

# NOT IN OUR NAME

AGAINST U.S. AID TO THE MASSACRE IN GAZA



CONTRA LA AYUDA DE ESTADOS UNIDOS  
A LA MASACRE EN GAZA



SANGRÍA RADICALITIES / INTERVENCIONES

# **NOT IN OUR NAME**

**Against U.S. Aid  
to the Massacre in Gaza  
Contra la ayuda de Estados  
Unidos a la masacre en Gaza**



SANGRÍA

[Radicalities/Intervenciones]



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[www.sangriaeditora.com](http://www.sangriaeditora.com), [sangriaeditora@gmail.com](mailto:sangriaeditora@gmail.com)

*Edited by / Editado por Mónica Ríos, Carolina Alonso Bejarano, Carlos Labbé, & Peter Quach.*

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## A NOTE FROM THE PUBLISHERS

As the death toll rises in Gaza –even during the cease-fires– thousands across the United States are going out on the streets in support of the people of Palestine under the banner of Not in Our Name.

However, to date, the United States has provided Israel \$121 billion (not adjusted for inflation), making it the largest cumulative recipient of U.S. foreign assistance since World War II. This year alone, Congress provided Israel the full \$3.1 billion request issued by President Barack Obama, and \$504 million more in funding for their Iron Dome anti-rocket system and for the joint U.S.-Israel missile defense systems. Moreover, following a long tradition of opposing U.N. resolutions against the further occupation of Palestinian lands, the U.S. was the sole country to vote against the July 22nd U.N. resolution calling for an end to the siege in Gaza.

People are being massacred in Palestine with our tax money and our political support. It is, in fact, in our name.

In response to this, during July and August 2014 we launched an open call through email and social media inviting people to speak up against U.S. foreign policy and submit one page or less in the form of a short essay, chronicle, story, poem, comic, or any other kind of text or art form. In addition to this, we collected the

## NOTA EDITORIAL

Mientras el número de muertos en Gaza sigue aumentando –aun durante los alto al fuego–, por todo Estados Unidos miles de personas están saliendo a las calles para apoyar a la gente de Palestina con pancartas que dicen Not in Our Name.

Sin embargo, hasta la fecha Estados Unidos ha financiado a Israel con 121.000 millones de dólares, haciéndolo el mayor receptor de ayuda estadounidense desde la Segunda Guerra Mundial. Sólo durante este año el Congreso de Estados Unidos otorgó a Israel 3.100 millones de dólares solicitados por el presidente Barack Obama, así como otros 504 millones para el financiamiento del programa anti-bombas israelí “Iron Drone”, y para el sistema anti-misiles desarrollado conjuntamente por Israel y Estados Unidos. Más aun, siguiendo su larga tradición de oponerse a las resoluciones de la ONU contra la ocupación de tierras palestinas, Estados Unidos fue el único país que votó en contra de la resolución de Naciones Unidas del pasado 22 de julio, que llamó a detener el actual asedio en Gaza.

Los palestinos están siendo masacrados con el dinero de nuestros impuestos y con nuestro apoyo político. Esto ocurre, por lo tanto, en nuestro nombre.

Como respuesta a esta situación, durante julio y agosto de 2014 lanzamos un llamado

statements, writings and speeches of various artists and public intellectuals opposed to the U.S. backed Israeli occupation of Palestine, and including the translations whenever possible. This is the collective publication of all that material.

abierto por medio de correo electrónico y redes sociales invitando a alzar la voz contra la política internacional de los Estados Unidos y a enviarnos una página o menos en forma de un ensayo corto, un libelo, una crónica, un cuento, un poema, un cómic, o cualquier otro tipo de texto o forma artística. Además, recolectamos declaraciones, escritos y discursos de artistas e intelectuales que se han opuesto a la ocupación israelí apoyada por Estados Unidos, sumando las respectivas traducciones cuando estuvieran disponibles. Esta es la publicación colectiva de todo ese material.

## PROLOGUE: WHAT WE HEAR

Mónica Ríos

Translated by Carolina Alonso Bejarano

I am told here and there that the past never exists independently of the present. I read that there are wars in almost every country, and that charts show for some reason that Chile is a country in peace. I remember here and there the political prisoners and the hunger strikes held by the Mapuche of the south of this country, which I visit before returning to the U.S. I understand that a different meaning should be given to the word *war*, and I believe that words always have a different meaning depending on who is speaking. And so, I remember again that the past never exists independently of the present.

Why would a group integrated by a Colombian, a Vietnamese-American, and two Chileans –all of whom live in the United States– think to make a publication about what is going on in Gaza, and not about other parts of the world or other epochs? My answer can only connect the past and the present: The four editors of this book come from countries

## PRÓLOGO: LO QUE ESCUCHAMOS

Mónica Ríos

Por ahí escucho que el pasado nunca existe independientemente del presente. Por ahí leo que hay guerras en casi todos los países del mundo y que el gráfico por alguna razón muestra que Chile es un país en paz. Por ahí recuerdo los presos políticos y las huelgas de hambre de mapuches en el sur de ese país que ahora visito antes de volver a Estados Unidos. Por ahí entiendo que habría que darle otro sentido a la palabra *guerra* y por ahí pienso que siempre las palabras han significado algo muy distinto para cada quien. Entonces vuelvo a recordar que el pasado nunca existe independientemente del presente.

