



For Palestine
Essays from the Tom Hurndall
Memorial Lecture Group

Edited by Ian Parker



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Ian Parker (ed.), *For Palestine: Essays from the Tom Hurndall Memorial Lecture Group*. Cambridge, UK: Open Book Publishers, 2023, <https://doi.org/10.11647/OBP.0345>

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Digital material and resources associated with this volume are available at <https://doi.org/10.11647/OBP.0345#resources>

ISBN Paperback: 978-1-80511-025-5

ISBN Hardback: 978-1-80511-026-2

ISBN Digital (PDF): 978-1-80511-027-9

ISBN Digital ebook (EPUB): 978-1-80511-028-6

ISBN XML: 978-1-80511-030-9

ISBN HTML: 978-1-80511-031-6

DOI: 10.11647/OBP.0345

Front cover image by Tom Hurndall, Figure in front of tank at Rafah, Gaza (April 2003).

Cover design by Jeevanjot Kaur Nagpal.

10. Dismantling Racism and Settler Colonialism: Challenges for the BDS Movement

Rania Masri

Where to begin, when one talks about Palestine? What can represent what Palestinians have been going through since at least the early 1940s?

I recently came across a story that may be representative. It is the story of Abdul Fatah Abed Rabbo, known as Abed Qotqot by his friends. Abed Qotqot had lived his entire life in the Dheisheh refugee camp in the occupied West Bank. He decided to leave the refugee camp and settle on a piece of land inherited from his family, from where he could see the original village that he was exiled from in 1948. This piece of land, which the Israelis acknowledge is his, falls under the Israeli-Jerusalem municipality, an occupied entity. Even though the occupying authority recognised his ownership of the land, they declared that he could not alter any aspect of that land. So he decided to live in a cave. He set up lights and an outdoor toilet. He couldn't bring in a water-well, so he transported water in gallons. And he fought the Israeli courts for his right to build something of a home in this cave. After more than ten years in court, and after the Jerusalem political municipality (an occupier force) began 'developing' the area (illegally) by establishing a park, and after the Israeli government announced another Jewish-only settlement expansion (also illegal), the verdict came out. The verdict was that Abed could stay in his cave, but that he could not alter the land. In other words, he could not get water, or electricity, or safe passage. They destroyed everything that he had built. He built it again. They

destroyed it again. He died at the age of fifty-four, still clinging to his dream of liberation and return (Jaber, 2015).

In 2015, Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu announced the destruction of more than 400 Palestinian homes in the Israeli-controlled part of the occupied West Bank known as Area C. Area C encompasses sixty percent of the occupied West Bank, and it is fully under the control of the Israeli occupying army. The remaining Area A and Area B of the West Bank are also under control of the Israeli army, but they are presented as under the façade of the control of the Palestinian Authority (which continues to coordinate 'security operations' with the occupation and thus behaves worse than the Vichy government). Netanyahu thus ordered the destruction of 400 homes, in addition to the 20,000 homes in Jerusalem set to be demolished.

Since 1967, according to Israeli records, at least 27,000 Palestinian 'homes' in the occupied West Bank alone have been demolished. Israel defines 'a home' as any structure, so even if that structure is an apartment building housing numerous 'homes' and families, Israel defines it as one home.

And we know what happened in Gaza in 2014, after more than eight years of an illegal, criminal blockade, and after several Israeli military wars on the Palestinians in Gaza. Fifty-one days of Israeli assault resulted in the demolition of more than 100,000 homes. Since then, barely anything has been rebuilt. Six months after the last bomb on Gaza, there has not been one single big project built since 2014. No homes or schools or hospitals rebuilt. The reconstruction has effectively been non-existent. Gaza is in need of 1.5 million tons of cement and so far only 27,000 tonnes have been allowed in, because of both the Israeli criminal blockade and the Egyptian criminal blockade.

