

Decolonization is not a metaphor.

TRIANGULATION of indigenous struggle,
black liberation, and a free Palestine
Produce a re-arrangement of relationships
that make empire look like Illus.

SUPPLIES NEEDED

BLACK FABRIC
WHITE HOUSE PAINT (FLAT)
KEFFIYEH STENCIL
3" PAINT ROLLER OR BRUSH
DROP CLOTHS

HAND PAINT BLM
TEXT USING A
3" PAINT ROLLER
OR BRUSH

30 FT

5 FT

BLACK LIVES MATTER

BLACK
LIGHTWEIGHT
FABRIC

HAND CUT
KEFFIYEH
STENCIL

PALESTINE, BLM & BOYCOTT IN THE ARTS

شجرة
حتى
النصر

Now is the time to advance BDS in the Arts towards a shared horizon of liberation.

This pamphlet is a living archive of movement work: articles, actions, declarations, reports, notes, tweets, jottings, and images of all kinds. Collectively, these materials mark a strategic threshold. First, they point to the rekindling of an explicit alliance between the black and Palestinian struggles, cemented by the endorsement of the Boycott Divestment Sanctions (BDS) campaign against Israeli Apartheid by the official platform of the Movement for Black Lives. Second, these materials show that artists, energized by the black and Palestinian alliance, are more determined than ever to advance BDS into an arena that we know is ripe for action and leverage: **the artworld**.

At the same time, these materials throw into relief things that are widely felt but seldom said: while BDS is a crucial tool, it has often been treated as a single-issue campaign isolated from other decolonizing struggles and other forms of action. Further, BDS as a technical set of guidelines is increasingly outflanked by its targets, especially in the cultural sector. Thanks to the headway recently made by campaign in other sectors--especially academia--art institutions are often already on notice to avoid explicitly doing business with Israel. Instead, we see the proliferation of new alibis and infrastructures for the art-washing of the occupation and the propagation of "Brand Israel." Consider, for instance, the This Place exhibition at the Brooklyn Museum earlier this year, which mobilized six million dollars in private donations to put

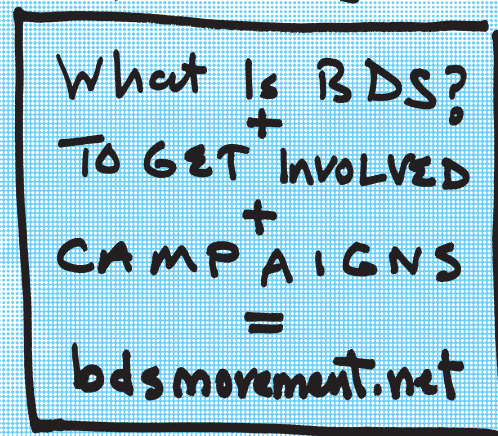
3. Educate ourselves about the expanded field of Israeli art washing.

Do our homework about who is who in the game of promoting Brand Israel--even when such promotion happens at arms length from official state funding, as in the case of Artis. Make the moral case against art washing beyond the technical criteria of BDS, and act accordingly by refusing to work with or add legitimacy to such entities.

4. Support one another if we are attacked, harassed, or blacklisted for our support of BDS and other anti-art washing work.

Be prepared for backlash from pro-Israeli forces in the media, at work, and within our communities. Stand firm together in the knowledge that we are on the right side of history, and that other movements have our back just as we have theirs. Remember the ties that bind the Palestinian struggle to those of colonized people everywhere, including in the settler colony of the United States itself.

RESOURCES



WHAT ARE YOU DOING TO PARTICIPATE? 

Pledge to Resist the Art-Washing of Occupation

The promotion of art and culture is a crucial part of Israel's attempts to legitimize and normalize the status quo of Apartheid. As artists, we can and should resist becoming tools for art washing the Israeli occupation of Palestine. We can and should act in solidarity with our fellow artists and cultural workers in Palestine who have called for the cultural boycott of Israel. The time for hand-wringing and "moral ambivalence" is over. Boycott is the floor not the ceiling. A first step is to take this pledge of resistance.

We pledge to:

- 1. Publically endorse the boycott, and encourage our friends and colleagues in the arts to do so as well.** Recognize that the simple first act of adding our names, social capital, and professional reputations to the campaign can have a significant impact. Contribute to creating a culture of peer encouragement and pressure to sign on to BDS, and ensure that refusing to collaborate with Israeli state entities becomes a basic moral stance expected of artists and institutions--especially those professing a commitment to social justice and political engagement.
- 2. Proactively support Palestinian artists and their allies who are working to advance the boycott.** Consult with organizers about skills, resources, space, and connections that we might have to offer to those already doing the work. Seek out ways to plug in beyond signing our name to BDS. Get outside our comfort zone. Strategically use the privileges we may have to put our bodies on the line with direct action, if we are able to do so.

forward a grandiose meditation by blue-chip art photographers like Jeff Wall and Stephen Shore on the lyricality of the occupied Israeli landscape. Think also of the New York-based non-profit organization Artis, which regularly takes delegations of high-profile critics, curators, and artists from the global art system on a Grand Tour of the Israeli art world--always making sure, of course, to highlight work that "addresses the Israeli/Palestinian conflict." phenomena such as This Place and Artis are among the leading examples of pro-Israel advocacy in the cultural field that art-washes the occupation. But technically they do not violate the strictures of BDS because they effectively circumvent direct engagement with the Israeli state.

To be clear: formally signing on to BDS remains an an essential litmus test for individuals and institutions in terms of their commitment to social justice. Many artists and critics in the United States have already done so, and, on an international level, musicians, writers, and actors from across the spectrum of popular culture and avant-garde experimentation have committed to the boycott. The endorsement of the campaign by the Movement for Black Lives should put to rest any moral ambiguity about whether it is righteous to refuse collaboration with a racist colonial-settler state that bears close resemblance to that of South African Apartheid (which was itself subjected to a crucial cultural boycott by artists and intellectuals). Black Lives Matter has been widely celebrated, in principle, by important players in the New York art system, from the New Museum to Creative Time. The alignment of Movement for Black Lives and BDS puts the progressive-minded parts of the US art world in a position that would seem naturally to lead to a sector-wide boycott of Israel. In good faith we hope that our progressive colleagues in the arts will indeed follow the lead of many black artists and activists. But it seems likely that many actors in the art field will prefer to avoid the question altogether by avoiding immediate funding or partnership with the Israeli government while continuing to perpetuate a culture of pro-Zionism that normalizes the occupation.

BDS is the floor, not the ceiling. Spurred by our alliance with the Movement for Black Lives and other decolonizing formations like the NYC Stands with Standing Rock water protectors and the NYC Not For Sale de-gentrification network, our analysis is expanding and our tactics are evolving. BDS changes the conversation and what we expect of our cultural institutions. The art world is the next front in this battle. Which side are you on?

#DecolonizeThisPlace #FreePalestine #BlackLiberation #StandingRock

What Does Black L

Robin D. G. Kelley

On August 1 the Movement for Black Lives (M4BL), a coalition of over sixty organizations, rolled out “A Vision for Black Lives: Policy Demands for Black Power, Freedom & Justice,” an ambitious document described by the press as the first signs of what young black activists “really want.” It lays out six demands aimed at ending all forms of violence and injustice endured by black people; redirecting resources from prisons and the military to education, health, and safety; creating a just, democratically controlled economy; and securing black political power within a genuinely inclusive democracy. Backing the demands are forty separate proposals and thirty-four policy briefs, replete with data, context, and legislative recommendations.

But the document quickly came under attack for its statement on Palestine, which calls Israel an apartheid state and characterizes the ongoing war in Gaza and the West Bank as genocide. Dozens of publications and media outlets devoted extensive coverage to the controversy around this single aspect of the platform, including The Guardian, the Washington Post, The Times of Israel, Haaretz, and the St. Louis Post-Dispatch. Of course, M4BL is not the first to argue that Israeli policies meet the UN definitions of apartheid. (The 1965 International Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and the 1975 International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid define it as “inhuman acts committed for the purpose of establishing and maintaining domination by one racial group of persons over any other racial group of persons and systematically oppressing them.”) Nor is M4BL the first group to use the term “genocide” to describe the plight of Palestinians under occupation and settlement. The renowned Israeli historian Ilan Pappé, for example, wrote of the war on Gaza in 2014 as “incremental genocide.” That Israel’s actions in Gaza correspond with the UN definition of genocide to “destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group” by causing “serious bodily or mental harm” to group members is a legitimate argument to make.

The few mainstream reporters and pundits who considered the full M4BL document either reduced it to a laundry list of demands or positioned it as an alternative to the platform of the Democratic Party—or else focused on their own benighted astonishment that the movement has an agenda beyond curbing police violence. But anyone following Black Lives Matter from its inception in the aftermath of the George Zimmerman verdict should not be surprised by the document’s broad scope. Black Lives Matter founders Alicia Garza, Patrisse Cullors, and Opal Tometi are veteran organizers with a distinguished record of fighting for economic justice, immigrant rights, gender equity, and ending mass incarceration. “A Vision for Black Lives” was not a response to the U.S. presidential election, nor to unfounded criticisms of the movement as “rudderless” or merely a hashtag. It was the product of a year of collective discussion, research, collaboration, and intense debate, beginning with the Movement for Black Lives Convening in Cleveland last July, which initially brought together thirty different organizations. It was the product of some of the country’s greatest minds representing organizations such as the Black Youth Project 100, Million Hoodies, Black Alliance for Just Immigration, Dream Defenders, the Organization for Black Struggle, and Southerners on New Ground (SONG). As Marbre Stahly-Butts, a leader of the M4BL policy table explained, “We formed working groups, facilitated multiple convenings, drew on a range of expertise, and sought guidance from grassroots organizations, organizers and elders. As of today, well over sixty organizations and hundreds of people have contributed to the platform.”

“A Vision for Black Lives” is a plan for ending structural racism, saving the planet, and transforming the entire nation—not just black lives. The result is actually more than a platform. It is a remarkable blueprint for social transformation that ought to be read and discussed by everyone. The demands are not intended as Band-Aids to patch up the existing system but achievable goals that will produce deep structural changes and improve the lives of all Americans and much of the world. Thenjiwe McHarris, an eminent human rights activist and a principle coordinator of the M4BL policy table, put it best: “We hope that what has been created carries forward the legacy of our elders and our ancestors while imagining a world and a country profoundly different than what currently exists. For us and for those that will come after us.” The document was not drafted with the expectation that it will become the basis of a mass movement, or that it will replace the Democratic Party’s platform. Rather it is a vision statement for long-term, transformative organizing.

**WE ARE
NOT TOOLS
FOR WHITE-
WASHING
OCCUPATION**

Decolonize

This Place

Art as Training in the Practice of Freedom

by Nitasha Dhillon

You have asked me what function art should serve with regard to environmental and social concerns. It should be said that we live in a world where art as we know it is corrupt, exhausted, and weak. We see shimmering edifices of cultural wealth erected on the backs of hyper-exploited labor—the pyramids and coliseums of the 21st century—on land turned into concrete. We see museums, galleries, and public art projects serving as the avant-garde of displacement and dispossession. We see so-called “social practice,” the well-funded bureaucratization of alienated people’s desire for community, effectively normalizing oppression rather than engaging in struggle. And we see theoretically savvy “discursive platforms” that speak of radical democracy, militant ecology, and even communization, while recoiling at the prospect of deploying their considerable resources, skills, and potential for the purposes of building a transformative movement. The answer thus cannot exclude the fact that we are all implicated, and that the art world is so thoroughly intertwined with capitalism that there is no space (and little time) left outside of it.

When I think of art after Occupy, I imagine “art” under erasure. We strike art to liberate art from itself. Not to end art, but to unleash its powers of direct action and radical imagination. Imagine a refugee camp collaged into the symbolic heart of finance capital, a self-organized commons installed at ground zero of empire, an empty minimalist plaza flooded with bodies and voices and cameras, blasting a collective cry to the world: “Sorry it took so long, we are awake now!” Imagine a general strike in New York City, and a never-ending process of experimentation, learning and undoing, resisting and building in the unexplored terrain of an historic rupture. Or, imagine an alternative museum tour of the Museum of Natural History, calling it out for what it is: “a monument for white supremacy,” mic-checking in the Hall of Forestry on “gentrification, natural disaster, displacement, and white supremacy” in one breath, instigating the unlearning, complicating narrative where it matters most, where knowledge is both produced and disseminated.

Finally, let me say (with love) that today we are obsessed with whether the above is “art” or “activism.” Although these frames are useful analytical tools, they are limiting. There is a war being waged in the imagination, and we are urged to ask, “How do we live?” and then, despite the feeling of helplessness, to act. It is by acting that we learn a new way of thinking, or, as the Zapatistas say, “asking we walk.” As a member of MTL Collective, I am engaged in a practice in which the artist’s work does not add only an artistic flair to this or that campaign, but rather contributes theory and research, action and aesthetics, debriefing and analysis—this entire dialectical process is the art practice. Gulf Labor, and its direct-action wing, G.U.L.F.; #BlackOutTour; Occupy Museums; and Direct Action Front for Palestine are examples of such a practice. They take aim at a range of targets: labor exploitation, white supremacy, the capture of public space, climate colonization, gentrification, police violence, Israeli apartheid, rape and sexual assault, and more. Yet, they do not work in silos. They take action in New York City while making connections to each other, as well as other geographies and struggles. Today, the artist is an organizer, recognizes capitalism has always been hostile to human and non-human life, and understands that people fight where they are. We maintain the specificities of struggle as we build a coalition among equals and move toward a shared horizon of liberation. So let art be training in the practice of freedom.