¿Por qué un grupo que integra a una colombiana, a un norteamericano descendiente de vietnamitas, a un chileno y a una chilena –todos los cuales vivimos en Estados Unidos– piensa una publicación sobre lo que está sucediendo en Gaza y no en otras partes del mundo, en otras épocas? Mi respuesta no puede más que ligar el pasado con el presente: los

that have been drastically altered by U. S. foreign policy. The childhood of each one of us was defined by various types of violence financed by an empire that sought to eradicate certain ideologies, which represented certain economies, certain classes, certain racial types, certain international ties, certain local customs. This is why our present unfolds in tension with the past histories of Western empires where violence is the central theme. This tension pulsates forcefully as two of the editors participate in an academia that sees the people of Latin America as a comfortable object of study, and which convenes periodically in some expensive hotel to converse about precarity, social movements and the poor from the South.

Gaza, thus, becomes an urgent situation. Not as urgent as any other, but as a situation through which a shared feeling can converge: By looking at Gaza we also look at ourselves. Gaza becomes a way to address a past and a present shared by communities as historically and geographically distant as South America, the Middle East and Southeast Asia. But I must clarify –and here I speak only for myself– that we are not too distant culturally speaking: I grew up in Chile, a country with one of the largest Palestinian diasporic populations in the world, a country with a high number of Jewish people, and which has seen both communities coexist in dialogue. I now live in

cuatro editores de este libro provenimos de países que han sido intervenidos por la política exterior de Estados Unidos. Las infancias de cada quien han sido traspuestas por distintos tipos de violencia financiadas por un imperio que buscaba erradicar ciertas ideologías, que eran también ciertas economías, ciertas clases, cierto tipo racial, ciertos lazos internacionales, ciertas costumbres locales. Por lo mismo nuestro presente se desenvuelve en tensión entre lo que se descubre cada día de las vinculaciones entre los imperios de Occidente con una serie de historias que tienen la violencia como eje central. Más tensión aun sentimos cuando dos personas de este grupo de editores estamos en una academia que mira a la población latina como un cómodo objeto de estudio, que se junta cada tanto en un confortable y caro hotel para conversar sobre la precariedad, los movimientos sociales y los pobres del sur.

Gaza, así, se transforma en una situación urgente; no urgente como cualquier otra, sino como la situación por la cual podemos hacer converger un sentimiento extendido: a través de Gaza hablamos de nosotros mismos. Nos sirve para hablar de un pasado y de un presente común de comunidades tan distantes en la historia y en la geografía. Pero debo aclarar –y esta vez lo hago por mí– que no estamos lejos en la situación cultural: crecí en Chile, un país con una de las más numerosas inmigraciones palestinas del

a city in the United States that is highly tolerant of immigrants (historically speaking, at least), where a great flood of creeds and information converges. From here we can remember the times when speaking up was impossible, and we cannot remain silent in the face of what is happening in Gaza.

Years ago somebody questioned the power of words when it came to facing the events of the '30s and '40s in twentieth-century Europe. Somebody also said that what happened in the fateful concentration camps was the model through which we could understand the new ways in which biopower operates. Well, this story has yet to end. In the face of the information that reaches us regarding the suffering of the Palestinians in the hands of the descendants of a people that also lived the horrors of annihilation, we consider it an obligation to take up the power of words and to help revitalize a movement against the empires of extermination and massacre, against the production of masses of refugees. Above all, we must talk about this from the country where we live, which considers this a viable and fundable public policy, economic opportunity, diplomatic effort and power exercise. No. We do not consent to what is happening in Gaza. We listen to our Palestinian friends whom we have met in the university halls; we reactivate the reading of anticolonial texts, which helps us create a community with those who have dealt in the past

mundo, un país con un alto número de población judía y que ha visto convivir a ambas comunidades en diálogo. Vivo ahora en una de las ciudades de Estados Unidos con mayor tolerancia –históricamente, al menos– a las personas inmigrantes; también donde convive la mayor cantidad de información de distintas fuentes, credos y creencias. Desde aquí podemos recordar cuando la posibilidad de decir lo que uno piensa era imposible: ahora lo que pasa en Gaza no nos permite quedar callados.

Hace años alguien cuestionó la capacidad de la palabra para hacer frente a los hechos sucedidos en la década de los treinta y los cuarenta del siglo XX en Europa. Alguien también dijo que lo que había sucedido en los infaustos campos de concentración era el modelo por el cual entender el nuevo modo en que opera el poder biopolítico. Pues bien, esa historia aún no se ha cerrado. Frente al contingente de información sobre la masacre que la población palestina vive en su territorio por los descendientes de un pueblo que vivió en carne propia la exterminación, se nos hace necesario volver a tomar la palabra para revitalizar un movimiento en contra de los imperios del exterminio, la masacre, la producción de masas de refugiados. Por sobre todo se nos hace necesario hablar sobre eso que el país del lugar donde residimos considera que es una política viable y financiable, eso que es una oportunidad económica



with intense military attacks, called “wars.” This is not a war, dear readers –this is a massacre. And more and more voices unite to stress that it is not in our name that children, men, women, animals, houses, well-beings are blown up by bombs provided by the U. S. and its allies. Here we compile those murmurs, which together can create a scream that opposes U. S. foreign policy in Gaza, in Iraq, in Puerto Rico, in the Virgin Islands, and we could go on and on with all the colonies, protectorates, and agents in autonomous countries.

