



STUDY THE PAST, FORGE THE FUTURE

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Letter from the Editors

"Settle your quarrels, come together, understand the reality of our situation, understand that fascism is already here, that people are already dying who could be saved, that generations more will live poor butchered half-lives if you fail to act. Do what must be done, discover your humanity and your love in revolution."

—George L. Jackson

Dear Readers,

By the time you read this letter, we will be only a few days away from the greatest spectacle the capitalist-imperialist system has to offer: the US presidential election. Already, the ruling class is using every tactic to divert the attention of the American people away from genocide—more than one year of incomprehensible suffering and death—and towards the mass-televised, culturally meme-ified installation of their next Tool-in-Chief. The American people are no strangers to this cognitive dissonance; in fact, they thrive in it. Yet nothing, *nothing*, will cleanse the rivers of Palestinian and Arab blood that soaks the hands of every official of the US Government, every politician, every finance capitalist, and every American who has stood by and watched the slaughter unfold. As every colonized and oppressed people know well, the suffering of the Palestinian people is no mistake but a necessity for US imperial interests in the region.

It is inarguable that the ruling class expresses their interests through bourgeois democracy regardless of which political party holds "power." However, we recognize that only one party has enabled, orchestrated, and overseen the murder of over two hundred thousand Palestinians in the span of thirteen months. Only one party has repeatedly shielded the Zionist entity from international intervention, approved \$20 billion in arms sales to continue the slaughter, assisted the Zionist entity in targeting Lebanon, Syria, Yemen, and Iran, and laughed about it. Make no mistake, the hands of the Democratic party are redder than most. Despite the liberal hand-wringing and sloganeering, despite the illusions of the two-party system, we know that fascism is already here.

The theme of this issue is centered on drawing strength and knowledge from our predecessors, histories that remind us that resilience and unity have triumphed over even the most brutal imperialist aggression. In 1976, 1982, and 2006, the Lebanese people endured civil war, invasion, and occupation, repeatedly repelling US and Zionist forces despite the extreme damage and loss they suffered. Similarly, the Vietnamese people's twenty-year struggle against the relentless might of US imperialism offers us a powerful lesson: the unyielding determination of oppressed peoples can dismantle empires and reclaim sovereignty, no matter how insurmountable the odds may appear.

We must not despair, we must not relent, and we must not be distracted from our goals. The Palestinian people, too, will claim victory, within our lifetime.

Long live the honorable struggle of the Palestinian people. Glory to our martyrs.

Until liberation,

Editorial Board - المقاومة المكتوبة
National Students for Justice in Palestine

History as a Time Machine

Mark Kleiman - SDS (1968)

When I was growing up in the Movement, we were all convinced the FBI was spying on us. Everybody talked about it. Nobody did anything about it, at least until 1971 when a small group of radicals just a five-minute drive from Swarthmore College broke into an FBI field office and stole over a thousand documents. Copying them and mailing the copies to journalists, the group kicked off what became an ongoing investigation into the FBI's program to disrupt and dismantle the New Left, socialist and communist organizations, and notably the rising Black Liberation Movement. The FBI called it their counter-intelligence program, COINTELPRO; the program was so important that even in sleepy Media, Pennsylvania, where only two FBI agents were stationed, over forty percent of the documents outlined how they targeted us.

The Black Panther Party launched in Oakland, California in 1966. After Martin Luther King Jr.'s assassination in 1968, the FBI zeroed in on the rapidly growing Panthers. FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover was obsessed with preventing the rise of what he called "the next Black Messiah," and COINTELPRO's overt goal was to "expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize" the activities of Black radicals. Between COINTELPRO's 1969 launch and the mid-1970s, the FBI and the local police murdered at least twenty-eight Panthers and imprisoned over 750 others, many of them occupying leadership positions in the organization and the community.

The FBI knew all about SDS (Students for a Democratic Society), but this was the absolute heyday of white privilege. While we were not treated well, our experience was nothing like that of our sisters and brothers in the Panther Party. It came as

no surprise that the state began to strip away the white privilege we held, but only for those who directly allied with the Black revolutionaries engaging in open, armed resistance.

When I moved to Berkeley, California, when I was sixteen to become one of the leading regional organizers for SDS, the Panthers were building their national base just down the street in Oakland. I was impressed, envious, and uncritical. I could never have imagined how much of my political life would be defined in relation to that struggle. I wish to share some of the things I've learned, continued to learn, and sometimes had to re-learn through those many fights.

How COINTELPRO Worked

There are entire books and doctoral dissertations on the subject of COINTELPRO. However, the key points—what made the program so successful—are quite simple. The FBI's main methods were: 1) Infiltration by undercovers and informants, 2) Physical and electronic surveillance, 3) Discrediting us through misinformation, creating fake propaganda on our behalf, and generating plain old "fake news," 4) Helping us discredit ourselves by provoking or inciting criminal acts and violence, and 5) Fostering internal conflicts and fomenting distrust between organizations.

Some of these items will already seem familiar to those embedded in the Student Movement for Palestinian Liberation. The first two, infiltration, spying, and surveillance, occupied most of our attention. These threats were real, but our fixation on them was partly because of their dramatic allure and partly because we were blind to how our own individual and organizational weaknesses allowed the

other tactics in the list to work, very, very well.

Ways Our (Or My, Anyway) Weaknesses Helped State Disruption Work

We were the NEW Left, and so very proud of it. I stupidly disdained my elders in the early years, even while studying their movements. Looking back, my lack of empathy and respect for my elders who had lived through the McCarthy era and Red Scare was stunning. I sneered at those who had mindlessly followed whichever political line the Soviet Union was advancing; my incuriosity about how so many intelligent, dedicated revolutionaries could make such severe mistakes was shameful. I—and many others—were confident we could never do the same; our arrogance played a considerable role in the trajectory of our organization, even as we fake-humbled our way through it.

In some ways, one could describe our theory of social change as "spit on your friends; they're closest." Our weaknesses in this area played right into Element Five—fostering internal and inter-organizational conflicts. For many of us, having the correct analysis was much more important than forging an effective united front. Getting "credit," whatever that was, for being correct—and loudly so—was more important to us than weakening the imperial grip on people's consciousness.

And then there was the rage, the blind and blinding rage that seared us every day. Between 1960 and 1975, the United States killed approximately three million Vietnamese people. There was no social media, but there was the international press—and the racist U.S. press cheering on the genocide. We felt the blows, or maybe imagined we did, every day. And the next. And the next.

And pretty soon, it came home. Malcolm X was murdered on the path to becoming a leftist and internationalist; then Martin Luther King Jr. was killed. Even before the FBI systematized the repression, it was on. Panthers we knew were being gunned down in Oakland, then in Los Angeles, and soon in Chicago. In South Carolina, the Governor mobilized the National Guard—outfitted with tanks—against civil rights demonstrators at an HBCU. The pigs shot 31 students, killing three of them. Three months later, the Ohio National Guard carried out the Kent State massacre. Everybody still remembers that one because they shot white kids.

I had blood in my eye. A lot of us did. It fueled our immense energy to engage in endless political work. It also fueled Element Four of COINTELPRO—discrediting the left and the Black Liberation Movement by provoking or inciting criminal acts and violence. Being permanently enraged was not the best mental frame for working out our position on violence, but that's where we were. Some of us went to Europe and met with the Vietnamese, who thought we were making a huge mistake and tried to talk us out of this. The Vietnamese were adamant that our job was to build a united front against the war, not to arm ourselves to accelerate its ending.

