a hurry,  
The dome glittering from a distance,  
You'll enter Al-Aqsa with no questions, no soldiers at the gates, no resistance.

Someday,  
you'll lean against the wall, knafeh from Nablus in your hand,  
Mourn at the memorial of the martyrs from across this land,  
See the key at the square "1948 we will return,"  
A promise to be kept, apartheid overturned.

Someday,  
You'll pass Jenin Camp's iconic gate,  
Streets at peace, culture to embrace.  
In the Freedom Theatre, you'll watch a play,  
The stories of bravery, the epics they'll portray.

Someday,  
You'll jump off Akka's old city wall,  
An adrenaline high, water breaking your fall,  
Learn the truth of its magnificent history,  
Memories engraved in the walls of the city.

Someday,  
You'll collect seashells and rocks at the beach,  
Smells of jasmine and Yaffa oranges never far from reach,  
Visiting churches, mosques, and ports,  
A free coast to be seen from thrilling speed boats.

Someday,  
The road to Khalil will be free of military bases,  
Danger no longer found in the wrong color of your car's plate,  
Al-Ibrahimi Mosque no longer split in two,

New gates to enter from, renovations to restore it anew.

Someday,  
Bethlehem's city center will be a bus ride away,  
Your promise of visiting Al-Aqsa fulfilled today,  
And you'll paint both sides of a fallen apartheid wall,  
Families no longer separated by a distance so small.

Someday,  
You'll shake a friend's hand and ask "Where are you from?"  
And they'll say "Gaza, come see what it's become!"  
You'll eat mangoes and fish though certainly not together,  
Visit markets of pottery, carpet, and leather.

Someday,  
We'll raise our flag from a tower so high,  
Bright colors visible in all the skies.  
We'll speak the truth that Palestine is free,  
All the way from its rivers to the sea.



There are over 5,000 Palestinian prisoners held in Zionist jails. Let's organize together for their liberation.

Samidoun Palestinian Prisoner Solidarity Network has chapters in multiple cities in the United States, Canada, Europe, Iran, Brazil and occupied Palestine. We provide resources, documentation, flyers, stickers and more to help support organizing to free Palestinian students -- and all prisoners in Zionist, imperialist and reactionary regime prisons, on the front lines of the resistance. If you would like to organize an event, start a chapter or get involved -- contact us today!



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**Join us this October 19-22 in Toulouse, France as we march to FREE GEORGES ABDALLAH and ALL PALESTINIAN PRISONERS. We'll be meeting, planning and organizing for action - and we invite you to join us. Register today at [masarbadil.org](https://masarbadil.org), or organize an event in your local area!**

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Return & Exile

Layla Farhan - University of California, San Diego

Return

ibn Ibrahim,  
the fog clouding the image of your father's  
childhood  
is beginning to dissipate.

can you breathe the air he once did?  
can you breathe the air he once did;  
when irons didn't besiege his neck?

can you feel the ground he once walked?  
can you feel the ground he once walked;  
unrestrained by checkpoints and walls?


is his experience released from the confines of  
your subjectivity?  
can you see the life he once had?  
press play on the movie in your mind,  
that kept haunting your dreams—  
a lamentation  
of what could have been  
can finally be.

Exile

dear Ibrahim,  
if Death did not make your acquaintance within the walls of  
your village,  
He may as well have at its gates,  
for wandering roads to nowhere is  
an open ending  
that Death despises.


if, by chance, He hasn't caught up to you, spit in the face of  
Death.  
your body is proof of your existence  
and your kin can tell its stories.  
your eyes bear witness to your experience.  
they are vessels of upheaval capable of unearthing  
fabrications,  
justifications,  
capitulations.  
unlike the land that cradled you,  
even the most violent of occupiers cannot rob that from you.

dear Ibrahim,  
while you turn your back and clasp your hands,  
while you float in a sea of statelessness,  
towards a destination of unwelcomeness,  
let it not be your exile that suffocates you,  
but the oppressive hope of your return.



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# The Refugee Question

Maryam Shuaib

## Contextualization and Legal Inconsistencies

Facilitated by an ethno-nationalist ideology, the existence of a Jewish state relies on the consistent displacement of Palestinians, with Zionism serving as a shallow justification for extermination. Although Palestinian refugees align with the Refugee Convention’s definition of a refugee based on nationality, the Refugee Convention’s report does not extend to the Palestinian refugee crisis. Instead, the Convention indirectly singles out Palestinians in Article 1(D), which declares that the Convention “shall not apply to persons who are at present receiving from organs or agencies of the United Nations other than the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.”

Palestinians receive humanitarian aid from the United Nations Works and Relief Agency, which is not affiliated with the UNHCR. Therefore, the rights and definitions outlined in the Refugee Convention of 1951 do not extend to Palestinians. Although the Refugee Convention did generalize its contents to consider populations that expanded beyond the European states, many Arab states rejected the idea of Palestinians' inclusion in the Refugee Convention. Including Palestine would impose an obligation on Palestine’s neighboring states to provide for refugees, ultimately shifting the ethnic cleansing of Palestinians from a political dilemma to one of access to humanitarian support.<sup>1</sup>

The explicit exclusion of Palestinians from the mainstream definition of “refugee,” as described in the 1951 Refugee Convention, contributes to enshrining impressions of exile and displacement into the dichotomy of Palestinian identity, thus insinuating that the circumstances of the Palestinian refugee crisis should be managed rather than resolved.