Also in 2015, eighty homes in Gaza were flooded. The water reached three metres in height. Not only was there significant rain, but the Israelis took this opportunity to open several dams and cause additional flooding. So eighty additional homes were left uninhabitable.

As with Abed Qotqot in the West Bank, Palestinians in Gaza have been forced to live in cave-like conditions: deprived of regular electricity and clean water. Electricity shortages are so severe that there is a regular supply of only four to six hours of daily electricity, and the vast majority

of water in Gaza is not fit for human consumption. All within a prison-like enclosure.

Banksy found a way into Gaza. He said ‘Gaza is often described as “the world’s largest open air prison” because no-one is allowed to enter or leave. But that seems a bit unfair to prisons — they don’t have their electricity and drinking water cut off randomly almost every day’ (Vartanian, 2015).

These home demolitions, these deliberate, continuous home demolitions, are not limited to the occupied territories; they are not limited to the West Bank, Jerusalem, and Gaza. They have been ongoing against Palestinians with Israeli citizenship since 1948. More than 80,000 Palestinians with Israeli citizenship in the Negev live in villages that the Israeli government does not recognise. ‘We recognise you and we recognise that we do not recognise you and thereby we deprive you of electricity and water and sufficient schooling.’ There are eighty thousand Palestinians, and the Israeli government takes it to another level. When they do demolish Palestinian homes, of those holding Israeli citizenships and of those under occupation, they have the *chutzpah* to actually demand that inhabitants pay for the demolition of their own home.

In addition, the demolition is not limited to homes. Anything that stands in the way of the Jewish-only expansion of territory in historic Palestine gets destroyed. So, again in 2015, the Israelis issued demolition orders for a school near al-Khalil (Hebron); a school demolished for the expansion of yet another 50 km² of a Jewish-only settlement.

For many of us, not just those of us who are Palestinian, but for those of us who have been following this struggle, we are not surprised. We have yet to be surprised by anything that the Israeli government or the Israeli military does, but still it *is* a bit surprising to know that the vast majority of Jewish-Israeli society openly supports discriminatory policies.

A poll from October 2012 reveals that a clear majority of Jewish Israelis (74%) support separate road systems for Israelis and Palestinians in the Occupied Territories. Sixty-nine percent openly support not just the annexation of the West Bank, but the denial of rights to Palestinians; they support annexation of the land while denying Palestinians the right to vote on whether the land ought to be annexed. And almost half of the Jewish Israelis polled openly supported the expulsion of Palestinians with Israeli citizenship. They openly support ethnic cleansing.

What does it mean when racism becomes so normalised? What does it mean for the actions of the military, academics, politicians, and Israeli society in general when racism becomes so normalised?

The crimes of settler colonialism become acceptable, even encouraged.

Constant closure of Palestinian villages and towns. Detention of men, women, and children for six months without charge, and the six months can be renewed indefinitely. Constant expansion of settlements for members of only one religion. Constant thefts of people's lands, of people's homes, amidst home demolitions, and amidst increasing military and settler violence. This is worse than apartheid.

What does it mean to the children, Palestinian and Israelis, when such racism become normalised, when such attacks become acceptable daily practice?

Maryam, an eleven-year-old Palestinian girl whose home, in Silwan (on the edge of occupied Jerusalem) was demolished, was interviewed in 2005. 'Hundreds of police and military officers attacked my home in Silwan', she said. She described how big dogs were primed to attack her mother who was holding her younger brother as she tried desperately to protect her home. She was terrorised by the loud noise of the bulldozers to such an extent that now the colour yellow frightens her. She lost the ability to speak and now has child-onset diabetes. 'The bulldozers have become something normal for Jews', she said. 'They have demolished too many homes in Silwan that the demolition of my home is normal. Home demolitions have become normal. The demolition of my home is normal, which makes me so upset at the world. I feel sick, very sick. I feel exhausted.'

An eleven-year-old child feeling exhausted by the normalcy of barbarism. Since 2005, the rate of home demolitions has only increased. Such 'normalcy' has only become 'more normalized'.