Even for the best reasons, it often took little to bait at least some of us into ultra-left activities. Sometimes, there were genuine victories, like freeing Assata Shakur from prison and helping her hide until she could make her way to Cuba. But sometimes, our actions played perfectly into the state narrative, multiplying our repression and preventing us from achieving our goals. It's important that the new generation of revolutionary thinkers and activists actively combats the arrogance we demonstrated. Learn the history of the people's struggle, from the Red Scare to the dissolution of SDS to the War on Terror. Create and engage in a united front, and know who your enemies are and what they are capable of. We are either serious about changing things in this country so that we may be free...or we are not.

YOU DO NOT OWE THEM A FAIR FIGHT!

Elijah Brawner - Emory University

The history of the fight for liberation, and especially the examples of the Palestinian Resistance today, has shown us how a weaker force can overcome a stronger one. We, as members of the Student Movement, in fact, as leaders of the Student Intifada, recognize that we are poorer and weaker and smaller than the institutions that we oppose. As we discovered in person at Emory University, these institutions have



FILM AS A TOOL FOR LIBERATION

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access to every forceful and violent tool of the imperial state. They are willing to use these tools to their maximum effect against those of us who dare to fight for justice, and indeed, we have seen them deploy every tool in their war of counter-insurgency. Our movement will continue to take losses and suffer assault without response unless we understand one key lesson: we do not owe them a fair fight.

The first part of this realization will come from understanding that we are engaged in combat. We are not involved in a campaign of appealing to morality or of appealing to conscience. We are not involved in the business of asking permission, where we will accept refusal as an answer. We are engaged in a struggle that is measured in wins and losses and must be conducted by outmaneuvering and outsmarting the forces of our enemy. Chairman Mao says: "The object of war is specifically 'to preserve oneself and destroy the enemy' (to destroy the enemy means to disarm him or 'deprive him of the power to resist," and does not mean to destroy every member of his forces physically)."¹ This is the metric we should use to evaluate our movements. We cannot fall into a routine that results in a chorus of "that was fun, same time next week?" nor engage in an endless spiral of demonstrations without clear progress made beyond making our voices heard.

The second part of our realization will come from understanding where the source of our enemies' power lies, the power to resist our mission to end the investment of our institutions in the Zionist entity. These institutions' chief locus of strength is located in their capital flow. Our universities are not, in most cases, invested in the Zionist entity out of a broad commitment to the *ideology* of Zionism. Instead, their commitment is to maintaining financial incentives such as research consortiums, grants, donor contributions, and more. These economic incentives also give our institutions the leverage and resources to crush our resistance. If we wish to defeat such large enemies, we must target their power source. Demonstrations on the quad, administration-approved tabling events, and social meetings can all be valuable tools to connect sympathizers and organizers to build a broader base. However, these officially endorsed organizing channels cannot (at least on their own) challenge the enemy and render them incapable of resisting. In other words, they won't lead to divestment. Persuading donors, obstructing new student orientations and enrollments, interfering in university reputation-building efforts, and targeting the buildings in which profit-generating activity is conducted must be our primary efforts. If the university has a route through which money moves, then that route must be treated as a target for strategic action.

Pimples on My Face, Shrapnel in Their Cheeks

Khanh Dao - New York University

Men preaching religion saying "blessed are the meek"
Dropping bombs on the weekly, their words ring hollow
The mothers of Palestine weep into wells of sorrow

Patches on my skin, stitches pierce their flesh
A women runs for president, says she'll put the issue to rest
Fathers holding up their children, the whole world can see
Leaders of the world, how cowardly can you be?

I have contacts in my eyes, not shards of glass
My university president declare Zionists a protected class
The academic freedom she speaks of puts students in danger
Gaza's class of 2024 under the rubble, that merits our anger

My complexion discolored, their loved ones dismembered
Anyone moving targeted like at My Lai, remember?
Twenty years from now, you'll hold a moment of silence
But history has its eyes on you, and you chose violence

I call my little brother, snipers aimed at boys his age
Girls losing their fathers to a tortured existence in a cage
The children of Palestine, are they not ours?
Do what you will to suppress us, we won't cower

Getting ready for a new day, I wish time would stop
But the world keeps spinning, this genocide nonstop
An endless nightmare created for millions to live
When children are dying, how do you sleep?

The third realization that will complete our elevation of understanding as it pertains to the tactics of resistance is that we do not owe them a fair fight. When the Chinese people struggled for liberation against the Kuomintang forces, they recognized the need for asymmetric and creative strategic engagement. The liberation struggle in the Philippines is built on the idea that the winning strategy is to engage where the enemy is weak and retreat where he is strong. We have seen hundreds of examples of this strategy rendering compelling results in Gaza and the West Bank. As Mao taught: "Attack dispersed isolated enemy forces first; attack concentrated strong enemy forces later." Don't engage the police in neat lines or sit in quiet queues awaiting your arrest. Disrupt their business as usual and then disperse when they gather their strength. Reassemble in another location and keep the pressure on until victory. Once again, Chairman Mao said, "Give full play to our style of fighting - courage in battle, no fear of sacrifice, no fear of fatigue, and continuous fighting (that is, fighting

successive battles in a short time without rest)." If the enemy thinks he has dispersed your forces by securing your retreat from one building, you must quickly reappear in another building. Give them no chance to rest or find their footing.

This short piece is intended to give a view of the historical place of asymmetric struggle and not to be seen as a mandate for how the struggle must be conducted. Our priority is the end of the Zionist entity and the collapse of Western imperialism; every step towards that is a win. Any step that does not bring us toward that goal cannot be counted as a win, no matter how freeing or thrilling it feels. We owe it to each other and the Palestinian people to study the struggles of the past and to make sure that we are measuring our wins and losses against objective metrics. To quote from Chairman Mao one last time, "Dare to Struggle! Dare to Win!"

¹ Tse Tung, Mao. "The Present Situation and Our Tasks," Selected Military Writings, 2nd ed., December 25, 1947.

PALESTINE  SQUARE

Mainstream legacy publications use language that fails to recognize the power imbalance between the Zionist Israeli regime and the Palestinian people. They disregard Palestinian voices, stories, and sources, while seeking unreliable – and more often unchallenged – narrators.

PALESTINE SQUARE uplifts Palestinian stories and explores all aspects of Palestinian life, from politics and history, to music, literature, and film.

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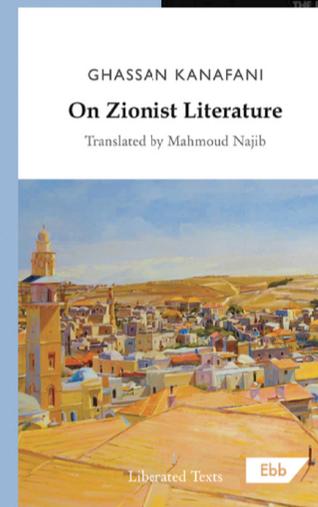
LIBERATED TEXTS

Liberated Texts is a review website that reviews historical books of ongoing relevance that have been forgotten, underappreciated, suppressed or misinterpreted.