Louvre Museum Construction, Abu Dhabi, March 2015.



Detail of #BlackOutTour, Natural History Museum, February 2015.

ives Matter Want?

Aug 17, 2016 Boston Review

Indeed, “A Vision for Black Lives” is less a political platform than a plan for ending structural racism, saving the planet, and transforming the entire nation—not just black lives.

If heeded, the call to “end the war on Black people” would not only reduce our vulnerability to poverty, prison, and premature death but also generate what I would call a peace dividend of billions of dollars. Demilitarizing the police, abolishing bail, decriminalizing drugs and sex work, and ending the criminalization of youth, transfolk, and gender-nonconforming people would dramatically diminish jail and prison populations, reduce police budgets, and make us safer. “A Vision for Black Lives” explicitly calls for divesting from prisons, policing, a failed war on drugs, fossil fuels, fiscal and trade policies that benefit the rich and deepen inequality, and a military budget in which two-thirds of the Pentagon’s spending goes to private contractors. The savings are to be invested in education, universal healthcare, housing, living wage jobs, “community-based drug and mental health treatment,” restorative justice, food justice, and green energy.

But the point is not simply to reinvest the peace dividend into existing social and economic structures. It is to change those structures—which is why “A Vision for Black Lives” emphasizes community control, self-determination, and “collective ownership” of certain economic institutions. It calls for community control over police and schools, participatory budgeting, the right to organize, financial and institutional support for cooperatives, and “fair development” policies based on human needs and community participation rather than market principles. Democratizing the institutions that have governed black communities for decades without accountability will go a long way toward securing a more permanent peace since it will finally end a relationship based on subjugation, subordination, and surveillance. And by insisting that such institutions be more attentive to the needs of the most marginalized and vulnerable—working people and the poor, the homeless, the formerly incarcerated, the disabled, women, and the LGBTQ community—“A Vision for Black Lives” enriches our practice of democracy.



Finally, a peace dividend can fund M4BL’s most controversial demand: reparations. For M4BL, reparations would take the form of massive investment in black communities harmed by past and present policies of exploitation, theft, and disinvestment; free and open access to lifetime education and student debt forgiveness; and mandated changes in the school curriculum that acknowledge the impact of slavery, colonialism, and Jim Crow in producing wealth and racial inequality. The latter is essential, since perhaps the greatest obstacle to reparations is the common narrative that American wealth is the product of individual hard work and initiative, while poverty results from misfortune, culture, bad behavior, or inadequate education. We have for too long had ample evidence that this is a lie. From generations of unfree, unpaid labor, from taxing black communities to subsidize separate but unequal institutions, from land dispossession and federal housing policies and corporate practices that conspire to keep housing values in black and brown communities significantly lower, resulting in massive loss of potential wealth—the evidence is overwhelming and incontrovertible. Structural racism is to blame for generations of inequality. Restoring some of that wealth in the form of education, housing, infrastructure, and jobs with living wages would not only begin to repair the relationship between black residents and the rest of the country, but also strengthen the economy as a whole.

To see how “A Vision for Black Lives” is also a vision for the country as a whole requires imagination. But it also requires seeing black people as fully human, as producers of wealth, sources of intellect, and as victims of crimes—whether the theft of our bodies, our labor, our children, our income, our security, or our psychological well-being. If we had the capacity to see structural racism and its consequences not as a black problem but as an American problem we have faced since colonial times, we may finally begin to hear what the Black Lives Matter movement has been saying all along: when all black lives are valued and the structures and practices that do harm to black communities are eliminated, we will change our country and possibly the world.

Nov 5, 2015 The Brooklyn Rail

Feb 24, 2016 CounterPunch

Yes, I Said “National Liberation”

By Robin D.G. Kelley

**“You can’t trust a big grip and a smile
And I slang rocks Palestinian style”**

— “The Shipment,” Steal This Album by The Coup

Whatever the reasons, our solidarity ought to be based on building a new world together. I am not suggesting that we abandon the struggle to hold Israel accountable for its continued crimes against humanity and violations of international law, or that we stop mourning and honoring the dead, or that we cease any of the immediate actions designed to sustain life and bring a modicum of peace. But peace is impossible without justice. The brilliant Egyptian writer Ahdaf Soueif put it best: “The world treated Gaza as a humanitarian case, as if what the Palestinians needed was aid. What Gaza needs is freedom.” And what is freedom for Palestine? “Free Palestine” means, at a minimum, completely ending the occupation; dismantling all vestiges of apartheid and eradicating racism; holding Israel accountable for war crimes; suspending the use of administrative detention, jailing of minors, and political repression; freeing all political prisoners; recognizing the fundamental rights of all Palestinian and Bedouin citizens of Israel for full equality and nationality; ensuring all Palestinians a right to return and to receive just compensation for property and lives stolen, destroyed, and damaged in one of the greatest colonial crimes of the twentieth century.

Ironically, as AIPAC-backed, right-wing Christian Zionist organizations, such as the Vanguard Leadership Group (VLG) and Christians United for Israel (CUFI), work furiously to recruit Black students, elected officials, and religious leaders to serve as moral shields for Israel’s policies of subjugation, settlement, segregation, and dispossession, it was precisely the Zionist promise of a new society based on the principles of justice, liberation, and self-killing that determined the attraction that attracted such overwhelming Black support for the founding of Israel. This is a complicated story. Black identification with Zionism predates the formation of Israel as a modern state. For over two centuries, the biblical book of “Exodus,” the story of the flight of the Jews out of Egypt and the establishment of Israel, emerged as the principal political and moral compass for African Americans. “Exodus” provided Black people not only with a narrative of slavery, emancipation, and renewal, but with a language to critique America’s racist state since the biblical Israel represented a new beginning.

When Israel was founded in 1948, Black leaders and the Black press, for the most part, were jubilant. Few Black writers mentioned Arab dispos-

session, the Nakba, or the terror tactics of the Haganah. Instead, Black leaders and the Black press embraced the founding of Israel because they recognized European Jewry as an oppressed and homeless people determined to build a nation of their own. In a speech backing the partition plan, socialist labor leader A. Philip Randolph said that he could not conceive of a more “heroic and challenging struggle for human rights, justice, and freedom” than the creation of a Jewish homeland. “Because Negroes are themselves a victim of hate and persecution, oppression and outrage,” he argued, “they should be the first to be willing to stand up and be counted on . . . in this fight for the right of the Jews to set up a commonwealth in Palestine.” And yet, in defending a Jewish homeland, Black leaders and the press often succumbed to anti-Arab racism, depicting Arabs as the brutal, bloodthirsty aggressors and the Jews as the heroic defenders of the nation and purveyors of civilization. In March 1948, the Atlanta Daily World ran a photo of Arab “snipers” juxtaposed to another photo of Jewish men standing guard under the caption, “Violence in the Holy Land.”



These postwar Black intellectuals and activists who viewed Israel as a model of national liberation were not dupes, nor were they acting out of some obligatory commitment to a Black-Jewish alliance. Rather, with the exception of figures such as George S. Schuyler, they failed to see Israel as a colonial project founded on the subjugation of indigenous people. Why? First, Zionism was seen in 1948 as a nationalist movement forged in the cauldron of racist/ethnic/religious oppression, resisting the post-Ottoman colonial domination of the region by Britain and France, and poised to bring modernization to a so-called backward Arab world. The nationalist and anti-colonial character of Israel’s war of independence camouflaged its own colonial designs. Second, the Holocaust was critical, not just for the obvious reasons that the genocide generated global indignation and sympathy for the plight of Jews and justified Zionist arguments for a homeland, but because, as Aimé Césaire argued in *Discourse on Colonialism* (1950), the Holocaust itself was a manifestation of colonial violence. Israel comes into being as a nation identified as victims of colonial/racist violence, through armed insurrection against British imperialism. It is a narrative that renders invisible the Nakba – the core violence of ethnic cleansing. The myth of Israel’s heroic war of liberation against the British convinced even the most anticolonial intellectuals to link Israel’s independence with African independence and Third World liberation. Israel’s ruling Labor Party pursued

What specific factors made the museum unable to appropriately address the community’s concerns and is the reason unique to this context or is it generalizable? Is it actually the museum staff or board members involved — their biases, their inability to act — or is it the complex relations between the museum and its many partners, supporters and collaborators at stake? Is it the maintenance of the museum’s reputation within the art world itself, defined here as the spectacle industry of art fairs and commercial galleries, biennials and trickle-out economics? Or perhaps we have to admit here that the art world and its institutions are in fact constructed of mutually exclusive communities — donors and neighbors, corporate supporters and those seeking alternatives, the “diverse” demographics claimed in a grant report and those whom the exhibitions are actually organized for.

Where in this process did the calls for change get stuck and was it actually the kind of institution “we are,” in Fraser’s formulation, that stifled critique? Not just this artist, this curator, this director, this museum, but art institutions as a cultural construct, our institutions — the ones we’ve created. The ones we enable because, after all, they do show incredible artists, lend credibility to others’ work, have great openings, connect with the global art world, and circulate ideas that we are interested in. Though they do also perpetuate structural inequalities, tend to “artwash” the worst tendencies in our society, sometimes mount offensive exhibitions without apology, and even undermine the ideas proposed by some of those incredible artists. Is the Guggenheim’s value equal to its oppression of migrant workers? Was the Tate’s cultural value greater than the destructive extractions of its former lead sponsor, BP? Do these just cancel out in the end, or is there some remainder?

We love a scapegoat, a story with clean lines — here, the provincial museum that should’ve known better, the villain curator with the privileged blue-chip artist past his prime. When dismantling a hierarchy, those with real power always want to settle for plucking out a brick when it’s the foundation at fault, something in the water that was mixed in with the cement. Like water for chocolate boiling over. Like when “wait” means “never,” or negotiation means nothing.

So we can side with the voices that protest the work, agree that the outcry was warranted, sigh that the curator slipped out, that the show goes on. But these works are in someone’s collection, they are still sold in Chelsea, and they circulate freely. All our white cubes with Caucasian walls remain and we call it a win.

What is needed now, what I hope is happening now, is a kind of collective reexamination of the institution as a concept — a critique that happens in public. Our institutions and their structures need to be interrogated: Is power concentrated or shared? Are budgets supportive of the community and its stated mission, or a parade of inequities? Who, underneath it all, is the institution for? What kind of community is it trying to form?

The people who have brought direct actions to the museum from Occupy onward are already doing this work. [Damon Davis](#) did it in a late-night call for a boycott of Walker’s exhibition, as did CAM’s black staff members, [De Nichols](#), [Lyndon Barrois](#), and [Victoria Donaldson](#), who put their employment and much more on the line. [#DecolonizeThisPlace](#) is in the process of this kind of critique alongside Artists Space, and [Liberate Tate](#) has helped to successfully remove BP from the museum’s sponsor list, while [Casco Projects](#) in Utrecht has initiated a longterm commitment to “commoning” the institution. This work is to reshape the concept of the institution itself. Injustice has no place within an institution. The new institution, as with the new artist, protests. We need a better model to live in rather than going on managing disasters like they are PR problems. Adopt the critique, common the structure, radicalize the space, lead the conversation. [Elsewhere, I attempted to sketch out some semblance of a start](#), but it needs to be rewritten *by us*, collectively. Short of this, we’ll get past the boycotts, mount the next exhibitions, hire the replacements, but the cracks add up, connect, and splinter out. The museum concept may not be infinitely expandable, but here we are, spilling out into the streets, with so many movements within us.

A Call for a Collective Reexamination of Our Art Institutions

James McAnally | October 11, 2016

Hyperallergic

Screenshot of the Museum of Modern Art's website collection page for Kelley Walker's "Black Star Press: Black Star, Black Star Press, Star" (2004) (screenshot by the author for Hyperallergic)

ST. LOUIS — Watching the Kelley Walker exhibition at the [Contemporary Art Museum \(CAM\)](#) in St. Louis unravel in the span of a few weeks, from what the museum promoted as its most ambitious installation to date — taking over the entire museum for the fall season — to becoming a disgraced footnote in contemporary exhibition making, it's clear that what we have witnessed is a failure of the idea of the institution. The artist, Kelley Walker, is of course at fault. As is the curator Jeffrey Uslip, the director Lisa Melandri, the unfortunate PR department left with the mess, and the Contemporary Art Museum more specifically. Yet that critique isn't nearly deep enough. It skims off the surface, replaced as easily as another new wall, another non-collecting kunsthalle with a coat of fresh paint.

As someone who constantly considers the forces of institutions and their responsibilities, both from 'within' as a director of a [nonprofit](#) art space and as a writer thinking about the mechanics of the art world, the actions surrounding Walker's exhibition [Direct Drive](#) read as a limit case of systemic rupture. The exhibition prominently features Walker's controversial appropriations of images of black people and photographs from the Civil Rights movement, in which he smears toothpaste and

other commercial materials on the images to occlude their content, and has been met with a well-documented [boycott](#) from St. Louis artists and widespread denunciations of the curatorial choices. The artist talk [following the opening](#), in which Walker dodged questions about the intent behind his work and shut down dialogue specifically initiated by black artists, was just the tipping point.

What happened after, however, is where the bigger implications surrounding the institution lie — not only the question of what kind of institution CAM is, but what kinds of institutions we perpetuate more broadly. In [Andrea Fraser's](#) words, "Every time we speak of the 'institution' as other than 'us' we disavow our role in the creation and perpetuation of its conditions[...]" It's not a question of being against the institution: We are the institution. It's a question of what kind of institution we are."