When I first read those words, I stopped and asked myself: has it become normal for me, to read of another home being demolished? Has it become normal for all of us to read of these continual attacks, since they have become quite continuous?

Maryam isn't from this small town east of Jerusalem. Maryam's family is from Haifa. Maryam's family's home was taken from them in Haifa in 1948. So this spiral of dispossession, of theft of land, theft of homes, it has been ongoing since 1948. And whenever anyone, and most

particularly a child, loses their home, they lose their personal belongings, their memories, and their connections to the individuals and the family members who also lived with them. They also lose a place of sanctuary and a place of safety.

Meanwhile, the criminal is consistent, and the increasing detention of children is ongoing. According to Defense for Children International, 2014 was the 'most difficult year for Palestinian children' (DCI, 2015). 'Military detention is a reality for hundreds of Palestinian children each year, exposing them to physical and psychological violence, interrupting education, contributing to mental health issues, and placing large numbers of families under stress' (DCI, 2014). Twenty percent of all children detained by Israeli military and Israeli police were placed in solitary confinement; international law defines solitary confinement as torture. Seventy-five percent of children faced physical abuse. And to add to the horror: these children were not picked up from their homes in the afternoon with a knock on the door and a policeman placing them in a jeep with a lawyer. No, the Israeli government recently stated very clearly that it would continue its night-time raids of children's detention. Night-time raids: between midnight and five o'clock in the morning. Israeli military and Israeli police break down doors, drag the child out of bed, blindfold them, handcuff them, throw them into the back of the jeep, and the vast majority are physically assaulted. Children.

Before the bombing of Gaza in 2014, the story of three missing Israeli teenage settlers gained notoriety, although the Israeli government knew their location. The story inflamed hatred against Palestinians to such an extent that Professor Mordechai Kedar, Israeli Professor of the Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies, stated publicly that 'the only deterrent for those who kidnap the children and kill them is their knowledge that either their sister or their mother will be raped' (Shelhoub-Kevorkian et al., 2014). An open justification for the rape of women, and the response to this statement was not a call for him to apologise; rather, he was promoted academically, and promoted by the Israeli government via his placement on the list of official spokespersons for journalists.

His comments were not an aberration, but were supported by common Jewish-Israelis slogans during the war on Gaza in 2014, such as 'Go pound their mothers and come back to your mother', and images of a veiled woman, naked from the waist down, with a message

saying, 'Bibi finished inside this time. Signed citizens in favor of the ground assault.'

Open, clear calls for rape of women.

Also popularised were shirts encouraging the killing of children. One image is of a pregnant, veiled woman with a sniper-cross hair on her belly, with the statement, '1 shot, 2 kills.' Another image shows a child in a cross-hair with a caption, 'every Arab mother should know that her son's fate is in my hands.'

Open, clear calls for the targeting and killing of children.

What these images reflect is how Palestinian women and Palestinian children have become literal and figurative targets for killing, and the ease with which their killing can be dismissed and justified, the ease with which certain lives can be set aside, without any shame.

How many other crimes, brutalities and murders are rendered invisible because their lives are rendered inconsequential and invisible? How many times does the Western media ignore such crimes, making them invisible? Note every time that the media refers to 'calm', every time *CNN* or the *New York Times* or the *Independent* or the *Guardian* speak of calm, they only mean calm for Israelis and not Palestinians, because Palestinians have received no calm since 1948. Palestinian fishermen off the coast of Gaza continue to be attacked. Palestinian farmers throughout the occupied territories continue to be attacked. Palestinians with Israeli citizenship within 1948 Palestine continue to be attacked and harassed. And almost weekly, Palestinian children are run down by settlers, deliberately. All of this is perceived as calm because Palestinians are rendered invisible, not just to the Jewish-Israeli society, but to others around the world who hold Israel up as a 'beacon of liberal democracy'.