Partnered with Ebb Books, we have published collected reviews and republish, or publish in English for the first time, similarly underappreciated texts.

The first publication released as part of this collaboration was an English language translation of Ghassan Kanafani's *On Zionist Literature* to mark the 50th anniversary of Kanafani's killing.

Our forthcoming publication is *An Alternative History of Zionism*, translated into English for the first time by Fida Jiryis and written by her father, Sabri Jiryis, the former director of the Palestine Research Centre in Beirut and author of the seminal *The Arabs in Israel* (1968).



On Zionist Literature
\$16 | 188 pages | 9781739985233

Liberated Texts, Collected Reviews: Volume One
\$16 | 350 pages | 9781739985226

Bangladesh, Filistin, and the Necessity of Hope

Anonymous - George Mason

I've gone toe-to-toe with cynicism poorly veiled as intellectual superiority often in my time as an organizer. Whether it be nihilistic remarks about the cruelty of life or how the violence of such intensity ought to prove the short-sightedness of remaining steadfast in my hope, the battle to make others understand the necessity of hope has been unrelenting. I have always upheld that hope is one of, if not the predominant, pillars of revolution. And the uprisings in Bangladesh this past summer—also dubbed as the “July Revolution,” or the 2024 Bangladesh quota reform movement—tested the strength of that pillar for me as a Bangladeshi who, admittedly, held little hope for his own country for many years.

Bangladeshis are a proud people, and those in community with us know this well. Our stories of winning our independence first from the British in 1947 and then Pakistan in 1971 are endless; our grief from surviving multiple famines and genocide has been channeled into great pride in our identities and the deep love we hold for Mother Bangla. Despite our revolutionary history,

the rest of the world often forgets us or contributes to our erasure. The Amerikkkan Empire—having been in allyship with Pakistan in 1971—and the West generally barely acknowledge there was a genocide to grieve, while right-wing Hindutva fascists deny the validity of Bangladesh as a state online, asserting a claim to the land. This intentional erasure has made it common for people to know very little about the history of Bangladesh, writing it off as an impoverished, “developing” country rather than one ransacked by centuries of colonialism and political struggle.

Bangladesh's contemporary politics are also often forgotten or ignored, often to the advantage of the ruling class. Political leaders since the inception of Bangladesh have caused divisiveness among Bangladeshis. Political parties such as the Bangladesh Awami League (BAL) and the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) have struggled to control Bangladesh for much of its existence. So when a series of student-led protests this past summer criticizing the cesspool of nepotism that plagued the public sector turned into an uprising against the ruling Awami League and its leader, former Bangladesh Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina, for brutally killing thousands of students and workers, I admittedly expected the violence to go unnoticed by the rest of the world.

Though I held hope for Palestinian liberation and the fall of the Amerikkkan empire, Sheikh Hasina had my people in a tyrannical chokehold for years, quashing all dissent through violence and rigging elections to ensure she would maintain power. Growing up, I did not know a world in which Hasina was not in power. But as the death toll became difficult to measure, I began to see outrage everywhere. Hundreds of videos covering the horrors Hasina's government enacted against my people were circulated online daily; influencers who weren't even Bangladeshi released content calling attention to the atrocities occurring back home. Bangladeshi organizers I had never seen before were suddenly mobilizing for emergency actions, churning out information from the revolutionaries on the ground in Bangladesh, and coming together in collective action with the larger community. And my comrades, the ones I worked with tirelessly in the struggle for Palestinian liberation, were just as outraged and *hopeful* in a way I had not been, not for a long time.

Seeing such immediate action for my people from within and outside my community moved me. It made me realize that I held so much hope for those around me, and I needed to take on that hope for myself and my people because we did not have another option. To lose hope

and despair was to remain complicit in the state-sanctioned violence fascists perpetrated against my people for decades. To lose hope for my people, I learned, was to be defeated—and in the thick of the July Revolution, I knew going back to the way things were, to the violence of Hasina’s rule and the corrupt ruling class, would be devastating for all Bangladeshis, whether they lived back home or in the diaspora.

Was I still terrified? Sure. Learning to hope for myself, for a better Bangladesh, and also process the trauma of seeing my people murdered en masse on my phone was and continues to be a difficult process. But I realized these feelings could co-exist as long as I clung to hope and understood it was our lifeline. Hope was the only thing we had, and hope would be what would bring about the Bangladesh our freedom fighters died for in 1971.

Now, a few months after the July Revolution, things are not necessarily where they should be. Though Hasina and her cabinet have been ousted and fled the country, criticisms of the interim government—including its head, Muhammad Yunus, for his ties to the Clinton family, imperialist positions, and capitalist schemes against the poor in Bangladesh and Black and Latino communities in the West—are plenty. The ethnic minorities, or the Jumma people, who are indigenous to the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT), still face settler-colonial violence in Bangladesh. The working class still does not have an active say in matters of their country, which they are undeniably the backbone of. Capitalism is still the beating heart of the Bangladeshi government and economy. So, although a Bangladesh without Hasina is still an accomplishment, complete liberation

has not been achieved yet. Such change would mean eliminating the Bangladeshi ruling class, present political parties, and government system entirely. It would mean starting from the ground up and creating a system for the people, by *all* of the people.

I realize to many liberal Bangladeshis, this sounds impossible. Bangladesh cannot possibly change this much to them, especially in our lifetimes. But if this past July has taught me anything, it is to hold onto hope because hope is what ran off a tyrant, one I thought I would not see the end of until her well-deserved death.

So why am I not still ceaselessly organizing directly for Bangladesh, like I seemed to do so heavily from July to early August? Well, the truth is, I still am. The reality is that Bangladesh will not be free from all its plights until Western imperialism crumbles. The Bangladeshi organizers from the diaspora that jumped into action this past summer, including myself, are now focused on action we can do from here. For me, that is my pro-Palestine organizing and participation in the Student Intifada; it is providing support for my Palestinian comrades and actively working toward a free Filistin, as we Bangladeshis pronounce it, and fighting for the fall of the Zionist entity.

Perhaps this also sounds impossible or unrealistic for liberals at large. However, I remain steadfast in the belief that Filistin will be free *within our lifetime*—because, as my people have shown me, both in 1971 and in 2024, anything is possible as long as we have hope.

Raji'een (We Will Return), Aysha Bader - University of Texas, Dallas



The Black Panther Party’s Legacy of Mutual Aid

Leslie Kramer - Meredith College

Over the past 11 months of the Zionist entity’s escalated genocide of the Palestinian people, I’ve seen many attempts to connect the struggle for Palestinian liberation with the struggle for Black liberation. Mandela’s words of solidarity echo through the minds of many an abolitionist, just as Angela Davis’s *Freedom is a Constant Struggle* still weaves its words into the very fabric of our understanding of justice, and many still look to Malcolm X’s visits to Palestine for wisdom. Still, it feels like those efforts use lofty theory to drown out the relevance of revolutionary direct action, and to me, there can be no more relevant example than that of the Black Panther Party (BPP).