[2014]

y diplomática, eso que es ocasión de un nuevo ejercicio de poder. No, no es con nuestro consentimiento que vemos lo que sucede en Gaza: escuchamos a los amigos que allá viven y que hemos conocido en los pasillos de la universidad, reactivamos las lecturas anticoloniales que nos convierten en comunidad junto a quienes han lidiado con fuerzas militares inmensas bajo el rótulo de una guerra. Esto no es una guerra, queridos lectores: es una masacre. Y cada vez más son las voces que se juntan para decir que no es en nuestro nombre que se revientan niños, mujeres, hombres, animales, y sus casas, y su bienestar, con bombas proporcionadas por Estados Unidos y sus aliados. Aquí transcribimos aquellos murmullos que, sumados, pueden convertirse en grito para decir que estamos en contra de la política exterior de Estados Unidos en Gaza, en Irak, en Puerto Rico, en las Islas Vírgenes y podríamos seguir con todas las colonias, protectorados y agentes en países autónomos.

[2014]

**WHY SINGLE OUT ISRAEL?**  
**[EXCERPT]**  
Brian Eno,  
in response to Peter Schwartz

Why single out Israel? In a world of horrors, why pick on this one?

And I think that veils another concern: «Is this some new form of antisemitism, another stick with which to beat the Jews?». Given their history, that's a fair enough question.

I'm aware that there are those who actually welcome the Gaza disaster for that very reason. They're fundamentally anti-jewish and this is an acceptable way for them to say that in polite company. To the rest of us, these people are fatal –because they give the apologists for Israel the perfect let-out: «See? It's just antisemitism». There's always a contingent of them turning up at demos and wanting to speak. Needless to say, they aren't given the microphone.

So I'd like to let you know that I didn't «single out» Israel. In my lifetime, I've been active in

several movements that involved events in other nations: Vietnam, South Africa, Bosnia, Iraq, and now Israel. In each case my government was actively involved, but the policies it was pursuing struck me as idiotic and immoral. In each case also there were those who asked me the same question: why single *them* out?

Well, part of my answer is that above: we're already involved, but I think we're involved in the wrong way. So this is my general answer: it isn't just about Israel for me, but about what my government is doing in my name. The money we pay in taxes is helping to support this situation. I can see all the reasons you've listed as to why our respective governments have ended up with the stances they have, but understanding isn't the same as condoning. I want to make it clear to them that «A lot of your citizens don't support you». This is what I understand as democratic participation, civic responsibility.

The other cases you mentioned: the Saudis, the Qataris, the Iranians, the Egyptians, the Syrians, the Russians, the Nigerians, the Taliban, the Venezuelans, the Zimbabweans, the Sudanese, the south Sudanese, the Central African Republicans... Frankly, what do they have to do with me? I don't understand them, and I don't know that my government has any particular role within them. If I were suddenly to become involved with, say, Sudanese politics I

would feel that your question «Why Single *Them* out?» had validity.

But my main point is to pick the fights you can win. Whereas I don't have any instruments at all with which to affect Sudanese politics (even if I wanted to), I do have *some* power to change the way that Britain relates to Israel.

Why would I want to do that? Because unlike you, I don't see the Middle East as a lost cause. Israel, unlike the other countries you mention, claims to be like us, part of the Western First World, part of the same set of moral assumptions –and many Israelis (though apparently not the ones in government) are.

Despite the haze of nationalistic propaganda there's a committed Jewish counterculture in Israel which, along with the Palestinians, is appealing to us for help. They know they can't change it working only from the inside and they want support –as indeed South African trade unions asked the outside world for support in the 60's and 70's, and Bosnians did in the 90's. These aren't people who want to destroy Israel: they want to save it from a course which they see as taking it further and further from the ideals on which it was founded.

There's something else as well which makes Israel a particularly sore issue for the British: we had a big hand in creating the problem by cavalierly

“giving” the Jews Palestine and turning a blind eye when that generation of settlers drove Arabs off their land, as we turned a blind eye to what the Arab nations were doing. In the grand imperial tradition of “Make a mess and then pull out” we left behind a palpably unworkable arrangement. And just to make the problem really intractable, Israel was founded (as it happens, on the day I was born –15 May, 1948) as a specifically Jewish, and therefore religious, state.

To create a state that specifically, and from the very beginning, excluded so many of its extant inhabitants from participation was a terrible move. I have enormous sympathy for anyone trying to make sensible decisions in the wake of World War 2, and I’m sure there were many good intentions paving the road to this particular hell, but it was that thoughtless and arbitrary (and British) partition that kick-started the whole thing.