## Palestinians and the United Nations Relief and Works Agency

Unlike other issues surrounding the global refugee crisis, the Palestinian refugee population is the only entity not receiving assistance from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Instead, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) is a separate agency that facilitates the provision of humanitarian aid to Palestinian refugees within Palestine, Lebanon, Jordan, and Syria. Founded in 1949 through Resolution 302 of the United Nations General Assembly, UNRWA’s existence relies on fulfilling the objective of alleviating “the conditions of starvation and distress amongst Palestinian refugees.”<sup>2</sup> Although UNRWA facilitates the distribution of humanitarian aid to Palestinians, its role in helping the current condition is surrounded by contention, as its lack of services outside of humanitarian assistance contributes to the expanding refugee issue. In contrast to the Refugee Convention of 1951, the UNRWA defines a Palestinian refugee as any person who “lost both home and means of livelihood as a result of the 1948 conflict.”

Although the circumstances of the Palestinian occupation coincide with the Refugee Convention’s definition, UNRWA’s definition dilutes the Palestinian struggle to one of inaccessibility, disregarding the ethnonationalist roots of the occupying power that facilitate the displacement of thousands of Palestinians each year. Furthermore, separating Palestinians from other refugee populations through establishing the United Nations Relief Works Agency eradicates any possibility of executing any long-term solution to the alarming number of Palestinian refugees, hence enshrining permanence in what was intended to be a temporary issue.

UNRWA is the only refugee agency in the world that strays away from the objective of resettling refugees, focusing instead on the temporary provision of resources, hence contributing to its narrow

definition of the term refugee.<sup>3</sup> By its metrics, the number of Palestinian refugees has grown exponentially despite the UNRWA being one of the larger U.N. agencies with a 1.2 billion dollar budget, thus spending more to do less while exacerbating an issue it was constructed to solve.<sup>4</sup> The simultaneous increase in Palestinian refugees and the UNRWA’s budget reveals the minimal efforts UNRWA utilizes to advance the long-term interests of refugees, thus prioritizing a bloated bureaucracy at the expense of Palestinian refugees, demonstrated by its oxymoronic political facets. The United States has been UNRWA’s largest donor since its inception in 1950, as it contributes about thirty percent (nearly \$365 million) of UNRWA’s total budget.<sup>5</sup>

Monetary aid from the United States has made UNRWA vulnerable to the political interests of U.S. administrations. Exposing Palestinians to the United States' political interests subjugates the occupation's critical nature. In 2018, for instance, the Trump administration ceased funding for UNRWA, plunging the organization into financial instability to push Palestinians to renew peace talks with Israel. Although UNRWA’s services do not extend past the provision of humanitarian aid, jeopardizing that aid is antithetical as it exacerbates pre-existing inequalities surrounding accessibility. Although the interest of political actors dominates the occupation itself, its repercussions are felt by vulnerable families who resort to forced migration as the only opportunity

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for safety from unpredictable conflict. Although Palestinians are categorized differently from other refugees, their situation is the same: migrants yearning for asylum. Unless Palestinians are given the same status as other refugees, disparities in protection will only continue to grow, putting off the solution to an imperative international issue.

<sup>1</sup> Goodyear, Micheal. (2019, June 20). *Excluded but Not Forgotten: The Refugee Convention, Palestine, and Mostafa Bey*. Palestine Chronicle.  
<sup>2</sup> UNRWA. (1949, December 8). *General Assembly Resolution 302*. UNRWA.  
<sup>3</sup> Sekulow, Jay. (2018, August 17). *UNRWA Has Changed the Definition of Refugee*. Foreign Policy.  
<sup>4</sup> UNRWA. (2008, n.d.). *Palestine Refugees*. UNRWA.  
<sup>5</sup> MEE Staff. (2023). West Bank: Hamas-Linked Bloc Wins Second Major Student Election.  
<sup>6</sup> Hatuqa, Dalia. (2021, February 10). *UNRWA Limps Forward after Years of Trump Administration Pressure*. Al Jazeera.

## The State of the US Empire and Our Role in the Student Movement

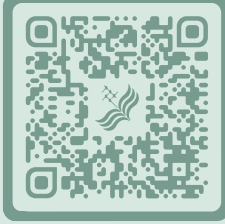
Anonymous - University of Houston

The revolutionary Palestinian writer and martyr Ghassan Kanfani correctly writes, "Imperialism has laid its body over the world, the head in Eastern Asia, the heart in the Middle East, its arteries reaching Africa and Latin America. Wherever you strike it, you damage it, and you serve the World Revolution."<sup>1</sup> Nearly fifty years later, Kanafani's sober reflections on the nature of Imperialism remain true. The Palestinian people have internalized this—despite attempts to suppress popular revolutionary forces by the Zionist entity and comprador Arab governments at the behest of US Imperialism,<sup>2</sup> Palestinians have consistently chosen resistance over negotiations and "diplomacy."