While the BPP is most commonly associated with militant resistance, a closer look at their famous BPP Ten-Point Program shows that out of the ten points, six of them are based directly on the principles of mutual

aid- ranging from the first point that calls for full Black self-determination, to the tenth that calls for an all-encompassing demand for land, food, clothing, education, and healthcare. This focus on mutual aid moved beyond words and theory; it manifested in the 65 “Survival Programs” eventually started by BPP chapters nationwide, whose slogan was *Survival Pending Revolution*. From their famous free breakfast programs and clothing drives to their lesser-known health clinics, including “The People’s Detox,” the first detox program in the South Bronx, Seniors Against a Fearful Environment (SAFE) program, and their People’s Free Ambulance Service, the BPP revolutionized the foundation of mutual aid work and cemented the truth that *we keep us safe*.

We’ve all heard that slogan at protests, but the BPP first taught me what it actually means. Many people think it only refers to the fact that the state doesn’t protect us, but it also means that we are our own first line of defense, even when the state implements some form of “protection.” In our current movement for Palestine, this concept is easily recognizable in the form of Western NGOs who bring aid to Palestinians after making deals with the Zionist forces genociding them. Not only is it true that the only reason they rely on Western aid in the first place is because of the West’s colonial chokehold on Palestine but it is also true that that aid is unreliable. While UNICEF trucks take days to get packaged up halfway around the world, Palestinians are still starving. What is the point of aid that doesn’t immediately address someone’s survival needs?

The BPP understood that while government officials use government channels to debate for years over the “proper” way to aid their constituents, people will still die. If someone is starving today, aid tomorrow won’t cut it, and therefore, organizing to provide mutual aid to your community should be about delivering immediate survival needs in a way that official State methods of providing aid have never been able to. And that’s precisely where their slogan comes in—*Survival Pending Revolution*. The BPP understood that we cannot fight for total liberation if all the people we want to liberate urgently require the most dire material support, and nothing is done to alleviate that.

Learning about the BPP has led me to work directly with a few families in Gaza to get funds for food, cleaning products, and tent maintenance supplies. While mutual aid will never stop the Zionist genocide of the Palestinians, it will make sure that tomorrow, we still have Palestinians to fight for, just as the BPP’s mutual aid programs helped tens of thousands of people who couldn’t afford to wait for the hand choking them today to feed them

tomorrow. I believe everyone should learn a lesson or two from the BPP; a movement of true radical mutual aid may take the revolutionary legacy of the past and mold it into a better future.

Remembering Resistance— Third World Liberation as an Act of Being

John Pakyurek - CSU Sacramento

I remember when I first began to understand what it meant to be “political.” The qualifier began is of utmost importance, for at the time, my understanding consisted of only the most dormant feelings, the inkling of growth that one can only realize after growing just a little more. It was the day my father was granted his United States citizenship, and while it was a day of great *hope*, I now realize that a profound sense of *dissonance* accompanied that hope. I remember arriving at my first-grade class with a late slip in my hand as the ceremony occurred mid-morning. My classmates were confused when I told them why. They had yet to fully understand citizenship, but their puzzled expressions contradicted my feelings. It was the first time I began to recognize that somehow, some way, I was living in a different world than my peers, though I lacked the foresight to see how quickly I would be forced to confront this other world.

I remember the summer after. Emir, my cousin, had to leave Lebanon as American bombs were dropping over Beirut. They destroyed his university, his home, and our family’s livelihood. I was only seven, barely beginning to understand my place in the world; he was 21, having his life violently ripped away from him. And while worlds apart, it slowly sharpened an understanding in my mind that Emir and I were no longer simply people, cousins, or companions. Instead, we were *political subjects*, bound by powers over which we had no control. My seven-year-old brain did not recognize these feelings in such detail then, though they are clear in hindsight.

The politicization of our very identities and the politicization of all that makes us human is what I believe to be the fundamental challenge that Muslims living in their homelands or the diaspora face. However, in this same sentiment, we find the means to overcome, for it is only through recognition of our collective humanity that we finally become human. We become beautiful only through the collective vindication of our identities. And we become whole only through the outward expression of these realizations. My thesis is this: to all those who feel the

looming presence of Western hegemony, who have seen its violence, destruction, and erasure, know you are not alone. You are accompanied by centuries of resistance. Your ancestors fought for you. Follow in their footsteps, for in finding your culture and practicing it—you are subverting a status quo that expects you to stay silent. Recognize your humanity. Vindicate your identity. Become whole.

I remember the long summer nights of my youth when our family gathered around my grandmother’s long dining room table in her tiny Istanbul apartment, with no other thoughts occupying our minds except the enjoyment of one another’s company. I remember the simple happiness on Emir’s face then; his only worry was preparing for his upcoming semester at university. But more than anything, I remember the collective humanity we all shared. Recognizing this humanity when the people, communities, and society around me have wanted to take it away has been the greatest act of resistance I have ever engaged in. Finding the outward expression of my humanity – at my father’s citizenship ceremony, in the brotherhood brought to me by my cousin Emir, or in the simple conversations of my family gathered around my grandmother’s table—is what made me whole.

Who by Fire

Anonymous - University of North Carolina

Who by fire
Who by water

Who by hunger
Who by thirst

Who by bullet
Who by missile

Who with his whole family
Who all alone

Who by infection
Who by violation

Who under tons of rubble
Who in the street

Who by targeted strike
Who by collateral damage

Who as a human shield
Who as a terrorist

Who in Gaza
Who in Jnoub

Who by indifference.

From One Heavy Heart to Another

Reana Akthar - Wesleyan University

they say our anger is misplaced
 that the massacres
 suffering
 and grief
 it was avoidable had they been spared on a single day
 their historical tragedy
 women and children—all civilians
 what was their crime?
 their families mourn for them

so then, it's fitting, I suppose, that you, too, be punished

but what of your crime?
 what deed have you done to deserve death?
 which tragedy of yours that I can name is brazen enough to stand next to any other?
 my Palestinian comrades, you have been denied life
 and yet they tell us our anger is misplaced
 you have been punished since long before the inception of their state
 and still, they say, be angry with those covered in masks and scarves
 sooner or later, we'll take up arms

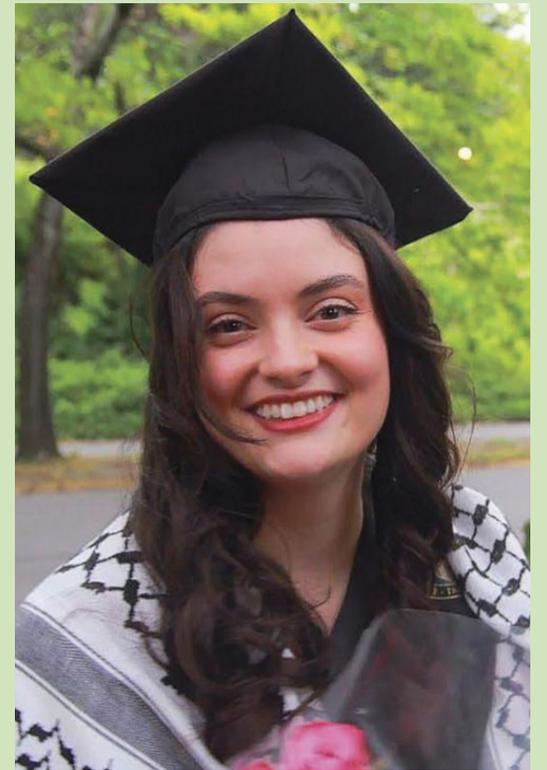
we, who stand as the descendents of colonized people
 we, who suffer from the whims of the Imperial West
 we're not angry with you
 how can we be?