When images dehumanise people, those images get connected to real-world violence, not just in Palestine but around the world, particularly in societies built on structural, institutional racism. In the US, innocent African American men's mugshots were used as target practice by the US police department in Florida (Izadi, 2015). What does it mean when your picture gets used as target practice? How does it contribute to the fact that a 'white police officer killed a black person nearly two times a week during a seven-year period ending in 2012, according to a 2014 USA Today review of the most recent accounts of justifiable homicide reported to the FBI' (Johnson et al., 2014)?

And what about when blockbuster movies dehumanise the occupied and elevate the occupier, as with the 2014 blockbuster movie *American Sniper*? US soldiers in the movie had names, love lives, children, hopes and dreams, while the Iraqis, and even the children in the film, were consistently represented as nameless, evil savages. Chris Kyle, the American sniper, actually said in his book, 'we are fighting savage despicable evil. [...] I only wish I had killed more. I loved what I did. It was fun. I had the time of my life.' This man, a sociopath, is now regarded as a hero in popular US culture.

We have all seen images that not only normalise racism, but celebrate it, pictures of US soldiers posing with glee after they torture Iraqi men in Guantanamo, and pictures of Israeli men posing as they kill Palestinian children. These pictures are reminiscent of the postcard images taken of the public lynching of African Americans in the United States. A continuation of the same kind of racism, used to justify settler colonialism or occupation.

2015 marked the fiftieth anniversary of the assassination of a great leader, Malcolm X. Malcolm (1965) called upon his comrades to 'make our grievances international and make the world see our problem was no longer a Negro problem or an American problem but a human problem. This is a problem for humanity, and a problem which should be attacked by all elements of humanity'.

The problem that we are facing in Palestine is not a Palestinian problem; it is not an Arab-Israeli 'conflict'. It is a problem for humanity, and it should be attacked by all elements of humanity.

Tom Hurndall and Rachel Corrie knew that. They knew when they put their bodies on the line and stood in solidarity that they were not standing out of love for Palestinians. They were standing out of love for humanity.

Tom Hurndall chose solidarity. He chose to put his body on the line. Those years ago, twenty-one-year-old Tom Hurndall was shot in the head by an Israeli sniper in Gaza while he was trying to defend children. Tom bravely put himself in the way of Israeli troops who were firing at Palestinian children, and an Israeli sniper, trying to kill children, chose to shoot him in the head, even after seeing that he was unarmed.

A week before Tom was shot, Rachel Corrie, an American Peace activist, was run over — twice — and killed by a custom-made

Caterpillar Israeli bulldozer as she tried to protect a Palestinian family home from being demolished yet again.

Tom Hurndall wrote about her death, 'I wonder how few or many people heard it on the news and just counted it as another death, just another number.'

The Israeli Supreme Court ruled in 2015 that the Israeli military could not be held responsible for damages in a war zone. The Israeli Supreme Court ruled in the same month that the Israeli military could not be held responsible for the death of Rachel Corrie. Rachel Corrie's family responded in a statement.

We have come to see through this experience how deeply all of Israel's institutions are implicated in the impunity enjoyed by the Israeli military. Nevertheless, it is clear that this decision, affirming the August 2012 lower court finding, amounts to judicial sanction of immunity for Israeli military forces when they commit injustices and human rights violations. Rachel's case provides yet another example of how the Israeli justice system is failing to provide accountability. (Lazare, 2015)

I don't believe anyone was surprised by the Israeli court ruling. Just as, to be frank, I'm not surprised when another US police officer is acquitted for the shooting of an unarmed African American.

We — those of us fighting for justice and liberation and those of us recognising the liberation of Palestine as a fight for our own humanity — understand that the occupier, the oppressor, the one supporting a racist structure, always dismisses the lives of others to maintain his own standing.