The exhibition's failure became clear within days, but the institution's failures are still unfurling. Rather than wondering how or why the exhibition took place in its final form, I am more concerned over why the institution was unable to respond transparently or decisively in the aftermath and, further, what this says about art institutions writ large. When faced with the boycott, which quickly went viral, the museum avoided taking a position for days after, speaking in the most generic terms emptied of force, while the curator disappeared from sight, cancelling talks and other appearances. When the museum's black staff wrote a letter calling for a clear list of demands, there was no public response.

alliances with African nations under the guise that they, too, were part of the Non-Aligned Movement, and Israeli leaders publicly condemned racism and presented Israel as a model democracy. In 1961, when South Africa's Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd tried to deflect international criticism of his country by describing Israel as "an apartheid state" ("The Jews took Israel from the Arabs after the Arabs had lived there for a thousand years."), Israeli leaders promptly denounced him. Indeed, in 1963, then Foreign Minister Golda Meir told the UN General Assembly that Israelis "naturally oppose policies of apartheid, colonialism and racial or religious discrimination wherever they exist."

Meir wasn't the first foreign minister to lie to the General Assembly, nor would she be the last. The Non-Aligned Movement never embraced Israel, which it had come to see as a colonial power. In 1956, Israel joined Britain and France in a joint military invasion of Egypt after President Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser decided to nationalize the Suez Canal Company. As part of the war on Egypt, Israel occupied southern Gaza and slaughtered Palestinian refugees and other civilians in Khan Yunis, Rafah, and the nearby village of Kafr Qasim. Eight years later, Malcolm X visited the refugee camp at Khan Yunis during his two-month stay in Egypt and learned of the massacres, inspiring his oft-quoted essay, "Zionist Logic" which appeared in the *Egyptian Gazette*, September 17, 1964. Malcolm concluded that Zionism represented a "new form of colonialism," disguised behind biblical claims and philanthropic rhetoric, but still based on the subjugation and dispossession of indigenous people and backed by US "dollarism."

The 1967 Arab-Israeli War brought many more African Americans around to Malcolm's position. The Black Caucus of Chicago's New Politics Convention of 1967 unsuccessfully proposed a resolution condemning the "imperialist Zionist war," and the Black Panther Party followed suit, not only denouncing Israel's land grab, but pledging its support for the PLO. The event that drew the most ire from liberal Zionists, many of whom had been veteran supporters of the civil rights movement, was the publication of "Third World Round-up: The Palestine Problem: Test Your Knowledge," in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) newsletter. It described Israel as a colonial state backed by US imperialism and Palestinians as victims of racial subjugation. In short, Black identification with Zionism as a striving for land and self-determination gave way to a radical critique of Zionism as a form of settler colonialism akin to American racism and South African apartheid.

As a result of SNCC's article, "responsible" Black leaders were called on to denounce the statement as anti-Semitic and to pledge their fealty to Israel. It was in this atmosphere that Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., made his oft-quoted statement: "We must

stand with all of our might to protect [Israel's] right to exist, its territorial integrity. I see Israel, and never mind saying it, as one of the great outposts of democracy in the world." Pick up most literature from AIPAC or Stand With Us or CUFI and you will likely see this quote emblazoned in bold letters but bereft of any context. King's words come from a long, public interview conducted by Rabbi Everett Gendler at the 68th annual convention of the Rabbinical Society on March 25, 1968 — ten days before his assassination and ten months after the War. Revisiting it is highly instructive. First, Gendler tried to cajole him into denouncing "anti-Semitic and anti-Israel Negroes." But King pushed back. Dismissing the claim that anti-Semitism was rampant in the Black movement, he argued instead that Black-Jewish tensions stem primarily from economic inequality and exploitation. He implored the audience "to condemn injustice wherever it exists. We found injustices in the black community . . . And we condemn them. I think when we find examples of exploitation, it must be admitted. That must be done in the Jewish community too." In other words, King not only insisted on condemning all forms of injustice but he refused to allow the charge of anti-Semitism to silence legitimate criticism — of Jews or of Israel.

His remarks about Israel and the Middle East are even more striking. Short of condemning war altogether, he called for "peace" above all else. For Israel "peace . . . means security," though he never specified what security meant in this context. He also addressed what he thought peace meant for the Arabs. "Peace for the Arabs means the kind of economic security that they so desperately need. These nations, as you know, are part of that third world of hunger, of disease, of illiteracy. I think that as long as these conditions exist there will be tensions, there will be the endless quest to find scapegoats." On the one hand, the statement belies a surprising ignorance of the history as well as the consequences of the 1967 war. King repeats the mantra that Palestinians suffer from hunger, disease, and illiteracy because they are poor, not because they were dispossessed of their land and property and subjected to a security state that limits their mobility, employment, housing, and general welfare. King's solution?: "a Marshall Plan for the Middle East." On the other hand, by situating Palestine in the "Third World," he placed it squarely within what he identified as the whirlwind of global revolution sweeping aside the old economic structures based on capitalism and colonial domination. "These are revolutionary times," he announced in his legendary speech on Vietnam a year earlier. "All over the globe men are revolting against old systems of exploitation and oppression, and out of the wounds of a frail world, new systems of justice and equality are being born . . . We in the West must support these revolutions."

We can only speculate on how King's position may have changed had he lived, but given the



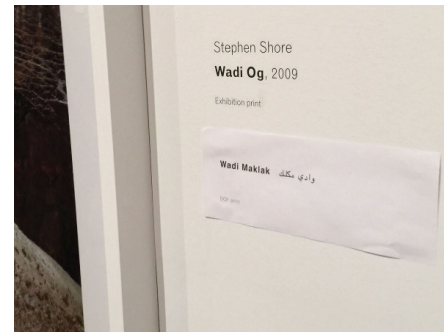
of the situation—perpetuates the settler-colonial regime. Where is the balance between an oppressed and an oppressor? There is none. Apartheid is a black and white issue.

We Act In Solidarity. We owe to Palestinians at least what we demand for ourselves: freedom from occupation, freedom from new forms of colonization, freedom to return to and inhabit the territory which we and our families called home. Without annexation, without financialization, without exclusion, without pollution, without the destruction of the common resources that sustain collective life. We act in solidarity and with a desire for justice when we hold our cultural institutions accountable. We express our bond with those in bondage by acts of refusal and acts of love. Militant love.

To The Brooklyn Museum: You are hereby on notice. BDS is the floor not the ceiling. The days in which art and artists are instrumentalized to normalize oppression, displacement, and dispossession of any people are over. We are watching you, and we will scrutinize your exhibitions and your funding, and we will act when you fail.

opportunity to study the situation in the same way he had studied Vietnam, he would have been less sanguine about Israel's democratic promise or the prospect of international aid as a strategy to dislodge a colonial relationship. To be sure, his unequivocal opposition to violence, colonialism, racism, and militarism would have made him an incisive critic of Israel's current policies. He certainly would have stood in opposition to the VLG, CUFI, and the litany of lobbyists who invoke King as they do Israel's bidding. And let's be clear: King preached revolution. Distributing humanitarian aid and ending hostilities were never the endgame. The point of civil disobedience was not to keep the status quo intact, to make the regime slightly more just or fairer. The point was to overturn it. More than a regime change, King called for a revolution in values, a rejection of militarism, racism, and materialism, and the making of a new society based on community, mutuality, and love.

Not surprisingly, I found this revolutionary commitment to build a new society in Palestine. Yes, I confronted the apartheid Wall, witnessed the harassment of Palestinians passing through checkpoints, wept over piles of rubble where Palestinian homes had been demolished and their olive trees uprooted by the IDF, walked through the souk in Hebron littered with bricks





Hypenallergic

#decolonizethisplace

Action against the Brooklyn Museum

May 2016

BDS and Beyond. Palestinian Civil Society has called for Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) against Israel until it complies with international law and human rights. This Place is not captured by BDS because its funding is private. Eighty-five US, European, and Israeli private donors and foundations provided the \$6 million in funding for this show; the majority of these funders either directly or indirectly (through other organizations and projects they fund) support Israeli interests and institutions. While some of these funders' projects support "coexistence" between Jewish and Arab Israelis, they acknowledge neither Palestinians nor the illegal occupation. A few donors have directly funded Jewish-only settlements in the West Bank, and even the Israeli Defense Forces.

BDS is the floor, not the ceiling, of what is expected from our museums and cultural institutions. Artistic and institutional neutrality of the kind propagated by This Place is a myth. When we are talking about Palestinian lives, there is no side to be on but that of life itself. The purported balance served by claiming not to take sides—or indeed to highlight the "complexity"

and garbage and human feces dumped on Palestinian merchants by settlers, negotiated the narrow, muddy pathways separating overcrowded multistoried shacks in the refugee camps erected in the shadows of fortress-like West Bank settlements, and was overwhelmed by the level of violence, repression, and dehumanization Palestinians had to endure. But what impressed me most were the activists, the intellectuals, the youth, who spoke confidently about a liberated country, who saw the old guard leadership and the Palestinian Authority as impediments, who envisioned and debated a dozen different paths to a democratic and decolonized future. They gathered at Muwatin: the Palestinian Institute for the Study of Democracy in Ramallah; at Mada al-Carmel: the Arab Center for Applied Social Research in Haifa; and in the refugee camps in Balata, Jenin, and Bethlehem.



THE BIOPOLITICS OF SETTLER COLONIALISM

by Jasbir K. Puar

Excerpts from Right to Maim — forthcoming Duke University Press, Fall 2017

These practices of bodily as well as infrastructural debilitation, loosely effaced in concerns about “disproportionate force,” indicate the extension or perhaps the mutation of the “right to kill” claimed by states in warfare into what I am calling the “right to maim.” Maiming as intentional practice expands biopolitics beyond simply the question of “right of death and power over life”; maiming becomes a primary vector through which biopolitical control is deployed in colonized space and hence not easily demarcated “necro” as it is mapped in Mbembe’s reworking of biopolitics. Mbembe discusses injury as a crucial element of enslavement: “The slave is kept alive but in a state of injury...slave life, in many ways, is a form of death-in-life.”[i] Sticking with the binary of life and death with his formulation of “death-in-life,” he does not pursue injury and debilitation as altering living and dying as primary poles within which populations oscillate. The four quadrants remain; death is reiterated as the ultimate loss (of life). “The right to maim” supplements if not replaces ‘the right to kill.’ While other scholars of biopolitics have noted the centrality of disability to the deployment of biopolitical population management, these efforts generally remain wedded to the poles of living and dying within which life is toggled. That is to say, while the distinctions between living and dying are often recognized through the “cuts” of race and the “folds” of overlapping population construction and management, maiming, debilitation, and stunting are relatively under theorized components of these cuts and folds; centering these processes may potentially alter presumed relations to living and dying altogether. Maiming is a practice that escapes definition within both legal and biopolitical or necropolitical frameworks because it does not proceed through making live, making die, letting live, or letting die. My reframing adds a critical axis to the four quadrants, insisting that debilitation--indeed, deliberate maiming--is not merely another version of slow death or of the living dead or of a modulation on the spectrum of life to death. Rather it is a status unto itself, a status that triangulates the hierarchies of living and dying that are standardly deployed in theorizations of biopolitics.



The Right to Maim: Debilitation and Inhumanist Biopolitics in Palestine

“All this gnawing at the existence of the colonized tends to make of life something resembling an incomplete death.”

I. A CATALOGUE OF SUFFERING

It is as yet unclear what the summer of 2014’s carnage in Gaza will be known as, remembered as, or named. And it may remain unclear for quite some time.

The tally is in (though ever-evolving) after 51 days of Operation Protective Edge.

The United Nations report that 2,131 Palestinians were killed during Israel’s offensive, including 501 children; 70 percent were under the age of 12. 244 schools were shelled and one was used as a military base by Israeli soldiers.

The Ministry of Health in Gaza recorded 10,918 people injured including 3,312 children and 2,120 women.

The Palestinian human rights organization Al Mezan documented at least 10,589 houses damaged or destroyed of which 2,715 were completely flattened. (Later reports state 18,000 homes were destroyed, including high-rise apartment buildings). Eight hospitals - resulting in six being taken out of service - 46 NGOs, 50 fishing boats, 161 mosques, and 244 vehicles were also hit. Eighty percent of Gazan families currently have no way to feed themselves and are completely dependent on aid.

Amnesty International reported that at least 13 health facilities and 84 schools were forced to close.

Doctors Without Borders/ Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) had difficulty reaching populations that need assistance given the severity of the bombing, fuel shortages that grounded more than half of the ambulances, and depletion of supplies. A number of hospitals were damaged, contravening the Geneva Convention which considers civilian hospitals to be protected during wartime, including Gaza City’s el-Wafa Rehabilitation Center in Shijaiyah, which had been targeted at least six times and has been severely damaged; its 15 disabled and elderly patients finally managed to be evacuated.