we're alive today because of the horrors carried on our behalves
 because of resistance and our freedom fighters
 how can we blame you?

everyday under occupation
 resistance is not a choice
 under apartheid
 resistance is not a choice
 under genocide
 resistance is not a choice
 and everyday the numbers rise and you become part of statistics meant to radicalize

my Palestinian comrades,
 you have been denied life
 and still, their guise to rid the world of terrorism has everyone in a trance
 but we know who the enemy is
 the Empire
 we know who we will never forgive
 western greed
 for denying you, even the smallest moments to breathe

my Palestinian comrades,
 we stand for your life
 and we will never forgive those who denied you
 of life



IN LOVING MEMORY OF AYŞENUR EYĞİ

Ayşenur, a 26-year-old University of Washington graduate active in the UW Liberated Zone last spring, was shot and killed by Zionist forces during a protest of the ongoing settlement of Beita, a Palestinian village near Nablus, on September 6th while volunteering with the International Solidarity Movement (ISM).

Ayşenur is not the first volunteer to be martyred in service of the Palestinian people. Many have compared her murder to that of Rachel Corrie, who was brutally murdered with a bulldozer in 2003, or the nine volunteers who were shot and killed by the Zionist Navy while participating in the 2010 Gaza Freedom Flotilla, including Furkan Doğan, also a Turkish-American.

We understand that the brutality of the Zionist occupation may always be extended to those who pledge their support and lives to the Palestinian cause and people. Ayşenur and her comrades knew this well, and made the ultimate sacrifice in support of the Palestinian struggle.

We honor Ayşenur's life, a life dedicated to people's struggle and the liberation of Palestine and the region from Zionist-imperialist control. Her sacrifice will be remembered, by the people of Palestine, by the diaspora movement for Palestinian liberation, and certainly by Students for Justice in Palestine. Ayşenur, we will honor your memory by following in your footsteps.

ALLAH ŞEHİTLERİMİZE RAHMET EYLESİN



Anti-Imperialist Cowboy - Ayesha Muzzafar, @andiwasjustlike



Activists from Palestine Action US target Elbit Systems, November 20, 2023 - Maen Hammad, @maenster

Pro-Palestine Organizing in Brazil: The Struggle for Solidarity in the Face of Electoral Opportunism

Caio Porto - University of Brasília

It has been eleven months since the first demonstration of the Palestinian Solidarity Committee in Brasília, a protest near the Foreign Affairs Ministry. The demonstration was marked by the strong presence of left-wing parties, including those supporting President Lula da Silva, university professors, and students. The police were also mobilized, as always, in great numbers. However, demonstrators could not care less about the cops—the number of dead and missing people in Gaza was growing so fast that the pamphlets were already out of date when they arrived from the printers. Even those with no previous knowledge of Palestine felt the need to do something about it.

Over the past year, thousands flooded the streets to demand the end of Brazil-Israel diplomatic relations. Protests swept over the country—a rare demonstration of international solidarity. Many Brazilian-Palestinian organizations were shocked: such strong pro-Palestine activism in Brazil is rare, not seen since the protests against the Sabra and Chatila massacres in 1982.¹ Since October 7th, the main organizational tactic has been the adoption of a coalitional model, with state-wide Solidarity Committees founded across the country composed mainly of members of left-wing parties, Palestinians, Muslims, and refugees. These groups, mostly based in major cities and public universities, have organized demonstrations, university encampments, and educational events.

Brazil has one of the most significant Arab populations in the world, including the world's largest Lebanese diaspora. Yet the Solidarity Committees are much more diverse, incorporating other demographics and representatives from various social and political movements; in fact, left-wing organizations form the bulk of the movement. The Palestinian cause in Brazil is most associated with the socialist left. Unlike in Europe and the US, where the "Arab" is the archetypical reactionary foe of liberals, the Brazilian socialist left recognizes the struggle for Palestinian liberation as an anti-imperialist cause.

The Brazilian left's solidarity with Palestine dates back to the armed resistance in the 1960s and 70s against our military dictatorship. Our own oppressive military regime was, like the Zionist entity, trained and supported by the US. Since the

foundation of the PLO headquarters in Brazil in 1974, the Palestinian diaspora led the solidarity movement in Brazil. Their prominent organizations are the Arab-Palestinian Federation of Brazil (FEPAL), founded in 1979; Sanaúd – The Palestinian-Brazilian Youth Association, founded in 1982; and the Brazil-Palestine Institute, founded in 2017.²

Since then, the Palestinian movement has established close ties with the Brazilian left. All pro-Palestine main actors coordinate with at least one of these groups or with representatives of the international BDS Movement. Among the Palestinian organizations' closest allies are the National Student Union (UNE) and the Landless Workers Movement (MST). In fact, a Palestinian woman, Maynara Nafe, is a member of UNE's current board. MST organizes the Ghassan Kanafani Brigade,

which visits Palestine every two years and has donated 13 tons of food to Gaza so far.³

The political left-right divide regarding Palestine in Brazil is so stark that two Brazilian-Palestinian senators—Esperidião Amin and Omar Aziz—did little for Palestine other than solemn sessions in the Senate due to their allegiance to their conservative parties.⁴ On the other hand, most trade unions and left-wing groups support the cause to varying degrees. Since October, the anti-Zionist Jewish movement in Brazil has also become vocal and organized to denounce the crimes of the Zionist occupation and attempt to halt the genocide.⁵

All of these solidarity movements have met staunch opposition. The pro-US corporate media, the rising religious Evangelical-Right movement in Brazil, and former president

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NLG Stands in Solidarity with the People of Palestine in their Struggle Against the Settler Colonial State of Israel

"Affirming and protecting the legal right of Palestinians to resist the colonizing power that seeks to annihilate them. International law also upholds the right of self-defense for peoples under colonial and foreign domination and subjugation, "reaffirm[ing] the legitimacy of the struggle of peoples for independence, territorial integrity, national unity and liberation from colonial and foreign domination and foreign occupation by all available means, including armed struggle."
- NLG National Statement, May 2021

Learn more at: NLG.ORG/CONVENTION

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Jair Bolsonaro have held fiercely pro-Israel positions. Since October 7th, eight states ruled by reactionary governors have adopted the Zionist IHRA definition of antisemitism to curb and criminalize pro-Palestinian activism.⁶ Members of Zionist lobby organizations are daily guests on television to comment on “the Israeli War on Terror,” even enabling Brazilian-Israeli institutions to harass the anti-Zionist Jewish people and organizations who dare to speak out.

If the Palestinian flag was always present at any left-wing demonstration, the Israeli flag is now a symbol of the Brazilian far-right movement. Even so, the Zionist lobby has succeeded in exerting its influence over some of our supposed allies, such as President Lula and his staff. Despite the President’s pro-Palestinian public stances—Lula recognized the State of Palestine in 2010—his administration is about to approve a two-hundred-million-dollar investment in Israeli weapons. Guilherme Boulos, Lula’s ally and self-proclaimed “socialist” alternative for mayor in São Paulo, balked when questioned about his past pro-Palestinian stance, stating: “I am not running for the mayorship of Tel Aviv.”⁷ Palestine has genuine support from party membership; however, its leadership seems to be discouraging pro-Palestine public stances.