My penultimate point is that this is about more than Israel –in my mind anyway. I touched on this in the letter: how do you think it looks to the rest of the world when they see Israel mincing the Palestinians in Gaza and then discover that America is (still) giving them about 18 million dollars in military aid each day –while righteously proclaiming about Human Rights?

And how do they feel when they see Tony Blair receiving a \$1 million dollar Peace Prize from some

Israeli institution presumably for managing to remain completely unresponsive to the Palestinians?

It looks terrible –sheer, unvarnished hypocrisy. It makes you understand why Arabs can hate us (though I’m continually surprised by how few do). One of the reasons I want to demonstrate is to say «Don’t judge us by our governments» –which is one of the things that Israeli Jews say to me. You probably think it hopelessly idealistic, but I think it does make a difference when *people* see that *the other people* –the ones they’re supposed to hate– are objecting to what is being done in their names.

I remember speaking to a Palestinian taxi driver in Israel. It was shortly after that Raving Nazi Anti-Semite Jimmy Carter –I took that description of him from Israeli press reports– had just published his book where he suggested that Israel was becoming an apartheid state. The driver said to me wearily: «why do they always realise this just after they have lost the power to do anything?».

I thought about that a lot. Of course, while they’re in power they’re effectively neutralised. Without a HUGE popular mandate –huge enough to offset the lobbies and the news channels and the weapons companies and the general apathy– people in power won’t –or can’t– do anything. With enough people behind them, they might. Kwame Anthony Appiah’s book is about this, about the moment

when a society changes from applauding something to finding it shameful. The American Civil Rights movement is a stellar example.

It can happen very quickly, and I think it could do so in Israel if she weren't pumped up with US supplied testosterone. But it depends on people in government being able to cover themselves by saying «I had no choice –those bloody voters forced my hand». And it depends on something similar happening in the Arab world too... which might be at the point when they stop being important enough to our energy supplies for us to stop kissing their arses. But you know much more about that subject than me.

Last point (phew!) about singling-out. In this recent crisis Israel has bombed or shelled about 120 UN buildings in Gaza. Mary's sister Rachel tells me that the UN sends precise coordinates of all its buildings to the Israelis, so these attacks are unlikely to be mistakes. 70 of those buildings were schools or hospitals, some of them occupied at the time. Can you think of any other country that could get away with this? That's another kind of singling-out.

[2014]

## NO NAME FOR NOW Nadia Alahmed

*There was a picture distributed on Facebook a few weeks back: a note written by a young Palestinian man in Gaza who died as a result of the recent Israeli attack. The note lists his debts in case he dies (he owed two people 10 Shekels each, or about \$3). This story was inspired by the tragedy that created that picture.*

I am awake, I think. I wipe the sweat from my forehead and listen for rockets. Nothing. I got used to sleeping with the sound of explosions. In fact, I am so used to it, it almost sounds as benevolent as a finger tapping on a wooden table.

No. Today is going to be different. I will live differently today. I will live as hard as I can. And maybe if I do, life will stay with me.

I borrowed money from Muhammad and Moueen. Muhammad gives me money without hesitation –the amount is small and he knows I always pay my debts. Moueen is a bit more hesitant

but, since the bombings got heavy, people who have money find it hard to say no.

I walk down the streets of Gaza City with the weight of two coins in my pocket. It feels great. The clinking sound they make is as pretty as a child's laughter.

I pull one out and raise it to the sun. I study letters and words in Hebrew I can not read.<sup>1</sup>

My two coins are a treasure. I almost feel like they give me superpowers. I walk the streets smiling, refusing to notice the bewildered looks from people who must wonder what on earth could make me smile.

I wish I could buy a chocolate.<sup>2</sup> Last time I had one I was about 10. That was the last time I felt like a child.

I am happy now. Truly happy. I have two coins and... well, at least I have now. Today. I do not have the arrogance as to claim tomorrow but I do not care much.

A small, rare gust of wind comes and plays with my curly hair and the collar of my shirt. I am so glad I did not listen to my mother and let my hair grow out a bit... The wind came from the sea, or so I imagine,

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1 People in the occupied Palestinian territories use Israeli currency since Israel does not allow for Palestinian currency to emerge.

2 Israel does not allow chocolate into Gaza.

and it is absolutely divine. I feel so alive with wind playing in my curly hair and my little treasure in my pocket. The wind disappears as fast as it came, but I decide my day of little miracles must continue. I know where to go: one of the tallest buildings in Gaza City. I know one where they never close the entrance to the roof.

I walk there in a daze, not sure if it is induced by my joyful bubble or the intense heat. I am on top before I know it. I gaze far, far away, ignoring the intense burning of the sun in my eyes. I look toward Tel Aviv. My gaze can not quite reach the tall buildings and the beaches but I know they are all there. I imagine how amazing it would be to be there. Even for a day. Free and careless. I would sit around in noisy coffee shops and listen to strange people's conversations and look at pretty young girls. Maybe one of them would even smile back at me. I can almost hear the waves and taste the delicious treats. Chocolate!

An explosion occurs not so far away and immediately the whole sight is drowned in a thick cloud of smoke. I start to cough and rush off the roof. Not even this can spoil my mood. I know exactly where to go next. The market.