This is what is meant by the residents of Gaza being “under siege,” a commonly used refrain meant to obscure much of this detail; I have resorted here to a somewhat polemical deployment of empirical information in part to counter this tendency to obscure the specifics of the occupation. Gaza is also claimed to be the most densely populated place on earth, and also the world’s largest “open air prison.” Belying these tidy descriptions are what Allen Feldman calls the “new forms of imagery, discourse, war, security and state rights being carved out of the bent backs of Palestinian civilians.” One of the biopolitical aspects I have been tracking are the permeating relations between living and dying that complicate or test Michel Foucault’s foundational mapping, in this case, the practice of deliberate maiming. I argue that Israel’s manifests an implicit claim to the “right to maim” and debilitate Palestinian bodies and environments as a form of biopolitical control and as central to a scientifically authorized humanitarian economy. I further demonstrate the lim-

We all know that your support carries some level of personal or professional risk. This risk is critical to the boycott tactic, and is currently being borne by Israeli BDS advocates, including artists, who are persecuted and criminalized for participating in Boycott from Within Israel. Please consult the guidelines set out by PACBI (at <http://www.pacbi.org/>) and note that they allow for signatories to choose their own level of engagement.

In Solidarity with the Palestinian People

to choose their own level of engagement.

In Solidarity with the Palestinian People

To sign, please email: letterforpalestine@gmail.com

Initial signatories:

Haig Aivazian

Shaina Anand

Marco Baravalle (and S.a.L.E. Docks)

Doris Bittar

Paula Chakravartty

Mel Chin

Nitasha Dhillon

Tony Evanko

Noah Fischer

Mariam Ghani

Amin Husain

Pedro Lasch

Simone Leigh

Naeem Mohaiemen

Rangarupa

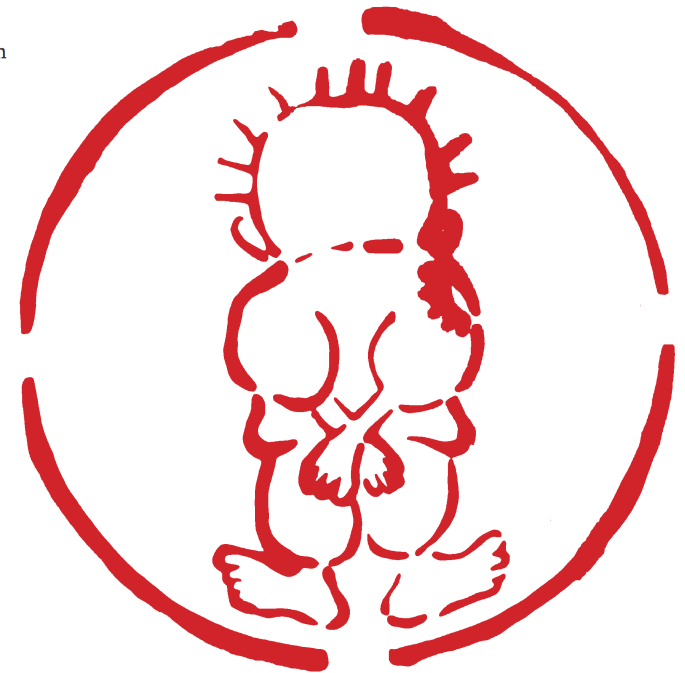
Andrew Ross

Greg Sholette

Ashok Sukumaran

Kaarin Taipale

Dan S. Wang



We also continue the efforts of other artworld campaigns: those who successfully boycotted the 19th Biennale of Sydney in protest against its sponsors Transfield Holdings, manager of mandatory detention centers for asylum seekers; members of Liberate Tate, who have pledged to “free art from oil”; and Gulf Labor, a group that refuses to cooperate with the Guggenheim Abu Dhabi until fair working conditions and wages are secured for the foreign nationals building the museums on Saadiyat Island. Before these, we had the Guerrilla Girls, the Art Workers Coalition, and so many others who have refused to cooperate in the face of institutional racism, sexism, and labor exploitation.

To those who believe that engaging with Israeli institutions would be part of a useful dialogue, or that the boycott will further isolate propeace voices within Israel, we caution against the use of your work to convey an appearance of free speech at a time when war crimes are committed daily. Artists’ creative expression is being used to whitewash and normalize the brutality of the Occupation. The reality is that only certain viewpoints enjoy freedom of expression in Israel; being an advocate of PACBI/BDS is not one of them.

It is not anti-Jewish to be critical of Israel. It is time to fully differentiate Judaism from Zionism. For sure, criticism of Israeli policies has been used to serve those with racist agendas, and it is essential that BDS supporters be vigilant against this. We acknowledge the historical basis for Jewish fears but caution that these concerns should not be manipulated to cast doubt on the moral goals of the campaign itself. We condemn the use of any anti-Jewish or anti-Muslim rhetoric in connection with the BDS campaign.

Scholars have taken the lead in responding to the PACBI call to boycott Israeli institutions, and other sectors (governments, communities of faith, trade unions, banks, and branches of commerce) are signing on to the general BDS campaign. The boycott is now spreading to the general population in countries all over the world. Yet, with a few notable exceptions, the institutional artworld has held back.

itations of the idea of “collateral damage” that disarticulates the effects of warfare from the perpetration of violence. Finally, I note that the policy of maiming is a productive one, as a form of weaponized epigenetics and through the profitability of what I call a speculative rehabilitative economy. This final chapter takes the biopolitics of debilitation to its furthest expanse, looking at how the population available for injury is capacitated for settler colonial occupation through its explicit debilitation. It moves the argumentation about debilitation from the production of populations available for injury to the targeting of populations to be injured.

How is the practice of maiming manifested? Medical personnel in both Gaza and the West Bank report a notable “shoot to cripple” phenomenon. In Ramallah, Dr. Rajai Abukhalil speaks of an increasing shift from “traditional means” such as teargas and rubber coated metal bullets to used to “disperse” protests to “... firing at protestors knees, femurs, or aiming for their vital organs.” As a continuity and intensification of the practice of breaking the arms of stone-throwers in the first intifada, shoot to cripple attempts to pre-emptively debilitate the resistant capacities of another intifada, the next intifada. In Gaza, the Israeli Defense Forces used flechette shells. While these are not “expressly forbidden under international humanitarian law in all circumstances,” nevertheless they are considered inappropriate for densely populated areas as they explode upon impact into thousands of tiny steel darts.

What is often claimed by the IOF (Israeli occupation forces, otherwise known as the Israeli Defense Forces) as a “let live” praxis, understood in liberal terms as less violent than killing (and thus, less sensational and more under the radar), shoot to cripple appears on the surface to be a humanitarian approach to warfare. Another manifestation of this purported humanitarianism is the example of the “roof knock,” a preliminary assault on structures to warn residents to evacuate, sometimes happening no less than 60 seconds before a full assault. Roof knocks were insufficient, however, when disabled Palestinians with mobility restrictions were unable to escape the bombardment of the Mubaret Philistine Care Home for Orphans and Handicapped in Gaza’s Beit Lahiyah district; three disabled residents died. These were not mobile residents; the capacity of mobility circumscribes the utility of the roof knock, though the humanitarian intention of a 60 second warning—a short, stingy temporal frame—is dubious.

Civilians in Gaza were also alerted to impending airstrikes through phone calls and texts, often misdirected to the wrongly targeted households. This purportedly humanitarian practice of warning Gazans of impending strikes with phone calls appears more like a “reminder of how powerless they are” given the control that Israel has over the telecommunication networks in the West Bank and Gaza. As the research of Helga Tawil-Souri on “digital occupation” documents, telecommunication companies owned and operated by Palestinians are routed through servers in Israel.

What happened in the summer of 2014 is preceded by much of the same during earlier periods. During the first intifada, the human rights organization al-Haq produced a comprehensive report titled Punishing a Nation: Human Rights Violations During the Palestinian Uprising: December 1987-December 1988. This document contains extensive evidence of both intent and effect of Israeli practices of injuring and maiming. Media accounts outline then-Defense Minister’s Yitzak Rabin’s discussion of starting use of plastic bullets “to increase the number of (wounded) among those who take part in violent activities but not to kill them.” “Violent activities” is the term most often used for political demonstrations or rock throwing. UNRWA statistics, reported by The Jerusalem Post on September 27, 1988, mark sharp increases in injuries after the introduction of plastic bullets. Al-Haq’s report also has affidavits from individuals describing incidents of arbitrary and unprovoked beatings unlinked to protest activity; cites the West Bank Database Project Report of 1987 detailing the widening of the “opening of fire” from life-threatening situations to opening fire as part of deterrence, “shooting first at an 80-degree angle in the air, and then, with intent to injure, at the legs.”; notes that the Israeli army radio confirms using “special bullets intended to injure while reducing the risk of killing”; follows debates in the Jerusalem Post about concern about the illegality of using certain bullets to increase injuries amongst Palestinian protestors; documents further reportage in the Jerusalem Post regarding the illegality of breaking someone’s arm even if they had violated the law; notes the inappropriateness of high-velocity bullets and assault rifles with high muzzle velocity, which, as reported by Ha’aretz, causes the bullets to “spin around inside the victim’s body damaging the internal organs.” Al-Haq concludes: “The Israeli government’s claims that its response to the uprising is a lawful one do not fit the facts. The assertion that the cases of illegality are mere exception to the rule cannot stand when seen against a wealth of documented examples showing savage behavior by the army on a regular basis.” As further evidence, they cite The Jerusalem Post of November 30, 1988 which specifically reports that during the month of November, protests in Gaza Strip were at their lowest while casualties at their highest, thus contesting the claim that the IDF is merely responding to violent activity.

During the second intifada, there were reports that the IOF were using “high-velocity” fragmenting bullets that created a “lead snowstorm” effect in the body—scattering the bullet throughout and creating multiple internal injuries—leading to high rates of crippling injuries. Dum-dum bullets, which are banned under international human rights law, are difficult to extract once entering and exploding outwards within the body and usually guarantee those hit will “suffer for life.” Dr. Robert Kirschner of Physicians for Human Rights stated that the Israeli soldiers appear to be shooting to inflict harm rather than solely in self-defense, “their actions amounting to “a form of torture.” Dima Qato, among many other global health researchers and practitioners, argues that the “pattern of injuries cannot be claimed to be accidental.”

Speaking of Palestine: Solidarity and Its Censors

by Jasbir K. Puar

Mar 16, 2016



That my descriptions of life and death in Palestine incited a smear campaign rather than raising concerns about how the Israeli state is treating the bodies of those they colonize is not accidental. Rather, it demonstrates how certain histories can be continually recycled and recirculated in order to repress and silence other histories. The histories of the quotidian realities of Palestinians in the West Bank, along with the scholars invested in understanding affective registers of living and dying under occupation, are immediately condemned by Zionists as anti-Semitic. This specious conflation of anti-occupation expression and anti-Semitism represents an intensification of both the occupation itself and the policing of scholarship about it. Not only is anti-colonial struggle branded anti-Semitic, but so, apparently, is feeling occupied. In order to square this circle, gatekeepers insist that critiques of the Israeli state can only be motivated by anti-Semitism, rather than a concern for human rights, colonized populations, and stateless peoples.

Campus Politics and Free Speech

I stand by my research and scholarship unequivocally. Having participated in Palestine solidarity work for nine years now, I have had my fair share of hate mail—it comes with the job—and fiery debate during lectures with folks who have denounced my work simply because they do not agree with what they are hearing. I am more than willing, committed, and even happy to engage in dialogue and have insistently done so in many forums. But this latest episode involving my Vassar lecture is a new twist. The talk was taped without my permission or that of the people who had invited me, and the transcript was disseminated to right wing media, inciting hateful responses. There was a complete lack of engagement with the substance of my research. The person or people taping the talk did not ask a question or offer a comment during the question and answer period; their intention was to launch a smear campaign by resorting to pressure behind the scenes.

The exercise of free speech and academic freedom becomes extremely constrained in such environments, where any information or research about the Israeli

occupation of Palestine is a priori characterized as anti-Semitic. This foreclosure is detailed in a publication by Palestine Legal titled “Palestine Exception to Free Speech: A Movement under Attack in the US” which documents widespread campus censorship on the question of Palestine. Nationally, university administrations, alumnae groups, and other student organizations have targeted chapters of Students for Justice in Palestine in order to repress BDS resolutions and other forms of Palestinian solidarity organizing. Vigorous and courageous student activists have fought for the space to debate the conflict; as such, the targeting of those speaking out has become more vicious and completely lacking in the principles of dialogue and debate.

These silencing and intimidation tactics are manifestations of desperation. The disdain and disregard for open debate betrays the fears of Zionists that they are losing. They are desperate to contain the popular movements of students, many of them Jewish Americans, galvanizing around BDS. The current Zionist strategy is simply to pre-empt and repress student activism at American universities, and to discredit those who research and speak publicly about Israel’s human rights crimes against Palestinians. This is also in part a generational battle, as increasing numbers of Jewish American students defy their Zionist upbringings by questioning familial fidelity to Israel.



As condemnation of the repression of free speech and student organizing at Jawaharlal Nehru University in India, and in South Africa and Turkey gets louder, we might want to note that the criminalization of dissent—not only that linked to Palestine—has a long trajectory in the United States and is currently intensifying. Six state legislatures are currently debating bills that would make critiques of the Israeli state illegal or punishable in some form or another. Glenn Greenwald and Andrew Fisher have written an important article titled the “Greatest threat to free speech in the West is happening via the criminalization of anti-occupation activism.” Their analysis explicates the stealth with which western states are encroaching on freedom of speech rights while hypocritically condemning the repression of those rights in non-western locales.

The group behind the “Artists’ Letter for Palestine” told Hyperallergic that it sees the letter as an “invitation to dialogue, rather than a ‘final word.’”

56th Venice Biennale

Artists’ Letter for Palestine

Request for Signatories

Dear Fellow Artists and Cultural Workers,

We write to you as artists and cultural workers, regarding PACBI’s (Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel) call for a boycott of Israeli institutions. Many of you are already signatories. PACBI is the cultural and academic component of the BDS (Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions) movement, initiated by Palestinian civil society as an appeal for international solidarity.