Peter Beinart, a self-proclaimed Liberal Zionist and author of *The Crisis of Zionism*, writes:

If we accept, for the sake of argument, that the creation of a Palestinian state roughly among the 1967 lines remains realistic and achievable, then there would still be 1.5 million Palestinian citizens of Israel within Israel, a prospect that causes Zionists considerable anxiety. I'm not asking Israel to be Utopian. I'm not asking it to allow Palestinians who were forced out (or fled) in 1948 to return to their homes. I'm not even asking it to allow full, equal citizenship to Arab Israelis, since that would require Israel no longer being a Jewish state. I'm actually pretty willing to compromise my liberalism for Israel's security and for its status as a Jewish state. (Goldberg, 2010)

He is willing to compromise his liberalism to take away other people's rights. I don't think that is his prerogative. Martin Luther King, Jr. said, 'they love the separate, the equal not so much.' Beinart, and other Zionists, support the separate to maintain the inequality.

Palestinian refugees, who are the vast majority of Palestinians, are denied their right of return to their homes and villages in 1948 Palestine, not because there is no room for them — since the majority of Palestinian villages have been converted into so-called green spaces. Rather, they are not allowed to go home because they are not Jewish, as Beinart and other Zionists clearly state. There is a word for such policy: 'ethnocracy', a system of government that elevates one community above another, and 'a political regime that facilitates expansion and control by a dominant ethnicity in contested lands' (Yiftachel, 2006). There is another, more mainstream, word for the Israeli state policy: the crime of Apartheid, according to the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, is defined as: 'inhumane acts [...] committed in the context of an institutionalized regime of systematic oppression and domination by one racial group over any other racial group or groups and committed with the intention of maintaining that regime' (Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court). The Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid (1973) further lists

acts that fall within the ambit of the crime. These include murder, torture, inhuman treatment and arbitrary arrest of members of a racial group; deliberate imposition on a racial group of living conditions calculated to cause its physical destruction; legislative measures that discriminate in the political, social, economic and cultural fields; measures that divide the population along racial lines by the creation of separate residential areas for racial groups; the prohibition of interracial marriages; and the persecution of persons opposed to apartheid.

We recognise that, because we live in such insane, hypocritical times, where war is peace, and violence is calm, and apartheid is freedom and democracy, that merely telling the truth becomes revolutionary. In a time of universal deceit, telling the truth becomes a revolutionary act. And, today, it becomes our responsibility to critically speak the truth — clearly and powerfully. Israel is, according to international law, an apartheid state. It is clearly a settler-colonialist, apartheid state.

Reverend Desmond Tutu said, 'I am not interested in picking up crumbs of compassion thrown from the table of someone who considers himself my master. I want the full menu of rights' (Voices for Human Rights). Palestinians deserve the full menu of rights. These rights include the right of return to their homes and villages, the right to live free of military occupation and institutionalised apartheid, and, of course, the right to resist those crimes of settler colonialism and apartheid by any means necessary until the liberation of all of Palestine.

Our role, to assist in that struggle, is to resist as well. We begin by resisting the normalisation of surrender, cloaked as appeals for Palestinians to compromise on their rights.

We also resist the use of inaccurate language. For example, during the summer 2014 assault on Gaza, many continued to refer to 'Gazans', yet eighty percent of the people in Gaza are refugees, exiled from their villages in 1948. Thus, when they are referred to as Gazans, it implies Gaza is separate from Palestine. Rather, they are Palestinians in Gaza, as there are Palestinians in Ramallah, Haifa, Yaffa, and Al-Nasra.

And what about the language in our reference to those Palestinians killed by Israeli soldiers or settlers? Do we refer separately to the deaths of 'women and children', as was commonly done during the war? A child is an individual who lacks agency, sovereignty, and who lacks the ability to protect himself or herself. Some patriarchal communities may want to impose a lack of agency on women, but women still have agency, so they don't belong in the same category as children.

What is the consequence of including women and children in the same category, and separating them from men? By simply saying 'women and children', the implicit assumption is that men can be justifiably killed — because all Palestinians males are terrorist or may become terrorists — or that the murder of men should render less anger than the murder of women, because women cannot carry weapons and fight. Naturally, both of these assumptions are wrong.