I will feel so powerful knowing I can buy almost anything there. My 20 shekels have grown into millions.

The walk is a bit far, but I really don't mind. What a wonderful day. I almost feel like singing. Soon, I am at the market and an enormous variety of different smells fills my lungs. Spices, fresh fruit and vegetables, coffee... What a wonderful place to be.

I can buy whatever I want, but the clinking sound the coins make is more delightful than anything they could ever buy.

A thought occurs to me. What if I don't make it. What if I do not even have today? I do not want Mohammed and Moueen to be left without their money, their trust in me shattered. I need to make a record, an official record of my debt.

Resolute, I rush home and carefully write the note stating my name, how much I owe and to whom.

I decide to walk around the market more, after all, as great as the weight of the coins feels in my pocket, there must be a better purpose.

I happily walk the streets of Gaza City. I know exactly what I am going to get.

[2014]



## **SCREAMING THROATS** Zulma Oliveras-Vega

Don't stop resisting, Palestine  
shout freedom  
shout Lares  
Lares becomes history  
and embraces you  
the Jews scream in 1897  
journalist Hertzl invents Zionism  
I demand emancipation  
and the gringos arrive  
militarism  
a change of masters  
the gag  
the massacres  
shout Vieques  
colonialism  
capitalism

the Israeli evict you, Palestine  
they leave you homeless  
like the navy does with my baby island

## **GARGANTAS QUE GRITAN** Zulma Oliveras-Vega

No dejes de resistir, Palestina  
grita libertad  
grita Lares  
Lares se convierte en historia  
y te abraza  
gritan los judíos en 1897  
el periodista Hertzl inventa el sionismo  
pido emancipación  
y llegan los gringos  
el militarismo  
cambio de amos  
la mordaza  
las masacres  
grita Vieques  
colonialismo  
capitalismo

los israelitas te desalojan, Palestina  
te dejan sin hogar  
como el navy a mi isla nena



Lolita Lebrón shakes Congress with a one-way ticket  
Palestinians cast stones with slingshots  
at Yankee metal golems  
bombardments are justified in Gaza  
a nation defends itself  
just another motherland  
throats that scream  
of genocide

the insurgence shall continue  
«by any means necessary» in Palestine  
«by any means necessary» in Lares  
«by any means necessary» in Vieques

Palestine, don't stop resisting  
don't stop because of the bombardment  
houses full of innocent boys and girls  
Black Friday bombardments  
a mother who dies fighting over a toy  
they trample people who fell on the floor  
stealing «in god we trust» coins  
and we thank that same god for the minimum  
federal wage

the Occupy movement  
the end of the Apartheid  
Palestine, don't stop resisting  
you, who's had so many Black Fridays  
and who bears the destruction of her people

Lolita Lebrón truena el congreso con boleto de ida  
los palestinos tiran piedras con resorteras  
a monstruos de metal yanquis  
se justifican bombardeos en gaza  
se defiende un pueblo  
una patria cualquiera  
gargantas que gritan  
de un genocidio

continuará la insurgencia  
«by any means necessary» en Palestina  
«by any means necessary» en Lares  
«by any means necessary» en Vieques

Palestina, no dejes de resistir  
no te detengas por el bombardeo  
por las casas llenas de niños-niñas inocentes  
bombardeos de Black Friday  
una madre que muere peleando por un juguete  
pisotean gente tropezada en el suelo  
robando monedas de «In god we trust»  
y confiamos a ese dios el salario mínimo federal  
el movimiento Occupy  
el fin del Apartheid  
Palestina, no dejes de resistir  
tú que llevas miles de Viernes Negros  
y que cargas la destrucción de un pueblo  
madres que se despiden de sus hijos

women who say goodbye to their children  
while they're killed  
with bullets sponsored by our Empire  
a pile of bodies with white phosphorus bombs  
only such an egocentric god  
would make the Israeli believe  
that they're the tribe of the «chosen sons in the  
Promised Land»  
only such a perverse god  
excludes from this global paradise  
the rest of our brothers and sisters, Palestine, don't  
stop resisting  
we deserve the same universal right  
of seeing that a nation is free

shout freedom  
«by any means necessary» in Palestine  
«by any means necessary» in Lares  
«by any means necessary» in Puerto Rico

the insurgence shall carry on.

[2014]

mientras son asesinadas  
con balas auspiciadas por nuestro amo el imperio  
quema de cuerpos con bombas de fósforo blanco  
solo un dios tan egocentrista  
hace creer a los israelitas  
que son la tribu de «los hijos escogidos en la tierra  
prometida»  
solo un dios tan perverso  
excluye de este paraíso global  
al resto de nuestra hermandad,  
Palestina no dejes de resistir  
merecemos el mismo derecho universal  
de ver una nación en libertad

grita libertad  
«by any means necessary» en Palestina  
«by any means necessary» en Lares  
«by any means necessary» en Vieques

continuará la insurgencia.