Amílcar Cabral taught us: “Tell no lies, claim no easy victories.”⁸ We should not be naive nor deceive others with false hopes of solidarity from our governments because of their empty messages of “thoughts and prayers.” The reality is that the electoral left-wing parties were suddenly absent from pro-Palestine events when their campaigns for the 2024 elections began. Their leadership cowered at the Zionist lobby’s feet; they didn’t want

their constituencies to slander them as “antisemites.” As a consequence, their militant pro-Palestinian base—our friends—were left to their own devices. The Christian Zionist doctrine, once restricted to the US, is taking over the Brazilian evangelical denominations—the fastest-growing religion among the urban masses. This grim combination of hate speech disguised as religion and pseudo-socialist electoral opportunism may put at risk decades of anti-imperialist militant education and solidarity-based alliances. In exchange for an uncertain edge in the ballots, should we put both the Brazilian and Palestinian futures at risk?

I don’t think so.

¹ Oliveira, L. G. de. (2018). A diáspora palestina no Brasil - a FEPAL: Trajetórias, reivindicações e desdobramentos. Mestrado em Estudos Judaicos, Universidade de São Paulo.

² Porto, C. F. S. (2021). As mediações da comida árabe na vida cotidiana de membros de origem palestina do grupo Juventude Sanaúd. Universidade de Brasília.

³ Brasil de Fato. MST enviou mais de 13 toneladas de alimentos para Gaza; meta é chegar a 100 mil kg de comida em ajuda. 2023, December 19)

⁴ Senado Federal. Senadores pedem justiça e paz ao lembrar 75 anos da invasão da Palestina. (2023)

⁵ Marcozzi, B., et al. (2024, March 13). Judias e judeus tornando-se solidários à causa palestina. Le Monde Diplomatique.

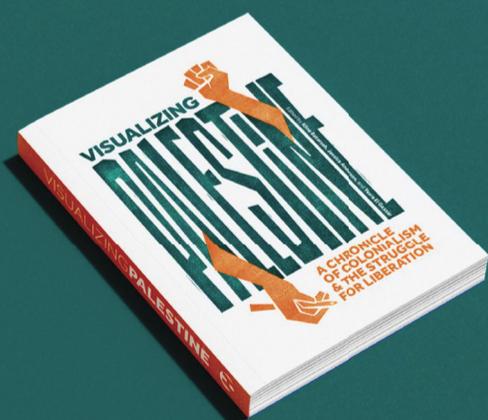
⁶ CONIB. (2024, September 12). Governo do DF se soma a oito estados que já aderiram à definição de antissemitismo da IHRA. Confederação Israelita do Brasil.

⁷ Oliveira, C. (2024, February 19). Boulos procura se afastar da polêmica sobre Israel. CNN Brasil.

⁸ Cabral, A. (1974). Tell no lies, Claim no easy victories... In Revolution in Guinea (pp. 70–72). Stage 1.

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United by Struggle: Cultural Resistance in Revolutionary Guinea-Bissau

Esther Cull-Kahn - Vassar College

Revolutionary philosopher and military strategist Amílcar Cabral led Guinea-Bissau to liberation from Portuguese colonialism. Cabral’s success stemmed from his dual engagement in the theoretical and praxic spheres. Understanding his unique responsibility to materialize his theoretical models, his ideology—tested in the struggle—was carried forward despite his assassination before their victory. In particular, Cabral’s theoretical analysis of culture effectively mobilized Guinea-Bissau’s peasantry into the revolutionary movement.

Cabral studied agronomy in Lisbon before he founded the African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde (PAIGC) in 1956, a key actor in the rich tradition of resistance to colonial rule in the first half of the twentieth century.¹ In 1961, the PAIGC transitioned tactics to engage in armed struggle, attempting to forcibly dismantle the Portuguese occupation with the goal of complete independence, which they achieved in 1973. But Cabral recognized the necessity of preventing neocolonial class divisions in the newly independent state. The PAIGC thus called for a socialist model in the post-independence era, demanding the “progressive elimination of exploitation of man by man... to the profit of individuals, groups or classes.”² As explained by historian Vijay Prashad: “even more difficult than overthrowing the regime itself would be to build the new world out of the old.”³

Cabral’s approach to building this new world was unique. In a speech titled “National Liberation and Culture,” Cabral argues that culture is a front in the struggle for decolonization, as foreign domination relies on the “permanent, organized repression of the cultural life of the people concerned.”⁴ Imperial powers could not justify colonization predicated on racial hierarchy without also engaging in cultural repression; accordingly, Cabral identified Indigenous cultural expression as a mode of resistance. Translating this theory of cultural resistance into practice presented a set of challenges, as the ethnically and religiously diverse population of Guinea-

Bissau did not yet produce a singular cultural expression or possess a unified national identity.

The peasantry was the most populous and exploited demographic of Guinea-Bissau throughout Portuguese colonialism. Peasants were the primary source of Indigenous culture within the territory and, therefore, central to the cultural front of the decolonial movement. However, the rural peasantry was historically split between two major ethnic divisions: the Fulas, a semi-feudal and Muslim group, and the Balantes, a politically-undefined animist group.⁵ The contradiction between these two groups within the larger peasant demographic threatened Cabral's ideal of unified cultural resistance. Responding to this dilemma, Cabral argued that the simplest way to resolve these contradictions was through a united front against colonialism represented by the Party. It was thus the responsibility of the Party to travel to rural areas and promote cultural unity to motivate the peasantry's integration into the struggle.

Cabral instructed the Party to protect the peasantry from manifestations of difference that threatened disunity, yet nonetheless stressed the importance of encouraging cultural pluralism. At the same time, it was necessary to develop some sense of cultural uniformity—without impeding on ethnic traditions—that could constitute a collective opposition to the imperial domination of the cultural front. The foundations of this uniformity lay in the material circumstances in Guinea-Bissau: colonialism created the conditions for a shared cultural identity of resistance, distinct from the usual characteristics of

culture defined by religion, customs, and modes of social organization.

Cabral's theory accounts for this historical inevitability, contending that history is defined by "the strong, dependent and reciprocal relationships existing between the cultural situation and the economic (and political) situation in the behavior of human societies."⁶ As a result of the political and economic changes caused by Portugal's arrival, a new potential for class consciousness arose, a consciousness that transcended previous contradictions to unite classes suffering under the shared condition of occupation and exploitation. Resistance to colonialism thus cemented a qualitative change in culture.

The Party, however, still played a crucial role in fostering cultural resistance and class consciousness among the peasantry, a united-by-struggle yet apolitical entity. When the Party traveled to rural areas to encourage cultural expression, they also established political education programs. Understanding that illiteracy and the lack of a formal education system restricted the peasantry's ability to receive complex lessons on colonialism and imperialism, Cabral advocated for alternative, accessible methods: "The people do not struggle for ideas, for things in the heads of individuals. The people struggle and accept the sacrifices demanded by the struggle, but in order to gain material advantages, to be able to live a better life in peace, to see their lives progress, and to ensure their children's future."