We ask you, first of all, to sign on as artists participating or attending to pledge non participation in exhibitions and other cultural events that are sponsored or funded by the state of Israel. Please note that this is not a boycott of Israeli citizens. We also ask you to pass this on to other Biennale participants to add strength to its eventual circulation throughout the artworld. The goal here is to collectivize the voices of our community.

As artists, we have some leverage to bring global attention to injustice. Following the repudiation, by artists and curators, of Israeli state funding at last year’s Biennale de São Paulo, it is appropriate to bring the BDS spirit to Venice, where the stateless are obscured by the radiance cast by the national pavilions, and where the theme of “All the World’s Futures” has been widely interpreted by participants in the spirit of social justice. This is a critical moment to ask our community and artworld institutions to respond publicly to the call to take a stand against the Occupation and Israeli policies.

Our voices are part of a long legacy — note that boycotts are never the first step, they arise after repeated negotiations prove fruitless. In particular, we write out of respect for, and in continuity with, a boycott effort begun in 2001 (before PACBI was launched) by ART ACTION. We aim to build on their effort in a more public way, using the Venice Biennale as a platform to launch this statement.

In the interest of preempting a selfparalyzing conversation, let us acknowledge that native people were displaced from their homes to make way for those fleeing the persecution of Jews in Europe and elsewhere, including the horrors of the Shoah. While we acknowledge the genocide of Jewish communities, we believe that the settlers’ suffering in other lands does not vindicate the displacement, dispossession and killing of Palestinians. The struggle against the Israeli occupation has a proud lineage that connects to five centuries of resistance against religious persecution and settler colonialism around the globe.

ARTIST LAUNCH "Letter For Palestine" Campaign at Venice Biennale Aug 13, 2015 Hypnallergic



The letter was read by NYU Professor Andrew Ross on August 9 (see the video above) during the “Who Needs Museums and Biennales?” panel organized by Gulf Labor at the Venice Biennale. During an August 12 event at the [Press Room](#) — a parallel arts program that was held during the opening week of the Biennale and again as an auxiliary event during the current [Creative Time Summit](#) — Mariam Ghani talked about the “Artists’ Letter for Palestine.” Artist Pedro Lasch, another Summit participant who is one of the letter’s signatories, was also there to address the issues with Ghani and the Press Room audience.

During the Press Room discussion, Ghani cited the [1974 Venice Biennale](#), when the program was dedicated to the aftermath of Chile’s violent coup d’état. The 1974 event, which highlights the radical past of the Venice Biennale as one of the few institutional art platforms with a history of launching collective political action, was clearly on the mind of this year’s curator Okwui Enwezor as the [press release](#) for his exhibition, *All the World’s Futures*, explains:

Bringing practitioners across the fields of visual art, cinema, music, theater, dance, and performance, the events of the 1974 Art Biennale were spread across the entire city of Venice. Today, this remarkable and transformative episode in the history of the Biennale is largely forgotten. The dedication of the program of events to Chile and against fascism remains one of the most explicit attempts, in recent memory, by which an exhibition of the stature of the Art Biennale not only responds to, but courageously steps forward to share the historical stage with the political and social contexts of its time. It goes without saying that, in view of the current turmoil around the world, that the *Biennale’s Eventi del 1974* has been a curatorial inspiration.

What Hate Mail Does

Often, the charge of anti-Semitism linked to critiques of Israeli state policies is rendered in Islamophobic, anti-Muslim language. Those making the accusation of anti-Semitic, hateful, or irresponsible speech then feel free to e-mail the most astonishingly vulgar, racist, misogynist, homophobic, Islamophobic screeds. Some go as far as to threaten mutilation, sexual violence, stalking, kidnapping, torture, and death. These e-mails typically referred to the female body in a range of ways, including comments about my categorical dirtiness and ugliness, my genitalia, and even my mother’s genitalia. Several insisted that Rutgers terminate my tenured job, demand justification for allowing me to teach young minds, or avowed that they will start a major campaign to get me fired.

Many of the people engaged in hate speech against me assume I am Arab and/or Muslim—I am neither—thus projecting me, in racist fashion, into the ubiquitous brown terrorist body. In the press I have been referred to as a “raving crackpot” and as a “Scaredy Cat Bomb Thrower.” The escalation and normalization of Islamophobic slurs is a constitutive and sanctioned mechanism of the “war on terror.” Islamophobic expression on college campuses and beyond rarely causes concern. While there is plenty of public space and freedom of speech for Donald Trump’s endless racist screeds against Arabs and Muslims and Mexicans, a legitimate analysis of the horrors of the Israeli occupation lead to vicious forms of silencing and slander.

The most high-profile smear against me appeared in a Wall Street Journal op-ed titled “Majoring in Anti-Semitism at Vassar.” The authors, Mark Yudof, former president of the University of California, and Ken Waltzer, addressed me repeatedly as “Ms.” rather than Dr. or Professor Puar. Such tendentious erasures of my professional credentials only serve to betray their bigotry and bias. One wonders whether a white male professor would be the target of such disrespect, or receive such lewd, violent messages, or be subject to such denigrating descriptions of one’s intellectual capacities and mental state. I am fortunate in that I have tenure and the complete support of our phenomenal union and my colleagues. But for those who do not have these safeguards, especially Arabs and/or Muslims who work on Palestine and are active in solidarity organizing, these Zionist intimidation tactics make the professional, economic, and psychological stakes of speaking up especially high.

The onslaught of e-mails and the deeply disturbing tone of several of them have led to the involvement of the Rutgers University Police Department with the Department of Women and Gender Studies. Their first visit to our department happened after

faculty member Professor Brittney Cooper faced threats for writing publicly on issues related to anti-black racism in America. Harassing phone calls and e-mails first and foremost affect our staff, who are the frontlines of our communications, fielding telephone messages, forwarding e-mails, and compiling records of calls and e-mails for the authorities. Anonymous and cowardly threats create fear and worry not only for the stated target of these attacks, but more significantly for those who spend the most time in our offices, meaning our staff, the maintenance workers (who are the ones most often there after hours), work-study students, and our undergraduate and graduate students. In response to the campaign against me, the staff at Women and Gender Studies removed my name from the signs that announce our faculty and our officers. (I am currently serving as Graduate Program Director.) This was the first of extensive security measures, which I am not at liberty to further detail, that we were advised and also mandated to execute. The irony of turning to the police to investigate those policing our speech is not lost on anyone.

This abuse resonates with a tradition of scapegoating women of color who are seen as easy targets of campaigns to diminish our credibility. A solid majority of the community at the Department of Women and Gender Studies are gender non-conforming, of color, and are producing cutting edge interdisciplinary scholarship that continually insists on going against the grain. Our department has many scholar-activists who are committed to social justice movements and often speak in public intellectual forums about controversial political issues. The intellectual mission of the department is thus aligned with these politics: to question the status quo of dominant knowledge production.

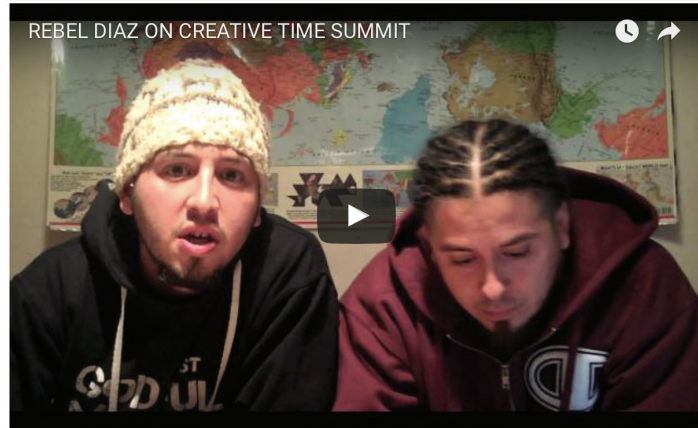
When hate mail and threats of violence are sent to one person, they actually target an entire community, one that probably has many varied perspectives on the question of Palestine. Hate mail attempts to shut down not just a single voice, but rather an apparatus of diverse thinkers, student and faculty activists, and political spaces. Further, numerous unintended targets are made vulnerable by these violent attacks, including staff, students, visitors, and other faculty members. When university administrators such as those at Vassar refuse to take strong stances in defense of faculty and succumb to pressure from alumnae and donors, they implicitly sanction not only the repression of free speech, but also the terrorizing of entire communities of scholars. Providing and reinforcing safe, secure environments for the expression of free speech, especially that which seeks to communicate the experiences of those living in occupation and contribute to an international solidarity movement for justice, is a community issue, one at the heart of what the university must foster.

Artists Cancel Creative Time Summit Appearances Over Israeli “Partnership” [UPDATE 7]



Hrag Vartanian | October 12, 2012

Like 76 Share Tweet



Hip hop duo Rebel Diaz, artist Narcenio Hall and Cairo-based art collective Mosireen are boycotting the two-day 2012 Creative Time Summit in Manhattan because of what they are calling a partnership with an Israeli organization that is funded by the Israeli government.

Last night, Diaz made his announcement via YouTube video after being contacted by “Palestinian comrades,” who pointed out the conference had a partnerships with the Israeli Center for Digital Arts, which is funded by the Israeli government. The partnership did not involve any financial exchange for the Creative time conference.

One half of Rebel Diaz, Rodrigo Venegas, told the influential Palestinian new website Electronic Intifada that they “made the decision not to participate, that we will show solidarity with the Palestinian community.”



UPDATE 7: Josh MacPhee has decided to jettison his whole talk about the Interference Archive in Gowanus, Brooklyn, NY, but is talking only about BDS and says Creative Time made a mistake by “partnering” with an Israeli organization that has not reject the Israeli occupation.

He says, “I believe in organized boycotts and not personal one ... politics is nothing if it's not about my relationship with you.”

He says a sign-up sheet will be circulated to the audience for those who want to get involved. He also mentioned these three websites for more information:

- bdsmovement.net
- pacbi.org
- adalahny.org

been at the forefront of struggles for wages and labor reforms that challenge the very terms of Gulf petro capitalism, itself embedded in flows of capital and labor. The global cultural brands setting up in Abu Dhabi—Guggenheim, Louvre, British Museum, NYU—claim zero responsibility. They insist that the problems of the workers should be addressed to the government, to the subcontractors, to the middlemen, to the “sending country,” but never to the disinterested heights of art institutions themselves who possess a leverage they refuse to acknowledge.

We combine analysis, art, and action. What can be done? Our partners in the Gulf Labor Coalition first brought these conditions of life, work, and debt to public attention. They called for an artists boycott of the Guggenheim Abu Dhabi in particular, demanding that certain conditions on the Island of Happiness be met. Trips have been taken to labor camps and construction zones in Abu Dhabi and Dubai. Reports have been written. Extensive meetings have been convened. G.U.L.F. brought a new element to this arsenal: artistic direct actions targeting the flagship museum in New York designed to incite solidarity, not benevolence. We have made unsolicited alterations to the building, to the spectator environment, and to the internal protocols of the museum itself, making it into a temporary zone of the marvelous while drawing connections between the speculative real estate booms and busts from Manhattan to Abu Dhabi. Banners were dropped, propaganda flung like confetti from the heights of the famous spiral, dissenting voices thundered and echoed throughout the rotunda, police were called in to secure the museum as it shut down. We have disfigured its corporate brand and magnified the pressure on the museum’s trustees to accept responsibility for the human suffering at the bottom of the subcontracting chain.

We realize solidarity is a verb. When we act in New York--the capital of the global artworld and global media alike--we perform on an outsized stage, and can amplify many voices, especially those that go unheard on Saadiyat Island. How do we understand that the struggles of the UAE’s migrant workers are connected to our own, and are a precondition to our own liberation? We do this not by imagining the worker as a victim to be saved, but rather as a fellow human whose freedom is bound up with our own. We have connected with their plight because our own dignity depends on it. Our liberation is either collective or it is nonexistent, so we assail the Guggenheim in New York because it is our gateway into a larger struggle. When we proclaim solidarity, we do not ignore very real differentials of conditions, temporalities, experiences, power, and privilege. We hold on to the specificities of struggle because we

understand that history is more awesome than good will. We will not be solidarity tourists. Spectacular actions are necessary yet insufficient on their own, but how do we sustain solidarity?

We imagine escalation--at the Guggenheim and beyond. The Guggenheim has been for us an urgent target in its own right. But it has also been a testing ground, a laboratory of learning, a training in the practice of freedom with ramifications far beyond the museum itself. Even if the Guggenheim Foundation trustees accede to the demands of the Gulf Labor Coalition and take independent action to protect the rights of workers and abolish their debts our work would not be over. Saadiyat Island will still be there as a challenge and a target, along with every other cultural stockpile designed to embellish the lives of ultra-luxury elite at the expense of the lives of a great majority--especially the lives of black and brown people that are systemically devalued and rendered disposable under carceral neoliberalism. The workings of the artworld have long been bound up in the fine art of gentrification--the by-now formulaic intertwining of culture-driven development, realty speculation, and enclave policing that disciplines and displaces poor peoples from urban neighborhoods. On Saadiyat Island, we see these components in a slightly different, but fundamentally related, combination--brown and black bodies in accommodations that resemble detention camps, toiling under debt bondage and brutal law enforcement to build a real estate paradise for a light-skinned overclass.