[2014]

**RESPUESTA A  
MARCOS PECKEL, DIRECTOR  
DE LAS COMUNIDADES JUDÍAS  
EN COLOMBIA [EXTRACTO]  
Heidi Abuchaibe**

A través de una reciente columna publicada en *El Tiempo*, el director de las comunidades judías en Colombia, Marcos Peckel, simplifica las masivas manifestaciones contra el accionar de Israel en la franja de Gaza como una respuesta antisemita en contra del pueblo judío. En su artículo habla de «histeria colectiva», «desenfrenadas pasiones», sobredimensionamiento de la prensa y destilación de odio. Llega a afirmar que los pronunciamientos mismos del Consejo de Derechos Humanos de las Naciones Unidas y de los gobiernos son parte de esta histeria colectiva de odio y termina poniendo en duda que dichas expresiones de solidaridad y rechazo se darían si los niños víctimas de ataques y bombardeos fueran judíos. De una manera fría e indolente ante la tragedia humana, justifica el actuar de Israel en

la pasividad de la Comunidad Internacional que en el pasado no reaccionó de igual forma cuando, a su juicio, cientos de palestinos fueron masacrados en manos de sirios y libaneses. El argumento de Peckel a la reacción internacional es la esencia judía de su nación, no la tragedia del pueblo palestino.

«Nosotros no quisimos entrar en esta guerra desigual», afirma, sin aclarar que sea desigual para quién, y se jacta de las herramientas de avanzada que tienen para evitar muertes de civiles; herramientas que no han impedido las más de 2.000 personas masacradas, en su mayor proporción civiles. La retórica de los niños-escudo no faltó en su discurso. Así, se mantiene el argumento de que todo el que critica a Israel es antisemita, aliado de Hamas y terrorista. Una estrategia que busca una forma amenazante: la autocensura a todo aquel que se le opone al poderoso Israel.

Querer explicar el origen del conflicto y la reacción internacional en el supuesto odio antisemita no puede ser más que un intento trivial de captar incautos, al igual que buscar minimizar cifras de muertos, carentes en su discurso de rostro y nombre, de humanidad. También se pone en tela de juicio la fidelidad de las noticias o imágenes que por millones rondan las redes sociales.

Desde el derecho internacional, las agresiones y el ataque sistemático dejaron de tener justificación.

Quienes todavía explican el uso desmedido e irracional de la fuerza contra el pueblo palestino acuden al argumento antisemita, que, junto con la legítima defensa, constituye el escudo legitimizante de las acciones genocidas, bajo el estigma de obedecer a un odio eterno e irracional contra el pueblo judío.

Sin remontarnos al debate sobre la ilegalidad misma de la creación del Estado de Israel, es en el derecho internacional donde más fácil se puede explicar la ilegitimidad del discurso y el accionar sionista. Es en el derecho internacional que se puede advertir su falta de voluntad para reconocer la dignidad humana, la autodeterminación y la soberanía del pueblo palestino; la falta de intención de Israel para alcanzar la paz, para respetar el derecho internacional. Y lo es porque en el derecho internacional la respuesta armada ante agresiones de una fuerza bélica contra un pueblo se llama resistencia, no terrorismo. En el derecho internacional la ocupación permanente, los asentamientos ilegales y el bloqueo están proscritos. En el derecho internacional la legítima defensa debe ser la respuesta proporcional e inmediata a una agresión armada. Aquí vale la pena detenerse un momento, dado que después de casi dos años de cese al fuego, extrañamente en coincidencia con el hecho de que Hamas y Al Fatha lograron consolidar un gobierno de unidad, la supuesta confirmación de la responsabilidad de Hamas sobre el asesinato

de tres jóvenes israelíes justificó el más sangriento ataque, que ha dejado ya más de 2.000 bajas y la destrucción casi total de Gaza. Al ser desmentida la responsabilidad de Hamas en el también reprochable triple homicidio, Israel siguió justificando su actuar, ahora en el posible daño que podría causar un cohete lanzado desde la Franja, en caso de llegar a impactar el territorio israelí, o en las posibles consecuencias de la construcción de un nuevo túnel. La inmediatez se convirtió nuevamente en ocupación permanente. Ni qué decir de la proporcionalidad.

Son todos estos derechos lo que han fundamentado más de 90 resoluciones emitidas entre el Consejo de Seguridad, la Asamblea General y el Consejo de Derechos Humanos. También la emisión de una opinión consultiva de la Corte Internacional de Justicia. Entonces, ¿por qué el Estado Democrático de Israel no ha cumplido ninguna de las resoluciones pendientes? ¿Por qué Estados Unidos, en nombre de Israel, se negó a que el Consejo de Derechos Humanos iniciara una investigación sobre los crímenes de guerra tanto de Israel como de Hamas en la Franja de Gaza? ¿Por qué Israel ha reforzado su lobby internacional para evitar el reconocimiento pleno por parte de las Naciones Unidas del Estado de Palestina? ¿Por qué Israel no ha querido definir sus fronteras? ¿Por qué Israel no acepta la competencia de la Corte Penal Internacional?