According to this directive, the Party helped the peasantry understand what parts of their daily lives were impacted by Portuguese occupation and how national

liberation would improve their livelihoods. The masses did not have to be experts on Marxist theory to realize the necessity of national independence. Despite the success of the PAIGC's political education campaign and a growing sense of unified cultural resistance, the peasantry remained wary of engaging in the armed struggle. However, the Party anticipated this orientation. Unlike many European nations with clearly defined working classes created by industrialization, Cabral recognized that in many parts of Africa, "colonialism did not allow the development of a national bourgeoisie or vanguard working class." He argued that decolonization and the development of socialism in Guinea must, therefore, diverge from the traditional, Eurocentric Marxist program.

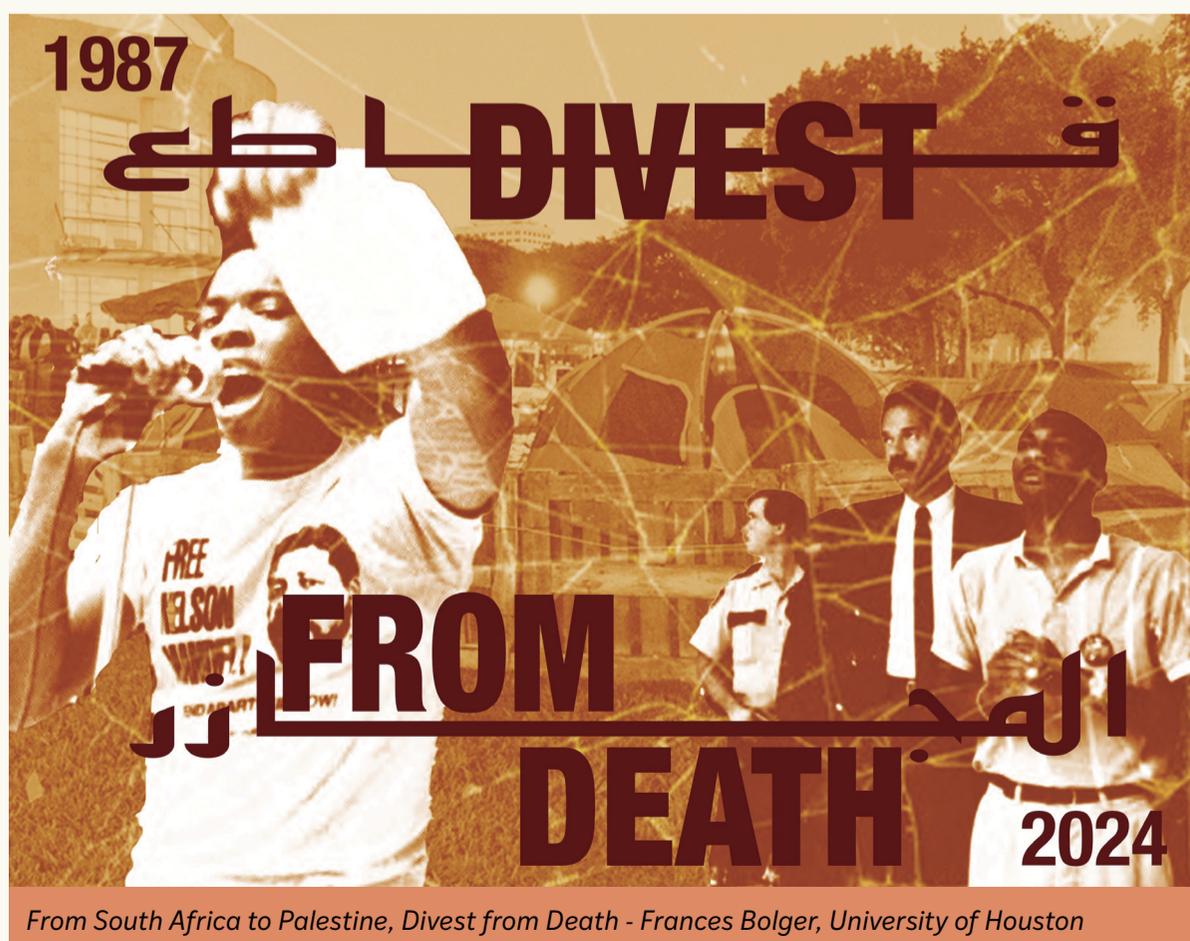
The PAIGC's cultural and educational campaign was not intended to transform the peasantry into the vanguard but to unify the population into a popular movement against colonialism.⁷ Cabral, in turn, distinguished between the peasantry's "revolutionary capacity" and "physical capacity," pushing to strategically integrate the peasants into the struggle. Although many were reluctant to take up arms, the Party organized the militant peasants into the regular and reserve forces to preserve their livelihood while utilizing their physical potential. This also encouraged historically-opposed ethnicities to work together, softening internal divisions. Cabral's theory on cultural unification provided the basis for the material composition of the movement.

Theory is futile without praxis. The Party developed a unified national consciousness in the peasantry and mobilized their physical capacity by understanding the necessity of cultural resistance to the decolonial project. Further, Cabral's analytical distinction between the trajectory of socialism in Africa versus the West was critical to the successful integration of the masses into the movement, centering the peasantry's popular will while acknowledging their revolutionary limitations. We must learn from Cabral's meticulous consideration of the conditions of his historical context and his application of theoretical principles to material circumstances. The realization of both socialism and national liberation cannot be uniform and requires creative adaptation in the pursuit of success.

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² "The PAIGC Programme," in *Revolution in Guinea*, ed. Richard Handyside (New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1969), 140.

³ Vijay Prashad, "How Africa's National Liberation Struggles Brought Democracy to Europe: The Seventeenth Newsletter," *Tricontinental: Institute for Social Research*, April 25, 2024.



From South Africa to Palestine, Divest from Death - Frances Bolger, University of Houston



"Shut Down Colonial Feminism" Action, January 13, 2023 - Maen Hammad, @maenster

⁴ Amílcar Cabral, "National Liberation and Culture," in *Return to the Source*, ed. Africa Information Service (New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1973), 39.

⁵ Amílcar Cabral, "Brief analysis of the social structure in Guinea," in *Revolution in Guinea*, ed. Richard Handyside (New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1969), 57.

⁶ Cabral, "National Liberation and Culture," 41.

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How STEM Took Over the University

Anonymous - University of North Carolina

STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics) should be a familiar term for anyone who has engaged in the education system over the past ten years. Undeniably, universities are increasingly dominated by these fields, often at the expense of the humanities. While this transformation has ramped up in the past decade and a half, its roots are far older than that. The dominance of STEM in US universities¹ has, over the past 70 years, been driven by three main factors: (1) the need to maintain American military and economic dominance, (2) the financial interests of the universities and corporations, and (3) ideological control.

I will start with the first factor: the maintenance of US military and economic superiority, without which the US empire cannot exist. Political interest in STEM has followed a predictable pattern in which the US ruling class sees the US outperformed in science or technology and responds by

pouring money into STEM education and research. The first instance of this pattern was in 1957 when the USSR successfully launched Sputnik, the first artificial satellite, into orbit. This event kicked off the Space Race, in which the USSR showed its space and STEM capabilities to be stronger than those of the US. This was a problem, not only because a communist country could produce more advanced goods than a capitalist one, but because it meant the Soviets could potentially even manufacture superior military technology. In response, the US and its ruling class invested massively in STEM education, research, and manufacturing capabilities. This boom was sustained throughout the 1960s, boosted by the other major technological project of the decade: the Vietnam War. Money poured into academic departments to research valuable technology for the space program and the military, prompting many student protests.

