



For Palestine
Essays from the Tom Hurndall
Memorial Lecture Group

Edited by Ian Parker



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

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Contributors

Miriyaam Aouragh, who gave the thirteenth Hurndall Memorial Lecture in 2018, is a Dutch-Moroccan anthropologist. She is a Reader at the Communication and Media Research Institute, University of Westminster. She is the author of the book *Palestine Online* (2012) and the forthcoming *Mediating the Makhzan* as well as the author of a number of scholarly publications (<https://camri.ac.uk/blog/staff/dr-miriyaam-aouragh/>). She often engages as a public intellectual in activist movements and debates concerning racism, imperialism and capitalism. Her research and writings focus on anti-racism, cyber warfare, grassroots digital politics and (counter-) revolutions. Aouragh's intellectual approach and political investment is inspired by the notion that "each one's liberation is bound up with the other".

Wala AlQaisiya was a doctoral student at Durham University, Department of Human Geography, and is currently a Teaching Fellow at LSE, London. Their research raises the question on meanings of queer(ying) spaces within the current Palestinian context and their relevance in relation to de-colonial geographies and imaginaries.

Penny Green, who gave the twelfth Hurndall Memorial Lecture in 2017, is Professor of Law and Globalisation, Head of the School of Law and Founder/Director of the International State Crime Initiative (ISCI) at Queen Mary University of London. Professor Green has published extensively on state crime, state violence, mass forced evictions/displacement and resistance to state violence. She has a long track record of researching in hostile environments and has conducted fieldwork in the UK, Turkey, Kurdistan, Palestine/Israel, Tunisia and Myanmar. Professor Green's most recent projects include a comparative study of civil society resistance to state crime in Turkey, Tunisia, Colombia, Myanmar, PNG and Kenya; Myanmar's genocide of the Rohingya;

and forced evictions in Palestine/Israel. Her books include *State Crime: Governments, Violence and Corruption* (2004) and *State Crime and Civil Activism* (2019). In 2015 she and her ISCI colleagues Thomas MacManus and Alicia de la Cour Venning published their seminal work on the Rohingya *Countdown to Annihilation: Genocide in Myanmar* and in 2018 published *Genocide Achieved: Genocide Continues*.

Adam Hanieh, who gave the eleventh Hurndall Memorial Lecture in 2016, is Professor of Political Economy and Global Development at the Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies, University of Exeter. His current research focuses on global political economy, development in the Middle East, oil and capitalism. He is the author of three books, most recently *Money, Markets, and Monarchies: The Gulf Cooperation Council and Political Economy of the Contemporary Middle East* (2018), which was awarded the 2019 International Political Economy Group (IPEG) Book Prize of the British International Studies Association.

Ghaith Hilal is an architect, designer, and Palestinian queer activist, based in Ramallah, Palestine. Ghaith has been an active member of alQaws' West Bank leadership since 2007, and a board member since 2009, during which he wrote articles on queer organising in Palestine in both Arabic and English.

Kamel Hawwash, who gave the fourth Hurndall Memorial Lecture in 2008, is a British-Palestinian Professor of Engineering based at the University of Birmingham, originally from Jerusalem. He is Chair of the Palestine Solidarity Campaign (PSC), a founding member of the British Palestinian Council (BPC) and a founding member of the National Campaign for Rebuilding the PLO.

Richard Kuper, who gave the second Hurndall Memorial Lecture in 2006, was a founder member of Jews for Justice for Palestinians in February 2002. At the time of preparing this lecture for publication, he is web editor of Jewish Voice for Labour.

Salma Karmi-Ayyoub, who gave the fourteenth Hurndall Memorial Lecture in 2019, is a barrister specialising in criminal law. She provides legal consultancy and advice services to individuals, non-governmental organisations and solicitors' firms on issues related to criminal and

human rights law. From 2009 until 2012 she headed an international litigation project at the Palestinian human rights organisation, Al Haq, where she is currently a legal consultant focusing on issues related to corporate responsibility for human rights violations. Salma is Chair of the legal charity, Lawyers for Palestinian Human Rights. Her articles have appeared in *The London Review of Books*, *Huffington Post* and *The Nation*, among other publications.

Tim Llewellyn, who gave the fifteenth Hurndall Memorial Lecture in 2020, was the BBC's Middle East Correspondent based in Beirut from 1976 to 1980, and again from 1987 to 1992, based in Nicosia. He continued broadcasting on Middle East matters for the BBC as a freelance commentator and contributor until 2004, after which he became a vocal critic of the BBC's coverage of Israel and Palestine and more or less disappeared from the BBC airwaves. He is the author of *Spirit of the Phoenix: Beirut and the Story of Lebanon*, published by IB Tauris in 2010.

Daniel Machover, who gave the ninth Hurndall Memorial Lecture in 2014, is a solicitor and partner at the London criminal justice and human rights law firm, Hickman and Rose. His expertise is in vindicating the rights of people who have suffered at the hands of the state, in inquest and public inquiry work and in representing individuals and organisations in complex civil litigation cases. Daniel's work for victims of crimes at the hand of state agents has led to the prosecutions of police officers and prison officers, while his work for victims of state crimes abroad (war crimes, torture and crimes against humanity) has placed him at the forefront of the movement for universal criminal jurisdiction.