We who believe in freedom cannot rest. The ultra-luxury economy is deeply racialized, locally and globally. In the Gulf, Americans and Europeans doing business are called “expats,” whereas people constructing and maintaining these surreal cities in the desert are bachelor migrant workers. Actions within and against this economy must make the struggle against racism and white supremacy an essential part of their drive. This extends to the occupation, exploitation, and ethnic cleansing characteristic of Israeli policy--indeed, a global cultural boycott of institutions connected to Israeli Apartheid is well within our sights. Boycotts, strikes, pickets, die-ins, occupations, web-hacks, media hijacks...whatever the combination of tactics, our actions are at once oppositional and abundantly creative. As we disrupt and refuse the role that art is now playing in the normal functioning of this global system which propagates racism and inequality in its shadows, we make space for something new to come into the world that would have otherwise seemed impossible. The heart of this new culture is solidarity and human dignity. We who believe in freedom cannot rest... until it is won.

* * * * *

What time is it on the clock of the world?

- Grace Lee Boggs

June 26, 2015 e-Flux On Direct Action: An Address to Cultural Workers

We amplify a cry reverberating across the globe. From Istanbul and Sydney to New York and Sao Paulo, the proliferation of direct actions is disrupting business as usual at elite cultural institutions: Black Lives Matter at the Museum of Natural History, climate protests at Tate Modern and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, collective pressure for boycott at Haifa's Technion, and worker solidarity disruptions at the Guggenheim Museum NYC, to name only a few.

We see that actions are employing a diversity of tactics. At times, uninvited assemblies inside museums are announced. At other times the unexpected occurs, unheralded. Actions take aim at a range of targets: labor exploitation, white supremacy, the capture of public space, climate injustice, gentrification, police violence, Israeli apartheid, rape and sexual assault, and more. They are beautifully disruptive within their own arenas of concern. But these concerns are also connected.

We know that by hacking the media machine our actions can have deeply transformative potential or they can reinforce existing norms and power relations. They can accept the limits of a given context--and implicitly affirm them--or they can change the nature of that context altogether. Let our actions be an opportunity to test, to unlearn, and to train in the practice of freedom.

We are the Global Ultra Luxury Faction (G.U.L.F.). Our name aggressively reflects back to the actually existing artworld its true nature: a spectacular subsystem of global capitalism revolving around the display, consumption, and financialization of cultural objects for the benefit of a tiny fraction of humanity, namely, the 1%. But we believe that a shift is beginning to occur. We strike the global ultra luxury economy in the interest of making a new space of imagination, one that builds power with people and facilitates the re-arrangement of our own desires in the struggle for justice and freedom. **We are cultural workers.** We are students, teachers, thinkers, makers, painters, writers, musicians, and more. We recognize and use our privilege to

speak out but must always be wary of reproducing the privilege of our location. We work with the imagination and the senses, with hearts and minds, with bodies and voices. We recognize that our work, our creativity, and our potential are channeled into the operations and legitimization of the system. We work--often precariously--as both exploiters and exploited, but we do not cynically resign ourselves to this morbid status quo. We will not allow our songs to become ashes, or our dreams to become nightmares. We see our proximity to the system as an opportunity to strike it with precision, recognizing that the stakes in general far exceed the discourses and institutions of art as we know them.

We are living, working, and creating in an expanded field of empire. This field is marked by mortal crises--crises of finance resulting in gaping inequality, of climate, of dispossession and displacement, of poverty and neo-colonialism, of state violence and creeping fascism, and always of patriarchy. But this field is also traversed by freedom struggles, from the striking workers in Abu Dhabi and Dubai to the insurgents in Palestine, Ferguson, Athens, and beyond. G.U.L.F. itself emerged, in part, from the occupation of Wall Street. There, inspired by uprisings in Tunisia, Egypt, Greece, and Spain, we bypassed the institutions of a corrupted representative democracy. We put our bodies directly on the line at the symbolic doorstep of global capital. Wall Street is an abstract space, everywhere and nowhere at once. By de-occupying it, we created space for collective powers to surge forth and for struggles to connect with one another. Walking together, we have asked questions. How do we live? What is freedom? What does solidarity look like? What role can art play?

We target global systems and local conditions at once. G.U.L.F. names an overarching system, but it also evokes a specific location which exemplifies that system in its most spectacular form: the oil sheikdoms of the Persian Gulf. These states aspire to be a prime recreational playground for the global 1%. Artistic and educational institutions from New York to Paris have eagerly contributed their brands to the development of the de luxe cityscapes of the Emirates. We see monuments to "culture" woven into a monstrous assemblage of fossil fuels, financial power, and imperial geopolitics. Holding up the pyramid--bearing the weight of the entire edifice--are the legions of workers from Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, Nepal, Philippines, Sri Lanka and, most recently, Cameroon, Uganda and Nigeria, who seek dignity and a better future for their families. They are drawn to the Gulf by economic precarity in their home countries, and typically end up bonded to their work through debt. Many of these workers have



Since the bombshell by Rebel Diaz, hip hop artist [The Narcycyst](#) (Yassin Alsalmán) explained via tweet that the Electronic Intifada post convinced him to pull out of his planned participation in the Creative Time Summit in Dubai.

He explained his reasoning via Twitter:

 **Narcenio Hall** @TheNarcycyst
@AliAbunimah I was asked to moderate a panel on "occupation". I was unaware of the 'partners' till this morning. The irony was too much.

Reply Retweet Favorite

3 RETWEETS 1 FAVORITE
7:48 AM - 12 Oct 12 - Embed this Tweet
 **Narcenio Hall** @TheNarcycyst
@AliAbunimah my decision is based only my support of Palestine and its people, our people, my people. As an Iraqi, I wish people took...

Reply Retweet Favorite

3 RETWEETS 1 FAVORITE
7:48 AM - 12 Oct 12 - Embed this Tweet
 **Narcenio Hall** @TheNarcycyst
@AliAbunimah the same stand for all injustices. Thank you for continually Giving us the information needed to make our decision.

Reply Retweet Favorite

2 RETWEETS 1 FAVORITE
7:48 AM - 12 Oct 12 - Embed this Tweet




Mosireen, which has also pulled out, was previously confirmed to take part in the [Saturday workshops](#).

According to Electronic Intifada, Creative Time has removed at least one page featuring the Israeli-government-funded organization.

UPDATE 1: Creative Time has clarified to Hyperallergic that the partnerships have not been scrubbed, as EI suggests, but they have only been reorganized and those organizations previously listed as "Partners" are currently listed only as "Sites" and listed here: creativetime.org/summit/sites

UPDATE 2: We reached out to Rebel Diaz over Twitter and received the following response:

 **Hragy** @hragy
Hey @RebelDiaz why are you not performing at the #CTSummit today?
Details

 **Rebel Diaz** @RebelDiaz
@hragy because we practice solidarity with the Palestinian community and did not want to be associated w/ Israeli Ministry of Culture

Reply Retweet Favorite

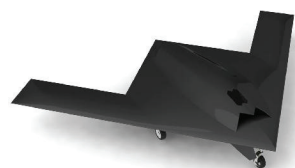
11:27 AM - 12 Oct 12 - Embed this Tweet

UPDATE 3: Speakers from Tidal Journal are addressing the CT Summit boycott and explaining that we should consider the boycott that is happening.

Dear Participants of *Living as Form* (nomadic version):

We have become aware that your work is being exhibited at the Technion - Israel Institute of Technology in Haifa as part of *Living as Form* (nomadic version), the Creative Time exhibition that is being toured internationally by Independent Curators International (ICI). As admirers of your work and this critical exhibition—which includes so many exemplary projects that imbue our everyday actions and lived environments with community participation, imagination, and political commitment—we are concerned about the disconnect between the artists' orientation toward social justice and the exhibiting institution's central role in maintaining the unjust and illegal occupation of Palestine.

Technion has, for decades, been a crucial research center for the development of technologies used by the Israeli Defence Forces against Palestinians in regular and widespread acts of surveillance, land theft, unwarranted eviction, restriction on movement, and violent repression. As the leading science and technology university in Israel ([the world's top exporter of drones](#)), Technion has been central in the development of military unmanned aerial vehicles such as the "Stealth drone," which can fly up to 1,850 miles and deploy two 1,100-pound bombs by remote control. Technion has also innovated remote-control capabilities for the Caterpillar D-9 armored bulldozer, an effective tool in the continued destruction of Palestinian homes (over 27,000 of which have been destroyed since 1967, according to the [Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions](#)). Technion works closely with Rafael, the Israeli government company that designs advanced weapons systems, and Elbit, one of the two main contractors of the electronic detection fence, a key component of Israel's Separation Wall in the West Bank (read more about these partnerships [here](#)).



Stealth Drone

Armored Caterpillar D-9 Bulldozer



So far, six collectives—Jennifer Allora & Guillermo Calzadilla, Chto Delat?, Céline and Gavin Wade Condorelli, the Decolonizing Architecture Art Residency, the U.S. Social Forum, and Women on Waves—have withdrawn on ethical grounds concerning Technion's direct relation to the Israeli occupation and/or on the grounds of its violation of Palestinians' call for boycott, divestment and sanctions (BDS) against Israel until it complies with international law and ends its occupation of Palestinian land, dismantles the Wall, ensures equality for Palestinian citizens of Israel, and respects, protects, and promotes rights of Palestinian refugees to return to their homes.

Since a broad base of Palestinian civil society [called](#) for BDS in 2005, thousands of activists, artists, and civil associations have courageously refused participation in Israeli cultural and academic institutions, noting their deep ties to governmental policies of apartheid and practices of settler colonialism. The BDS strategy has seen [growing success](#). Support includes endorsement by a long list of luminaries, including [Judith Butler](#), [Naomi Klein](#), [Angela Davis](#), [Arundhati Roy](#), [Archbishop Desmond Tutu](#), [Alice Walker](#), [Eduardo Galeano](#), [Brian Eno](#), [John Berger](#), [Roger Waters](#), the late Gil Scott Heron, and many others. Last year the American Studies Association [endorsed the boycott of Israeli academic institutions](#); divestment resolutions are quickly spreading around the United States and the world. You can read more about the campaign for the academic and cultural boycott of Israel [here](#).

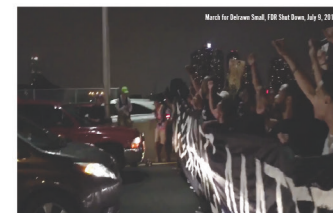


thanks to the intensive actions of the movement for Black Lives). "I can't breathe...ONE! I can't breathe...TWO! I can't breathe...THREE!..." Chanted eleven times in a continuous loop, this cry echoed throughout the streets of New York City in December following the failure of a grand jury to indict the officer who killed Garner. At once mournful and militant, the chant conjured Garner's words as a source of collective strength in the face not only of police violence, but white supremacist order in which black lives continue to be systematically extinguished. As a coda to the eleven banners, we also produced a twelfth in the same style, but instead declaring "When We Breathe We Breathe Together."

The twelve banners were deployed throughout the city during the Millions March through Manhattan, and beyond that into the wildcat march that shut down the Brooklyn Bridge on the way to Pink Houses in East New York, where the NYPD had killed Akai Gurley a month earlier. In the two years since, they have taken on lives of their own, moving and reappearing across multiple actions, sites, and events, most recently at the founding assembly of Abolition Square in City Hall Park.

Banners do much more than communicate a message. They are a choreography of direct action and media circulation. They can be used to create and hold space: physically, visually, and in the public imagination. Whether heading up a march, blockading an intersection, framing the entrance to a park, or affixed to an official structure of power, banners can mark sites of injustice and resistance, and map linkages between such sites.

But it is not really about banners. Banners are nothing without the bodies that activate them, and the breath that animates those bodies in turn. As we gather in number and strength, our struggle is to breathe in common, to liberate ourselves from the deadly chokehold of structural racism and settler-colonialism: from Brooklyn to Bethlehem and beyond.





When we breathe, we breathe together. Under this banner, we, the Direct Action Front for Palestine, endorse the historic platform issued by the Movement for Black Lives (M4BL) and Black Lives Matter (BLM). We stand in solidarity with this righteous call for justice, and we salute you for validating BDS, the campaign to boycott the Israeli state and its institutions. Descending directly from the anti-apartheid efforts to isolate South Africa, the platform's BDS endorsement is a recognition of the commonality of our separate predicaments as we confront regimes of simultaneous racist violence and liberal complacency. The mutually entwined structures of white supremacy and Israeli apartheid are being shaken to their core as we speak, and our voices, dreams, and actions echo one another as never before.

The struggle for Black liberation is primarily waged on U.S. soil---the very same land that hosted plantation slavery and European conquest---but it has always been an international struggle. Whether through the framework of pan-Africanism, Third Worldism, Black Power, or the black Atlantic, black struggles have been held up as a global litmus test for human freedom, and especially among people in the throes of decolonization. The resurgence of this long, decolonial movement among black diasporic peoples was most recently sparked by chronic police brutality in American cities. But BLM's impact resonates all around the world, and strikes a common chord in places like Palestine where resistance to the cruelty of the Occupation has also attracted international allies and widespread condemnation of Israel's apartheid policies.

We produced eleven of these banners as an implicit memorial to Eric Garner. In cellphone video from July 2014, Garner is seen uttering the phrase "I can't breathe" eleven times as he is choked to death by the NYPD while being arrested for selling loose cigarettes according to the "broken windows" policy of NYPD commissioner Bill Bratton (the latter of whom has recently been deposed



BDS, ICI recently---several days after the show's May 28 opening---wrote to some of you indicating that your work is being shown there and that you have the right to withdraw it. In addition to this exhibition, some months earlier this same exhibition has travelled to Artport in Tel Aviv (December 26, 2013 to March 7, 2014). It should be noted that both of these exhibitions are in violation of the BDS call.