¿Es posible una negociación entre potencia ocupante y ocupada? La respuesta es no. La manifestación extraordinaria, por parte de miles de personas, seres humanos indignados, no es contra los judíos, es contra Israel; contra su desafío a todos los avances que paradójicamente el derecho internacional creó para evitar los odios desmedidos contra pueblos como el judío, el uso irracional y desproporcionado de la fuerza, y los ataques a la población civil.

Ante la pregunta suspicaz de Peckel, quien dice que «si las víctimas de la guerra fueran judíos, ¿habría semejante movilización e indignación internacional?», la respuesta es SÍ. Sí, si la muerte de sus niños fuera parte de un plan sistemático de acabar con la población civil. Sí, si la acción de una fuerza ocupante ilegal llevara más de 60 años. Sí, si buscara –como en el caso israelí– la total destrucción del pueblo palestino y no la neutralización de Hamas.

[2014]

**VOLVERSE PALESTINA**  
**[FRAGMENTO]**  
Lina Meruane

**A quién temerle**

No deben tener más de veinticinco años y son norteamericanos. Alan es judío. Anne no es más que una activista sin credo religioso pero políticamente comprometida. Ambos trabajan con una tropa de palestinos e israelíes contrarios a la integración que proponen ciertos sectores y a favor de la convivencia entre dos pueblos distintos, donde nadie se vea forzado a renunciar a lo propio ni al derecho de reclamo. Es Zima quien me habla de ellos, Zima quien hace el contacto, Zima quien me despierta esa mañana y me despide con bendiciones islámicas mientras Ankar duerme. Ya no necesito escoltas este viernes que es el último del mes: el día en que los activistas llevan gente a lugares que muy pocos quieren visitar. Una extraña clase de turismo, el del dolor ajeno, que visto de tan cerca acaba volviéndose propio. Antes de partir desde Jerusalén los diez apuntados llenamos una

encuesta anónima que repetiremos al final, quién sabe para probar qué tesis o con qué fines estadísticos. Recibimos a continuación una hoja informativa que devolveremos más tarde: el presupuesto es escuálido. Esta hoja es imprescindible: durante el trayecto ellos no podrán hablarnos de lo que hay a los costados de la autopista. Deberemos ubicar, observando y adivinando, los hitos señalados a medida que aparecen en la ruta. Uno: El túnel por el que no pueden circular los palestinos. Dos: El muro de concreto que no sólo separa Israel de los territorios sino que además los divide. Tres: Los edificios de techo rojo que distinguen a los controvertidos asentamientos de Gush Etzion de las demás casas palestinas. Cuatro: Al-Arroub, el campo de refugiados en la ladera de un cerro, en una curva del camino. Y quinto en la lista: el enorme asentamiento de Kiryat Arba a la entrada de Hebrón: nuestro primer destino. En esta autopista sólo pueden circular israelíes y en este bus a prueba de balas viajan sobre todo colonos. El inglés no nos sirve de guarida porque muchos colonos han venido de Estados Unidos. (Era originario de Brooklyn –ahora recuerdo– Baruch Goldstein, el colono que en 1994 ametralló por la espalda a 29 palestinos mientras rezaban, y fue asesinado después a golpes por los sobrevivientes.) Es con esos colonos israelíes o *made in USA* que nos bajamos en una parada desierta. Ha estado lloviendo a cántaros y yo me he

olvidado del paraguas. Me sumo a los otros nueve pseudo-turistas para protegerme de la lluvia mientras recibimos una breve reseña de los acontecimientos históricos en esta zona. Esperamos que escampe un poco pero no escampa nada y no podemos perder más tiempo. Nos internamos en descenso por un camino de tierra resbalosa. El ejército israelí desciende también veloz en sus tanquetas, levantando agua y barro a nuestro alrededor. Un soldado de carabina nos hace señas desde el último piso de un edificio a medio construir: el hormigón pelado, los fierros desnudos, el soldado encima. Nos lanza gritos y bracea en el aire pero nuestros guías no se detienen y yo apuro el paso, alarmada. Metros más adelante nos sale al encuentro una tropa de niños árabes, gritando frases que tampoco entiendo. A quién hay que temerle aquí, le pregunto a Anne cuando por fin la alcanzo: a los palestinos o al ejército. Bajando la voz y dirigiéndola hacia mí retruca una pregunta seguida de una respuesta: ¿Para tu seguridad inmediata? A los colonos.

## **Hebrón no tiene nombre**

Otra ciudad dividida, Hebrón. En el único puesto árabe abierto nos ofrecen alero para la lluvia y té hirviendo. Nos sentamos a escuchar a un musulmán