Palestinian men and women do have the legal and moral right to carry weapons; they do have the right to defend themselves. Any occupied population, any oppressed population, has the right to defend itself and the right to determine its own means of liberation. Whether or not we agree with them is secondary to their right to determine their struggle for liberation.

So when we separate the women from the men, not only are we saying you can kill the men, but we are also saying that we don't salute the fighters, that we will only mourn the civilians. I mourn the children. I mourn the civilians. And I mourn every single Palestinian fighter who defended Gaza and they defended it heroically.

Using clear and powerful language also includes rejecting the 'legitimacy of a Jewish Israeli state'.

In 2007 (and this was not the first declaration!), a group of Palestinians and (a small group of) Israelis publicly declared their support for a 'One State Declaration' (2017).

The historic land of Palestine belongs to all who live in it and to those who were expelled or exiled from it since 1948, regardless of religion, ethnicity, national origin or current citizenship status; Any system of government must be founded on the principle of equality in civil, political, social and cultural rights for all citizens. Power must be exercised with rigorous impartiality on behalf of all people in the diversity of their identities.

In 2015, the University of Southampton planned to have an academic conference entitled 'International Law and the State of Israel: Legitimacy, Responsibility and Exceptionalism' (Ben-Dor, 2014):

The conference would have been the first of its kind and constitutes a ground-breaking historical event on the road towards justice and enduring peace in historic Palestine. It would have been unique because, while most attention today is directed at Israel's actions in the 1967 Occupied Territories, the conference seeks to expand the debate surrounding the nature of the State of Israel and the legal and political reality within it.¹

An academic conference in a Western country openly questioning the legitimacy of the State of Israel means we are beginning to powerfully change the tide of the narrative, and changing the narrative is critical in the struggle against the legitimacy of apartheid.

We oppose the legitimacy of apartheid, and thus the State of Israel. We oppose settler-state colonialism, and thus the State of Israel. We oppose racism, discrimination, injustice, crimes against humanity, and

¹ The conference was cancelled by the university. It was later organised by the University College Cork in 2017. See <https://criticallegalthinking.com/2016/12/12/announcement-international-law-state-israel-legitimacy-responsibility-exceptionalism/>.

constant theft, and thus we oppose the State of Israel. We declare it openly.

States, *per se*, don't have a right to exist. People do.

Does Israel does have the right to exist as a Jewish state? No. There is no right to be racist. There is, rather, a right for equality and liberation.

One critical tool for the struggle for equality and liberation is the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions Movement (BDS), a vibrant, global movement, launched in 2005, to end 'international support for Israel's oppression of Palestinians and pressure Israel to comply with international law' (<https://bdsmovement.net/>). BDS is a movement that rejects both occupation and apartheid. The movement is growing, internationally, and winning. There are multinational corporations, such as Veolia and G4S, that have lost their contracts because of their dealings with Israel.

And in just the one month of February 2015, there were numerous victories.

- More than 400 UK artists have taken a public pledge to 'support the Palestinian struggle for freedom, justice and equality.' 'In response to the call from Palestinian artists and cultural workers for a cultural boycott of Israel, we pledge to accept neither professional invitations to Israel, nor funding, from any institutions linked to its government until it complies with international law and universal principles of human rights (<https://artistsforpalestine.org.uk/a-pledge/>).' These artists have said no to financial incentives; they have said no to crossing the picket line. They have taken a stand for solidarity and conscience.
- Also that month, the largest student association in the US, the University of California Student Association, which represents more than 238,000 students in California covering ten campuses, passed a divestment against Israel resolution by a 9 to 1 vote.
- 73% of the SOAS community (faculty staff and students) voted for an academic boycott of Israel.
- The student government at the University of Toledo in Ohio passed a resolution to divest from Israel: 21 to 4.

Divestment. Academic Boycott. Cultural Boycott. Not only have there been more divestment resolutions passed in the UK and the US, but they have passed with an overwhelming majority.