Since we heard about the show at Technion, some of us have attempted to reach out to those exhibited in *Living as Form* before making the call public so that you could also be involved in the development of the call and what transpires in the future. We could not manage to reach all of you and this letter is part of that effort. With this appeal and the information contained herein, we call on you to join your fellow artists in withdrawing your works from this exhibition.

Creative Time and ICI are, according to their [statements](#), choosing to disregard the BDS call and unwilling to withdraw the exhibition. They have placed the responsibility on artists to do so. We ask you, as artists whose imaginative and committed work we deeply respect, to stand in solidarity with Palestinians resisting the continued colonization of their land and to stand against the tacit legitimization of institutions which develop the technologies and infrastructures for maintaining the occupation.

Please [notify ICI](#) of your withdrawal from the show at Technion and let Creative Time and ICI know that cultural organizations must halt their partnerships with institutions that contribute to or normalize the Israeli military-industrial complex. We thank you for your consideration and your continued commitment to international social justice.

May such actions help us to begin boycotting all the institutions which implicitly or explicitly support militarism, including those in the United States, Europe, and elsewhere.

Signed,

Withdrawn and in support:

Celine Condorelli and Gavin Wade
Chto Delat?
Decolonizing Architecture Art Residency
Jennifer Allora and Guillermo Calzadilla
U.S. Social Forum
Women on Waves

Artists in 'Living as Form' and signatories:

Cemeter Art House
Minerva Cuevas
Ultra Red
Wendelien van Oldenborgh

Signatories:

AdalahNY:
The New York Campaign for the Boycott of Israel
Alexander Dwinell
Amin Husain
Andrew Hsiao
Andrew Ross
Angel Nevarez
Anjalika Sagar
Ariella Azoulay
Art Palestine
Ashok Sukumaran
Ayreen Anastas
Barrak Alzaid
Basel Abbas
Benj Gerdes
Blithe Riley
Brian Holmes
Brian McCarthy
Bronson Wood
Chantal Mouffe
Chitra Ganesh
Chris Hedges
Claire Pentecost
Common Notions
DAM
Daniel Tucker

Dario Azzellini
David Graeber
Dipti Desai
Doug Minkler
Elena Wood
Ethan Heitner
Favianna Rodriguez
Fawz Kabra
Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak
George Caffentzis
Gulf Ultra Luxury Faction (G.U.L.F.)
Guy MannesAbbott
Hakan Topol
Hyla Willis
Invincible
Jakob Jakobsen
James Cairns
Jennifer Hayashida
Jeremy Brecher
Jesal Kapadia
Josh MacPhee
Judith Butler
Kareem Estefan
Khaled Hourani
Kodwo Eshun
Laura Dvorak
Laura Hanna
Laura Whitehorn
Lindsay Caplan
Lisa Duggan
Lucy Lippard
Mariam Ghani
Marina Berio
Marina Sitrin
Marshall Weber
Martha Rosler
Mary Patten
Melissa M. Forbis
Molly Crabapple
Mosireen
MTL Collective
Nadia Awad
Nathan Schneider

New Yorkers Against the CornellTechnion Partnership
Nicholas Mirzoeff
Nicolas Lampert
Nitasha Dhillon
Noah Fischer
Not an Alternative
Occupy Theory
Ohal Grietzer
Olivia Robinson
Paige Sarlin
Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel
Pamela Brown
Paula Chakravarty
Peggy Ahwesh
Praba Pilar
Rachel Schragis
Rafeef Ziadah
Reem Fadda
Remi Kanazi
Renée Jabri
Ricardo Cortés
Ruanne AbouRahme
Rosalyn Deutsche
Ryan Wong
Sarah Farahat
Shaina Anand
Silvia Federici
Simon Leung
16 Beaver Group
Stefan Christoff
The Narcycyst
Tidal Magazine
TJ Demos
US Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel
US Campaign to End the Israeli Occupation
Valerie Tevere
Walid Raad
Yates McKee



Update, 6/5 3:55pm: We have yet to receive a statement from Creative Time, but after this story was published this morning, Thompson posted the below on Husain's private Facebook page on behalf of the organization:

As we have stated in the past, the commitment to the free exchange of ideas has always been central to Creative Time's mission, and thus we do not participate in cultural boycotts (CT's Statement of Commitment to Universal Human Rights and Free Expression). We believe the activist practices as demonstrated in the Living as Form show can contribute to society by raising awareness, help correct injustices done around the globe, honor international standards of human rights, and lead to a more just world.

Living as Form (The Nomadic Version) has traveled to more than a dozen places as part of a tour organized by Independent Curators International (ICI). The exhibition consists of documents downloadable from a hard-drive and has been shown from Mexico to South Korea and Taiwan, and will soon open in North Dakota. Recently ICI has arranged for a tour of the show to two venues in Israel.

Creative Time does not have any financial relationship with the show's tour.

Update, 6/5 5:59pm: Creative Time has reached out to Hyperallergic with a copy of the above statement. Reached by phone, director Anne Pasternak said that "as an organization with global reach we can't be part of a boycott, no matter what our personal sympathies may be." Though she stressed that the show's itinerary was set by co-organizer ICI, she acknowledged her organization's failure to notify artists. "When the show opened in Tel Aviv six months ago we were so swamped with Kara Walker, it didn't register. It should have registered, what we should have done is call the artists then ... We are taking a look at our internal processes," she said.

It certainly includes a revived anti-semitism, if by that we mean the hatred of Jews. So often this fear is used to explain why justice must be suspended or ignored in the case of Palestine. The mantra is "Never Again." After the Rwandan genocide of 1994, President Paul Kagame observed that "never again became wherever again." Under the terms of the United Nations Convention on Genocide, to kill one person because of ethnic hatred is genocide. The rule is simple. Never again for anyone. There are no sides in never again.

My question is: why does policy not change? What does this situation teach us about the connection between intellectual radicalism, conscientious investigative journalism in an era of Internet explosion, and policy? I believe this situation, with its uneven balance of legitimized violence and extra-state organization of violence, is or should be a lesson for us to rethink how to intervene. What are the chances for democracy with the state gone and no global governance? We do not need such a teaching text. But Israel-Palestine has become that for us, rather than a call for a continuation of earlier techniques of what we think of as intervention in global policy.
- Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak

Neutrality is not a productive place. Boycott is less about withdrawing and remaining silent and more about creating a space for another set of social relations to emerge - ones that have justice, freedom and liberation at their heart. To be an artist, to make art, to curate exhibitions and to write about all of these things is not a neutral act. So the artist should be engaged not with the market but with the conditions for her social life, and that engagement asks: how are we living? In this age dominated by market values, what really matters? How is what we make and who we are being instrumentalized in this totalizing struggle? These are questions that are not about fear but love for life, and they allow for a new politics to emerge, one that builds affinity, embodies solidarity, crosses national boundaries and walls, visible and invisible.

BDS is an ethical guideline and something one adheres to in solidarity. It is not a law, which if violated, brings punishment. It is a proposal, an advice, an opportunity to rethink. That is why words like "violation" are misleading. As artists we always have agency. We each act in affinity with the rule and to the best of our understanding. Determining whether a specific event is to be boycotted (or is boycottable) becomes a process of

inquiry and dialogue. Before we were to present at the Creative Time Summit in 2012 on "Inequality," Mosireen Collective and Rebel Diaz withdrew. They cited the cultural boycott of Israel. After that, we engaged with Creative Time to understand the situation. We sought guidance from PACBI. We had many conversations. When we were told no money was flowing from Israel to the Summit, we asked Creative Time to address the controversy publicly. When they did not, we scrapped our presentation and spoke about the call to boycott Israel and what was happening outside of the Summit walls. We struggled to do what we thought was the right thing.

But when we saw Creative Time clearly disregarding BDS two years later by exhibiting 'Living as Form' at Technion Institute of Technology in Haifa, Israel, we were forced to immediately spring back into action. We knew Creative Time was aware of the boycott. They had promised to facilitate conversations about BDS that did not happen. So we organized as artists, contacting Creative Time and reaching out to artists in the show to let them know what was happening. A week or so later we put out a call to withdraw from the show.

For us, the act of boycotting is not simply about measurable success and failure. We ask instead: how can we create spaces that counteract the multiple forms of oppression that structure our relationships? With Gulf Labor and G.U.L.F. (Global Ultra Luxury Faction), we are participating in a boycott of the Guggenheim Museum that began in 2011. We are seeking to support workers in their struggle for better work and living conditions on Saadiyat Island in U. A. E. as well as decent pay and conditions in the art world here in New York. We try to create new bonds of solidarity between artists, students and workers, as we all resist the 1% of global museums everywhere.

Boycott changes our own relationships and practices in the face of multiple and intersecting forms of oppression. Whether one claims to be against racism and white supremacy, patriarchy, colonialism, apartheid, or occupation matters little if we refuse to acknowledge our own complicity in the existence of the injustice. As artists, we should take action in our lives and in our practice to fight that injustice. The conversations we have, the learning and unlearning that ensues, and the bonds formed, those are all "wins." That engagement is an act of love.

Let our art be training in the practice of freedom.

Against Amnesia: The Cultural Boycott of Israel Matters

Feb 12, 2015 *Hypenallergic*

by Amin Husain, Nicholas Mirzoeff, and Nitasha Dhillon as
MTL Collective



We write today from a place of love, as well as hurt, for an artworld to which we in part belong. We write for and with our community of friends, colleagues, and mentors - as a Palestinian artist and activist, a British-Jewish Asian professor, and an Indian artist and PhD student, who have been actively involved in two widely reported cultural boycotts.



It feels to us as if we have traveled back in time to a moment before the most recent Gaza war and before #BlackLivesMatter. Here, serious people are again debating what side to take on the call to observe the cultural boycott of Israel (PACBI), which is a part of Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS). In truth, in a world where history is always written by the victors, remembrance always struggles against forgetting.



A country is divided--literally, a sixteen metre high wall runs across it. Where are you in this situation if you take no side? This is the myth of the neutral space for art, the so-called “white cube” projected onto a country. So often we come across folks in the “art world” who wonder whether one is pro-Palestine or pro-Israel, as if we are talking about a football match instead of justice, liberation and freedom. When we are talking about Palestinian lives, there is no side to be on but that of life itself. The purported balance served by claiming not to take sides allows people to evade the need to speak about settler colonialism, apartheid, illegal occupation, racism, military experimentation on people, open-air prisons, out of concern that speaking about these issues would not be balanced. Where is the balance between an oppressed and an oppressor? There is none. So, then, how can a ‘balanced’ report on the matter be accurate or serve its journalistic function of advancing knowledge?

More precisely, we do not take sides when justice is the question. Either there is justice or there is

not. For months now, we have been marching and chanting “No Justice, No Peace.” Let us reflect on what is actually being said. There was no justice for Mike Brown, Tamir Rice (aged 12), Eric Garner, Yvette Smith, Aiyana Stanley-Jones (aged 7) and many more at the hands of the police, so it is not a question of taking sides. If we see the absence of justice, we realize that we must continue to protest. If we are forced to argue that Palestine is different, that it is not so simple, that there is not a clear question of justice, then perhaps we need to reconsider how we are posing the question.

“To fight for a truly democratic, nonracist, humane, sustainable, economically viable, safe and secure world for the people of Palestine/Israel is merely to demand what we have been struggling to achieve in this country for decades. As long as the lives of Salem Khaleel Shamaly and Eric Garner and countless others can be snuffed out by the state or vigilantes for merely being rendered a criminal threat, then none of us are really free.” - Robin D.G. Kelley

The International Court of Justice ruled in 2004 that Israel’s Separation Wall was illegal, prompting Palestinian civil society to request a boycott of Israel when no changes had resulted from this verdict a year later. A court ruled. The loser in the case refuses to abide by that ruling. No justice.

The situation is one of settlement in which a colonial power believes itself to be the arbiter of last resort. Just as Britain did not heed residents of the Thirteen Colonies in North America (to say nothing of the Native American Indians) in 1776, believing them to have no standing, so too does Israel see the indigenous population of Palestine as people without legal presence, who are socially dead. This is the local result of the global resurgence of colonialism, sometimes as in Israel-Palestine as settlement, more often, as in Greece, a country being subject to external economic control. The situation is heading toward global crisis, as Oxfam have calculated that the top 1% worldwide will have more wealth than the bottom 50% of the entire world’s population in 2016. As governments cannot or will not respond, the frustrations caused are producing a rising extremism.

**BDS IS
THE FLOOR
NOT THE
CEILING**

Decolonize

This Place

George Jackson in the Sun

Jan 9, 2015 *ebony*

In 1971, San Quentin guards killed George Jackson - African-American revolutionary, Black Panther, writer, poet and prisoner - during a purported escape attempt of which James Baldwin wrote, "No black person will ever believe that George Jackson died the way they tell us he did." Sentenced to one year to life for allegedly stealing \$70 during a 1959 robbery, Jackson had become an eloquent spokesman for the black power movement in his 11 years of incarceration: He amassed an extensive library to educate both himself and fellow inmates about "US colonial fascism," led the Black Panthers inside prison, became one of the Soledad Brothers said to be unfairly charged with the murder of a white guard, and wrote two seminal books - Soledad Brother, dedicated to his brother Jonathan, killed while trying to free George, and the political treatise Blood In My Eye. In it, he described a black struggle for justice and equity from "the monster's heart" and insisted, "We have a momentous historical role to act out if we will."