The second factor driving the dominance of STEM fields is the economics of it. Cuts to public education funding are not new, but the Great Recession of 2007-2009, in particular, drove massive cuts to public higher education. In response, universities raised tuition rates, became more dependent on grants and donors, and started slashing departments seen as "unnecessary." These were almost always humanities departments. One reason often pointed to is that students are increasingly majoring in STEM, which is likely because they seek stability and high-paying jobs to pay off student debt. However, this article is not about why students choose their

majors. The economic reason humanities departments are getting cut is that they cannot bring in grant money like STEM departments due to the more significant public and private grant money available. Universities get a substantial cut of every grant, sometimes over 50%, meaning the ability to pull in outside grants gives the university more money to spend on whatever it wants. STEM departments can also patent their research, and the university gets a portion of patent licensing fees. STEM majors also tend to make more money for the first decade after graduation—meaning they can make alum donations to the school earlier.

Another common argument for increased support for STEM education is that the US faces a shortage of workers to fill jobs requiring scientific or technical expertise. The degree to which there is a shortage of qualified workers remains to be determined. What is clear, however, is that STEM workers still have significant labor power and can thus demand high wages. Perhaps one goal of producing more STEM graduates is to create Marx and Engels' "reserve army of labor," a surplus of prospective employees to drive down wages. Over the past decade, we have primarily seen this goal fulfilled through "learn to code" campaigns.

When applied to higher education, this entire line of thinking contains an assumption that universities should serve as job training institutions. Since STEM degrees are much closer to professional training, opponents of the humanities

argue that they are a luxury that can be eliminated without consequence. The university as a job-training program is a concept that dates back to the 19th century when European countries began opening polytechnic schools to train workers for the new industrial economy. Higher education had a class stratification where the upper class attended universities to receive a liberal arts education, while the rising “middle class” attended polytechnics to become expert workers.

Cuts to humanities in favor of STEM, especially technology and engineering, are also justified by the economic return of academic projects being adopted by business ventures nearby, which can produce profit for investors. Frequently, these same investors are members of the university’s board of trustees. A related phenomenon is technology transfer, the process by which the products researched at the university are licensed to private corporations for a fee to the university. The laws governing federal research grants—which are still a primary academic funding source despite private investment—are such that the federal government, under most circumstances, does not hold any

patent rights, meaning that the federal government is subsidizing research and development for the private sector. This is, by design, a part of the wider project of “investing in STEM.”

The third factor driving the dominance of STEM in education is ideological control. The radical uprisings of students in the 1960s pushed universities to adopt measures to prevent student uprisings in the future. They did this by jacking up tuition fees, which were minimal at most public schools until the 1970s, preventing poor and working-class students, the backbone of campus radicalism, from attending college or forcing them to take on large amounts of debt. The debt would then push them into majoring in a STEM field so they could pay it off quickly. Pushing students into these majors is important because STEM departments often try to be “apolitical,” encouraging students to see themselves as above politics.

Meanwhile, teaching the humanities without encouraging critical thinking about politics and society is much harder, meaning students and faculty are more inclined to the radical left and campus activism. Humanities fields also come under

attack for explicitly political reasons. They are accused of being “grievance studies,” or doing wokeness, or being “DEI.” These are code words for studying society without presupposing the current social order is good. In the past year, a widespread Zionist argument has been that humanities departments promote antisemitism or anti-Zionism, which makes for an alliance between Zionists and the far right to attack higher education.

In summary, STEM has taken over higher education due to its role in maintaining the US empire, its economic benefits to universities and monied interests, and its ability to enable ideological control on campus. The question remains, though: what do we do about it? STEM in itself is not a bad thing, and cuts to STEM are probably not the answer. However, one thing for students of STEM (like myself) to remember is the long internationalist and radical tradition in the sciences. Some of the most influential scientists of the 20th century, like Einstein, Stephen Hawking, Lev Landau, and J.B.S. Haldane, were socialists who denounced imperialism and Zionism. STEM is only a political weapon in support of the status quo if we allow it to be.

Protestors Run from Police in Brooklyn, New York, May 12, 2024 - Maen Hammad, @maenster



A Hole In The Eye

Yahya Ashour

You turn our world
into a pile of ashes,
and a single hole shakes
your throne?!

A hole in the wall,
a hole in the ground, too,
and the stars above you,
our songs in shape
of holes.

Your future will always be full
of holes you won't see,
but my people will show you.

From the holes you carve
in our souls,
from the holes you tear
in our memory,
we will pierce your dress,
one hole after another.

We will keep stripping you naked,
until you, by yourself
wear your shroud.

We will make sure it fits—
tight
with no holes.



Gaza Sea - Ayesha Muzaffar, @andiwasjustlike

Closing Remarks

Just over a year ago, Gaza changed many of our lives. After seventeen years of brutal siege, the people of Gaza affirmed what we've always known to be true: the Palestinian people refuse to surrender to occupation and colonization, and they refuse to die silently. Nearly thirteen months into a grueling genocide, this sentiment remains true. As a movement, we are where we are today because the indomitable people of Gaza resisted, showing us and the world the true meaning of steadfastness and dignity, advancement and sacrifice.

Just a few days before writing these remarks, the Zionist entity put in motion its "General Plan" in Northern Gaza. The occupation forces have besieged the Jabalia refugee camp, determined to kill the hundreds of thousands of people who refused to be displaced South, unwilling to surrender. Food and water have not entered

the North of Gaza for over fifteen days. The Zionist entity continues to bombard other areas of Gaza even as they strike the cities of Lebanon; thousands of Lebanese have been martyred in the span of just weeks. In one of the most horrifying acts committed since last October, we have witnessed once again the bombing of people in tents, this time in Al-Aqsa Hospital. Watching men, women, and children be burned alive is beyond description.

These moments test our resolve and our commitment to the struggle. These moments, when the oppressor uses every tool to quash the revolution, when the oppressor destroys, burns, and murders to prove superiority, when the oppressor seeks to leave us without words to write, without energy to fight, and without a will to continue.

In his will, the revolutionary martyr Basel Al-Araj wrote about the difficulty of writing one's last words: "Is there anything more eloquent and expressive than the act of

martyrdom?" Al-Araj and the hundreds of thousands who have given their lives to the struggle have fulfilled their duty and played their part, in the most eloquent and expressive manner. Today, the question in front of us, the Student Movement, is how will we play our role? What are we willing to sacrifice for liberation?

For Basel Al-Araj, we must continue; for Sha'ban Al-Dalou, we must continue; for Refaat Alareer, we must continue; for Hind Rajab, we must continue. We must affirm that there is no going back to the status quo. We must reject defeatism. We must affirm that we will fulfill our role with more conviction than before. We must affirm that victory is not only achievable but also near, made possible by the sacrifices of those who have cradled the movement for generations.

Oh, martyr, rest, rest, and we will continue the struggle.

يا شهيد ارتاح ارتاح واحنا نواصل الكفاح