Because we are getting stronger, we are being challenged. And it is another example of how our struggles are connected. Two members of the US Congress introduced a bill that would turn a very destructive trade deal — the TransAtlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) under negotiation in 2015, which violates national sovereignty, violates European sovereignty, violates environmental laws and ethics, and labor unions — into a devastating weapon against the people of Palestine and all those seeking justice alongside them. This bill would have forced ‘all 28 EU member states to crack down on European groups participating in BDS movement. The bill would have prohibited BDS campaigns and will add to the conviction that the US wants to use TTIP to undermine European democracy for its own geo-strategic and economic purposes.’ The bill called for surveillance and information-gathering on ‘politically motivated acts of boycott, divestment from, and sanctions against Israel’. If passed, and if TTIP got through, the bill would demand that European nations return to the US Congress every six months with surveillance information on all individuals, organisations and entities that participate in any way in BDS (Barnard and Hilary, 2015).

Our struggle is not only against institutionalised racism; it is a struggle against encroaching and increasing surveillance. So, in addition to supporting BDS, we need to be vehemently outraged at the concept of this extreme surveillance, in violation of democracy and sovereignty. We need to recognise that TTIP was more of the same Israeli policies; Israeli policies are basically: ‘I like what you have; I’m going to take it, and for me to take it, I have to dismiss your life as less.’ Isn’t that what neoliberal economic policies are all about? Isn’t that what so-called free trade economic policies are all about? ‘I will work you to the bone, dismiss your life as irrelevant, impose modern-day slavery on you, barely give you any wages, try as much as I can to oppose your right to organize, and then have you produce something from a country that needs it more.’ The economic structure needs to be altered, and this economic structure relies on racism, because if we didn’t so easily dismiss the lives of workers around us, this economic structure would falter.

We understand that there are structures of violence we have to dismantle. As we dismantle those structures of violence, we build other structures of connectivity to other struggles because we understand the core of our struggle.

There is strength from looking at the connection of the struggle, from recognising that when folks in Ferguson, Missouri were facing tear gas made by the company in Pennsylvania that sends the same tear gas to the Israelis (and the Bahrainis and numerous other governments around the world), Palestinians in Gaza during the bombing and onslaught tweeted to people in Ferguson and told them how to respond to tear gas. A connection was made. Then, the first delegation from Ferguson went to Palestine. These African-American youth went from Missouri to Palestine; they felt the connection of the struggle. They both understood the horror of structural racism.

From Ferguson to Palestine, resistance is not a crime. From Ferguson to Palestine, racism is a crime.

We acknowledge what Audre Lorde (1984) said: 'without community, there is no liberation, only the most vulnerable and temporary armistice between an individual and her oppression.'

Lorde (1980) also said, 'There is no such thing as a single-issue struggle because we do not live single-issue lives. Malcolm knew this. Martin Luther King, Jr. knew this. Our struggles are particular, but we are not alone.'

We are not alone. Together, we stand in solidarity resisting occupation, settler colonialism, and racism. We connect our struggles. We create an honest narrative of unity and hope. And we oppose the normalisation of fear, hopelessness, and surrender. Rather, we organise in the belief, in the recognition, that liberation and equality are possible. And we remember the struggles that came before us, and learn from them.

I believe this, now more than ever, just like when comrades before us organised for the dismantling of political apartheid in South Africa and were told that they were imagining the impossible. They organised and they were victorious against political apartheid. The struggle continues. I do believe there will come a day when Zionism and racism will fall. The only question we are facing is how fast it will fall. BDS is one of the paths of resistance to make that collapse of apartheid faster. The question is

not whether Zionism and apartheid in Palestine will be eliminated; the question is: how fast?

Let us work together to make the fall of apartheid faster, and the liberation of Palestine sooner.

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Fig. 13 Tom Hurndall, ISM volunteers in action with IDF bulldozer at the Rafah border, April 2003. All rights reserved.