After Jackson was gunned down, prison authorities stripping his cell and library of over 100 books found handwritten copies of two poems; they were published in the Black Panther Party newspaper as a single poem under Jackson's name, and praised by the militant paper Right On for reflecting the sensibility of black oppression in America. It was only later discovered Jackson had taken the poems, "Enemy of the Sun" and "I Defy," from Enemy of the Sun, an anthology of Palestinian poets published by black radical printers Drum and Spear Press; the book was among 99 titles made public this summer by the Socialist Liberation News. Of the confusion over the source of the poems, which have since had "a long black life" and are still circulated under Jackson's name, one activist writes, "Perhaps it did not matter who composed the verses, for they bespoke of the same world, the same anguish and the same terrors...of human beings and their capacity to suffer, to endure, to survive and to fight."

It was that "magical mistake" of authorship, born of the "racial kinship" between Palestinian and black American prisoners' experience, that prompted the exhibit George Jackson in the Sun of Palestine. Created and curated by Greg Thomas, a black English and African studies professor at Tufts University, it opened in October at the Abu Jihad Museum on the campus of Al-quds University, a Palestinian university with campuses in Jerusalem, al-Bireh and Abu Dis, the site of the exhibit. The goal of the museum is to "reflect the willpower and the challenges of the Palestinian people... to tell the world about the suffering of Palestinian prisoners inside and outside Israeli jails. The Jackson exhibit is the first to highlight the struggle of political prisoners outside of Palestine. It includes drawings, woodcuts, political posters and other art tied to Jackson's life and the Palestinian and U.S. prisoners' movements, letters of solidarity between Palestinian and American prisoners, letters from Jackson and coverage of his life and death, photos of Palestinian art from the Apartheid Wall, and other artifacts tying the movements together.

I DEFY

Talk about exile—I defy
silence my argument with chains
and a foolish prison cell
I defy

Turn plague and sadness against me
I remained defying
cut my wrist
with my bloody chest I defy
cut my leg
I mount the wound and walk
and with my violence I defy
with my forehead I defy
and with my teeth
and the teeth of songs—I defy

and kill me—I defy
I kill death
and come to you a defying God

All what I own of my father's and grandfather's
inheritance is to defy!

All what I understand from the wind
and the secrets of erased villages
and the songs of springs
on dying grass
a concealed sob
the roots of the tree
memorize it for me
a sob: To defy

All the eyes of children living within me
in bloody exile
All what I live of my absent country
in name and deed
a scream bruising me—to defy!

My anger drips oil and honey
my pain bears almonds, flouts and roses
so jail my piece of bread
I defy



Over the past week, the delegation has met with refugees, Afro-Palestinians, a family that was kicked out of their house by settlers in East Jerusalem, and organizations representing Palestinian political prisoners, Palestinian citizens of Israel, and the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions movement (BDS).

Black Lives Matter co-founder Patrisse Cullors said apartheid is what immediately struck her about what she saw on the ground.

"This is an apartheid state. We can't deny that and if we do deny it we are apart of the Zionist violence. There are two different systems here in occupied Palestine. Two completely different systems. Folks are unable to go to parts of their own country. Folks are barred from their own country."

Charlene Carruthers, national director of BYP100 said what immediately struck her was the capacity for violence, even when it's not immediately noticeable to foreigners.

One such example is in the narrative projected against Palestinians. Carruthers recalled their delegation crossing paths with a tour group led by Israeli authorities.

"They were clearly receiving a completely different story about the occupation. It's deeper than just spreading lies, the false narrative is violent."

Community organizer Cherrell Brown said she saw many parallels between state violence against Palestinians and Black Americans.

"So many parallels exist between how the US polices, incarcerates, and perpetuates violence on the black community and how the Zionist state that exists in Israel perpetuates the same on Palestinians," Brown said.

Brown also commented that the struggles are not the same.

"This is not to say there aren't vast differences and nuances that need to always be named, but our oppressors are literally collaborating together, learning from one another - and as oppressed people we have to do the same," she said.

For Steven Pargett, communications director for Dream Defenders, visiting the Dheisheh Refugee Camp outside of Bethlehem made these connections clearer: "A camp doesn't have to have a fence with barbed wire all around it in order to be a place where displaced people are struggling to survive."

Pargett said that Black people in the United States are also displaced refugees.

"Our refugee camps are lower income communities and project buildings all around the country that many would not be living in had we not been taken into slavery generations ago. Rather than having the Israeli Defense occupation in our hoods, we have the occupation of police officers who often prove to have

little disregard for our lives, being that they are not from these communities," Pargett wrote.

Hip-hop was a unifying force for the delegation, Pargett said, commenting that Palestinians have been inspired by hip-hop in the US and use it as a tool to amplify their own voices.

St. Louis-based rapper and activist Tef Poe said his experience in the camps connecting through hip-hop was the best day of his life.

"A refugee camp with a bunch of people fighting for their lives and using hip hop to lift their spirits and spark the minds of the children and break down gender barriers between young girls and boys," Tef posted to Facebook. "I spent a day with these ppl .. Most amazing day of my life. Thanks be to the Most the struggle is beautiful."

This trip is another chapter in the recent history of Black-Palestinian solidarity. In November, a group of 10 Palestinian student activists visited Ferguson and St. Louis, meeting with people organizing in the streets. A month later, upon their return, the students hosted a series of events at their university in the West Bank to raise awareness with the Black struggle and stand in solidarity. Dream Defenders unanimously passed a resolution to support the Palestinian Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions movement in this interval.

Moving forward, delegates expressed a desire for Black and American action in support of Palestine.

"I believe the Black Lives Matter movement can benefit greatly by learning about struggles outside of the U.S., but particularly the Palestinian struggle," said Patrisse Cullors. "I want this trip to be an example for how Black folks and Arab communities can be in better solidarity with one another."

Cherrell Brown sees joint action as a way to global freedom.

"I want us to take back things we can do in the now, as Americans, to raise awareness and action around Palestinian liberation. I want us to reimagine what society could and will look like when we've dismantled this white-supremacist patriarchal and capitalist society. I want us to do it together. I want to bring back these conversations and stories in hopes that it will help add to this global struggle to get free."

The full list of delegates includes five Dream Defenders (Phillip Agnew, Ciara Taylor, Steven Pargett, Sherika Shaw, Ahmad Abuznaid), Tef Poe and Tara Thompson (Ferguson/Hands Up United), journalist Marc Lamont Hill, Cherrell Brown and Carmen Perez (Justice League NYC), Charlene Carruthers (Black Youth Project), poet and artist Aja Monet, Patrisse Cullors (Black Lives Matter), and Maytha Alhassen, a USC PhD student. Catch up with the delegation and follow their last few days using #DDPalestine on Twitter and Instagram.

Read more at EBONY <http://www.ebony.com/news-views/dream-defenders-black-lives-matter-ferguson-reps-take-historic-trip-to-palestine#ixzz4OuuQ0lFu>



Dream Defenders, Black Lives Matter & Ferguson Reps Take Historic Trip to Palestine

Leaders from American racial justice movements connect with Palestinians living under occupation

Representatives at the forefront of the movements for Black lives and racial justice have taken a historic trip to Palestine this week to connect with activists living under Israeli occupation.

Black journalists, artists and organizers representing Ferguson, Black Lives Matter, Black Youth Project 100 (BYP100), and more have joined the Dream Defenders for a 10-day trip to the occupied Palestinian Territories and Israel.

The trip comes after a year of highly-publicized repression in Ferguson, the Gaza Strip, and West Bank including East Jerusalem, as well as solidarity between these places.

Ahmad Abuznaid, Dream Defenders' legal and policy director and a co-organizer of the delegation, said that the goal of the trip was to make connections.

"The goals were primarily to allow for the group members to experience and see first hand the occupation, ethnic cleansing and brutality Israel has levied against Palestinians, but also to build real relationships with those on the ground leading the fight for liberation," wrote Abuznaid. "In the spirit of Malcolm X, Angela Davis, Stokely Carmichael and many others, we thought the connections between the African American leadership of the movement in the US and those on the ground in Palestine needed to be reestablished and fortified."

Abuznaid said the trip represented a chance to bring the power of Black organizing to Palestine.

"As a Palestinian who has learned a great deal about struggle, movement, militancy and liberation from African Americans in the US, I dreamt of the day where I could bring that power back to my people in Palestine. This trip is a part of that process."



bottom left front: Black Lives Matter cofounder Patrisse Cullors
second row left to right: Carmen Perez, cofounder of Justice League NYC; Charlene Carruthers, national director of Chicago-based Black Youth Project 100; Cherrell Brown, community organizer
seated left to right: journalist Maytha Alhassen; Dream Defenders legal and policy director Ahmad Abuznaid
fourth row left: rapper Tef Poe & Tara Thompson, cofounders of Hands Up United
fourth row right: Dream Defenders executive director Umi Selah
top row: Steven Pargett, Dream Defenders communications director; Marc Lamont Hill, BET News host; poet Aja Monet

of Palestine

ENEMY OF THE SUN

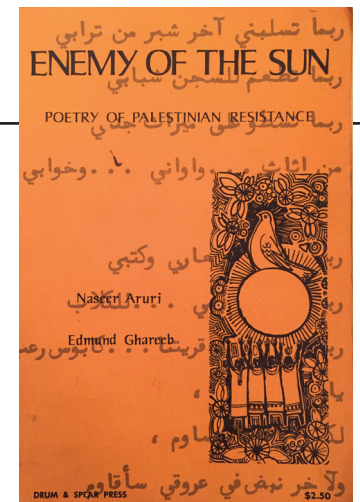
I may - if you wish - lose my livelihood
I may sell my shirt and bed.
I may work as a stone cutter,
A street sweeper, a porter.
I may clean your stores
Or rummage your garbage for food.
I may lie down hungry,
O enemy of the sun,
But
I shall not compromise
And to the last pulse in my veins
I shall resist.

You may take the last strip of my land,
Feed my youth to prison cells.
You may plunder my heritage.
You may burn my books, my poems
Or feed my flesh to the dogs.
You may spread a web of terror
On the roofs of my village,
O enemy of the sun,
But
I shall not compromise
And to the last pulse in my veins
I shall resist.

You may put out the light in my eyes.
You may deprive me of my mother's kisses.
You may curse my father, my people.
You may distort my history,
You may deprive my children of a smile
And of life's necessities.
You may fool my friends with a borrowed face.
You may build walls of hatred around me.
You may glue my eyes to humiliations,
O enemy of the sun,
But

I shall not compromise
And to the last pulse in my veins
I shall resist.
O enemy of the sun
The decorations are raised at the port.
The ejaculations fill the air,
A glow in the hearts,
And in the horizon
A sail is seen
Challenging the wind
And the depths.
It is Ulysses
Returning home
From the sea of loss

It is the return of the sun,
Of my exiled ones
And for her sake, and his
I swear
I shall not compromise
And to the last pulse in my veins
I shall resist,
Resist—and resist.



مريم البرغوثي @MariamBarghouti · 2m
I remember when I used to get teargassed, I used to just remind myself this pain will pass as to not collapse. It helps! #Palestine #Ferguson

Retweeted by مريم البرغوثي
Rajai abuKhalil @Rajaiabukhalil · 5m
@MariamBarghouti And of course DON'T wash your eyes with water
View conversation

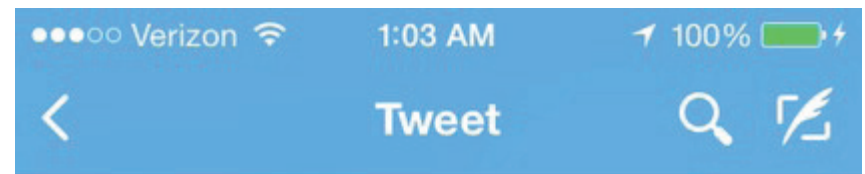
مريم البرغوثي @MariamBarghouti · 7m
Always make sure to run against the wind /to keep calm when you're teargassed, the pain will pass, don't rub your eyes!
#Ferguson Solidarity

مريم البرغوثي @MariamBarghouti · 8m
Solidarity with #Ferguson. Remember to not touch your face when teargassed or put water on it. Instead use milk or coke!

WHEN WE BREATHE



تسقط الأجساد
لا
الفكرة...



مريم البرغوثي
@MariamBarghouti



Made in USA teargas canister was shot at us a few days ago in #Palestine by Israel, now they are used in #Ferguson.



Reply to مريم البرغوثي, lil taquito





Abbas Sarsour

@iFalasteen



Follow

The oppressed stands with the oppressed.

#Palestine stands with #Ferguson.



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2,757

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1,841



12:26 AM - 14 Aug 2014



2.8K

1.8K



Picture Palestine

@PicsOfPalestine



Follow

#Ferguson sends response after Palestinians sent advice from #Gaza to teargas victims.



COURSE DON'T wash your eyes with water



9



مريم البرغوثي @MariamB... 17m

Always make sure to run against the wind /to keep calm when you're teargassed, the pain will pass, don't rub your eyes! #Ferguson Solidarity



37



مريم البرغوثي @MariamB... 18m

Solidarity with #Ferguson. Remember to not touch your

RETWEETS
22

LIKES
7



3:34 AM - 17 Aug 2014



22

7



WE BREATHE TOGETHER



وراء العدو
في
كل مكان

ليلي خالد



وديع حداد



LATHEE 2014
MIDDLE EAST MONITOR