Haneen Maikey, who gave the seventh Hurndall Memorial Lecture in 2011, was a Palestinian queer community organiser, co-founder and the executive director of alQaws. Haneen is author of 'The History and Contemporary State of Palestinian Sexual Liberation Struggle' (in *The Case for Sanctions Against Israel*, ed. Lim A., 2012); along with different articles about queer organising in Palestine and Pinkwashing.

Rania Masri, who gave the tenth Hurndall Memorial Lecture in 2015, is a political activist, organiser, and university lecturer. Her publications centre on issues of environmental justice, social movements, anti-war,

and, of course, the liberation of Palestine. She can be reached via twitter @rania_masri and email at raniazmasri@gmail.com.

Karma Nabulsi, who gave the sixth Hurndall Memorial Lecture in 2010, is a Tutor and Fellow in Politics at St Edmund Hall at the University of Oxford, and the Library Fellow. Her research is on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century political thought, the laws of war, and the contemporary history and politics of Palestinian refugees and representation. Their chapter was also published in 2003 in *Government and Opposition*, 38 (4), pp. 479–96, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1477-7053.t01-1-100025>.

Ilan Pappé, who gave the third Hurndall Memorial Lecture in 2007, was born in Haifa in 1954. He taught in Israeli universities until 2006, when he was forced to leave Israeli academia. He joined the University of Exeter in 2007. He is the Director of the European Centre for Palestine Studies at the University of Exeter. He is the author of twenty books, among them *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine* (2007) and *On Palestine*, with Noam Chomsky (2010).

Ian Parker, who wrote the first section of the Introduction about the Lecture Series, is Honorary Professor of Education at the University of Manchester.

Amelia Smith is a recognised name within the human rights and global issues sector. As a columnist and author of features she works closely with communities facing the most serious challenges within the UK, Egypt, Syria and the MENA region. She has edited two non-fiction books about Egypt and the Arab Spring and interviewed scores of political prisoners and their families. Her work has been translated into many languages.

Avi Shlaim, who gave the fifth Hurndall Memorial Lecture in 2009, is an Emeritus Professor of International Relations at the University of Oxford and a Fellow of the British Academy. His books include *War and Peace in the Middle East: A Concise History* (1995); *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World* (2014); *Lion of Jordan: The Life of King Hussein in War and Peace* (2007); and *Israel and Palestine: Reappraisals, Revisions, Refutations* (2009).

Lara Sheehi, PsyD (she/her), who gave the sixteenth Hurndall Memorial Lecture in 2021, is an Assistant Professor of Clinical Psychology at the George Washington University's Professional Psychology Program. She teaches decolonial, liberatory and anti-oppressive theories and approaches to clinical treatment, case conceptualisation, and community consultation. She is the president-elect of the Society for Psychoanalysis and Psychoanalytic Psychology (APA Division 39), and the Chair of the Teachers' Academy of the American Psychoanalytic Association. She is co-editor of *Studies in Gender and Sexuality* and co-editor of *Counterspace in Psychoanalysis, Culture, and Society*. Lara is on the advisory board to the USA–Palestine Mental Health Network and Psychoanalysis for Pride. She is co-author with Stephen Sheehi of *Psychoanalysis Under Occupation: Practicing Resistance in Palestine* (2022).

Salman Abu Sitta, who gave the first Hurndall Memorial Lecture in 2005, is Founder and President of Palestine Land Society, London, which is dedicated to the documentation of Palestine's land and People: website www.plands.org. He is the author of several books on Palestine, including the compendium *Atlas of Palestine 1917–1966*, English and Arabic editions, the *Atlas of the Return Journey*, the *Atlas of Palestine 1871–1877* and *Mapping my Return: A Palestinian Memoir* (in English and Italian), the first Nakba memoir in English for southern Palestine. He has written over 400 papers and articles on the Palestinian refugees, the Right of Return, the history of al Nakba and human rights. His Palestinian address to Balfour is available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rz45l_qHdRw.

Annapurna Waughray, who contributed the second section of the Introduction, 'I Am not Afraid to Look' about Tom Hurndall (a section that was originally designed to appear on the MMU website; management decided that it was not suitable for publication as a report on the lecture), is Professor of Human Rights Law in the Manchester Law School at the Manchester Metropolitan University.

Eyal Weizman, who gave the eighth Hurndall Memorial Lecture in 2013, is Professor of Spatial and Visual Cultures and founding director of the Centre for Research Architecture and the international investigative project, Forensic Architecture. He is the author of *Hollow Land* (2007),

The Least of All Possible Evils (2012), and *Forensic Architecture* (2017). After a hugely acclaimed exhibition at the ICA, *Forensic Architecture* was shortlisted for the 2018 Turner Prize. They have exhibited around the world, and in 2019, their work was included in the Whitney Biennial.