As the student movement working within occupied Turtle Island (the United States and Canada), we have a unique proximity to the core of global Imperialism. Given the re-emergence of right-wing populist movements in this country and across the globe, we must understand both the political and economic conditions that produce these currents, their relationship to imperialism and Zionism, and the unmistakable opportunity these currents present to further the struggle for Palestinian liberation.

To understand this moment's political foundation and subsequent opportunities, we must first reflect on the state of the American empire as a whole. American imperialism has found itself in an ever-deepening political and economic crisis. Across the global south, organized peoples' movements are growing sharper and more agitated. Importantly, these struggles for national liberation correctly identify American imperialism as one of the primary causes of their subjugation. In Niger, for example, the recent ousting of Mohamed Bazoum by military general Abdourahmane Tchiani represents a significant threat to French proxy-imperialism, which has violently maintained a monopoly over the country's uranium exports since their independence in 1960.<sup>3</sup> Following the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) threat of US-backed military intervention and sanctions against Niger,<sup>4</sup> the transitional governments of Burkina Faso and Mali issued a joint communique declaring that any foreign action taken against Niger would be considered a declaration of war against their countries.<sup>5</sup>

The American strategy in Niger is representative of the overall logic of imperialism. With domestic resources unable to support capitalism's need for continuous profit, the American bourgeoisie has leveraged state power to exploit the Global South—coopting labor forces, extracting natural resources, and establishing control over the political process to ensure the United States has unfettered access to manipulate and exploit global markets. When peoples and movements threaten this domination (referred to as hegemony), the United States employs state violence to crush resistance and maintain its status as a global superpower. In Palestine, this violence is manifested clearly through the billions



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of dollars given annually to subsidize Zionist colonization,<sup>6</sup> the maintenance of numerous military bases across the gulf and levant,<sup>7</sup> and the continuation of various regional proxy wars in the name of "protecting democracy." To protect the interests of the American elite, the United States claims the lives of millions of people. Yet from Palestine to Niger and beyond, the peoples of the global south are rising against American imperialism.

The right-wing establishment in this country is not only unable to atone for the severe war crimes this country continues to commit, but it is also unable to account for the impact of imperialism domestically. In service of expanding profits, millions of workers have been forced from their industries, sending families into deeper poverty and stripping unions of their membership and political power. Additionally, the mutual connection between the military-industrial complex and the police-industrial complex means military offenses carried out abroad directly escalate policing, surveillance, and violence domestically, always against primarily Black, brown, and Indigenous communities.<sup>8</sup> Incapable of serving the interests of the people, the American Right directs its energy towards fear-mongering, blaming racialized and minority communities for the issues that plague the US settler colony. Within this context, the rise of right-wing populism becomes easier to understand.

The Zionist entity functions as a watchdog for American imperialism in the Arab world; its interests are innately connected to the interests of the US. Our struggle against Zionism, therefore, represents two powerful fronts against US imperialism. On the one hand, by targeting institutional and financial support for the Zionist entity, we may weaken the political and military apparatus that has entrenched US domination of resources and labor in the region. Success in this regard would prevent the Zionist entity from continuing its expansionist colonialism, shifting material conditions in favor of the Palestinian revolution. On the other hand, our movement bolsters the forces agitating against the primary contradiction: capitalist imperialism. The core tenets of our struggle provide a tangible answer to why people, domestically and internationally, are suffering, challenging the basis of right-wing fearmongering and helping build a more informed and unified global struggle against neocolonialism and imperialism.

Though this political moment is precarious, we must remember that the rise of domestic right-wing populism directly results from the weakening of US imperialism abroad. As we work to unite the diaspora student movement for Palestinian liberation, our immediate task is to address the primacy of US imperialism in continuing the colonization of our people, and vigilantly struggle against it.

<sup>1</sup> Kanafani, G. (1972). *The 1936-39 revolt in Palestine*. Committee for Democratic Palestine.  
<sup>2</sup> Al Jazeera. (2023, March 20). *Jordan Hosts Israel-Palestine Talks as Violence Escalates*. Israel-Palestine conflict News | Al Jazeera.  
<sup>3</sup> Breda, E. F. (2023, August 17). *How Important is Niger's Uranium for France?* Forbes.  
<sup>4</sup> Taylor, A. (2023, August 22). *Why a Bloc of West African Countries is Threatening to Invade Niger*. The Washington Post.  
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<sup>7</sup> The Associated Press. (2023, June 29). *A Look at Foreign Military Bases Across the ersian Gulf*. AP News.  
<sup>8</sup> Petersen-Smith, K. (2021, August 27). *How U.S. Wars Abroad are Intimately Tied to Police Brutality at Home*. YES! Magazine.