autorizado a mostrar la parte vieja de esta ciudad administrada por Israel. Nuestro guía habla con acento y entre sorbos de té, pero se hace difícil seguir lo que dice porque la estentórea recitación del Corán que proviene de la torre de la mezquita de Ibrahim o Abraham solapa su voz. También él pierde alguna vez el hilo: lo distrae el imperioso llamado de *Allah* por parlante. Se avecina el tiempo de la oración, dice, y apura las palabras en breves jaculatorias. Bajo la melodía de la convivencia pacífica que nuestro guía predica van surgiendo datos perturbadores. Hay cinco asentamientos en vías de unirse bajo el amparo del ejército israelí. Y aunque hay apenas 500 colonos entre 250 mil palestinos, éstos tienen todo el poder. En el caso imaginario de que un colono y un palestino se lanzaran mutuamente una piedra, el colono respondería ante la ley civil mientras que el palestino sería juzgado como *terrorista*. El ejército apresaría al palestino pero no al colono, porque al colono tendría que arrestarlo la policía y aquí no hay policía. Sólo hay ejército. Sólo soldados. Cuatro por cada colono: para protegerlos. Colonos y militares mandan en la zona vieja, y la tienen paralizada para los palestinos. Fíjense en el vacío de la ciudad, dice el guía. No hay nadie. No se los ve nunca, a los colonos, pero se imponen sobre nosotros. El guía se levanta de la silla para indicarnos lo que pronto vamos a verificar: que las calles son rutas estériles: están cerradas

para los palestinos. Ir, para ellos, de una esquina a otra puede implicar un desvío de doce kilómetros y de horas de detenciones arbitrarias. Vacío quedó también el mercado: antes callejuelas atestadas de gente, ahora callejones desiertos, una sucesión de puestos tapiados y asegurados con cadenas. Para prevenir ataques, advierte el guía, y luego agrega, con solemnidad: eso es lo que dicen los israelíes. Nos levantamos de las sillas, dejamos los vacíos ya sin té. Dejamos atrás al guía y empiezan las comprobaciones. Subimos por la ladera que usan los 25 palestinos que todavía viven aquí. A falta de permiso para andar por las calles y porque las entradas de sus casas han sido clausuradas, deben transitar por los techos o treparse por las ventanas de atrás para entrar a sus hogares. Arriba, por la gravilla resbaladiza y escalones rotos, seguimos nosotros el camino. Abajo va quedando la calle pavimentada y abierta a los colonos. La voz de *Allah* ya no se oye cuando llegamos al cementerio ahora atravesado por un trazado de tierra. Por el cierre de las calles y el aumento de los controles ellos están obligados a atravesar el campo-santo. Cortarlo en dos, caminar sobre sus muertos: una enorme falta de respeto para los musulmanes, según explica Alan. Una forma de profanación, añade Anne. Y es por esta parte del sendero que se hacen visibles púas, banderas, cámaras. Alan nos indica que allá, en el búnker que corona el asentamiento



Tel Rumeida, vive el colono más extremo, uno que en su auto lleva un cartel instigando a la violencia: «Yo maté a un árabe, ¿y tú?». Esta es también la zona donde se despliegan las pintadas, que pronto nos señalan. Pintadas legibles para nosotros, los seudoturistas, que compartimos el inglés como lengua franca. En los territorios ocupados, dice Anne, esa lengua extranjera es lo único que todos, nosotros y ellos, tenemos en común. Nos detenemos ante uno, y yo leo, perpleja como todos, la línea anotada por sobrevivientes-del-holocausto o por sus hijos o sus nietos: «Árabes a las cámaras de gas».

## Despertar

Es por la parte palestina de Hebrón que nos pasarán a buscar. Mientras esperamos la camioneta se larga de nuevo a llover. Me arrimo al paraguas de Alan. A esta distancia es difícil no distraerse con el largo asombroso de sus pestañas rubias, con sus ojos brillantes. Aprovecho esa cercanía para preguntarle por qué está aquí, cómo llegó a esto. Abre los ojos aun más grandes y me dice, con resignación, que él, antes, fue sionista. Sionista, repito mentalmente y luego en voz alta. Sionista. ¿Qué clase de sionista?, le digo sin salir de mi asombro. Sionista de esos que quieren expulsar a todos los palestinos de sus

tierras, de los que creen que Dios les ha otorgado derecho exclusivo sobre ellas. Nos quedamos en silencio mirando las gotas finas como alfileres hundiéndose en los charcos. Alan sonrío algo incómodo y enciende un cigarrillo. Fui educado de esa manera, en Chicago, y desde lejos esas convicciones eran fáciles. Pero vine a Israel, y vi lo que estaba pasando, y entonces desperté.

[2013]

**THROUGH LENS, 4 BOYS DEAD  
BY GAZA SHORE**  
Tyler Hicks

GAZA CITY — My day here began at 6 a.m. Photographing something as unpredictable as war still has a routine.

It is important to be out the door at first light to document the destruction of the last night's bombings. By midmorning, I check in at the hospital's morgue to see if families have come to pick up the dead for burial.

When the routine is broken, it is because things can go horribly wrong in an instant. On Wednesday, that sudden change of fortune came to four young Palestinian boys playing on a beach in Gaza City.

I had returned to my small seaside hotel around 4 p.m. to file photos to New York when I heard a loud explosion. My driver and I rushed to the window to see what had happened. A small shack atop a sea wall at the fishing port had been struck by an Israeli bomb or missile and was burning. A young

boy emerged from the smoke, running toward the adjacent beach.

I grabbed my cameras and was putting on body armor and a helmet when, about 30 seconds after the first blast, there was another. The boy I had seen running was now dead, lying motionless in the sand, along with three other boys who had been playing there.

By the time I reached the beach, I was winded from running with my heavy armor. I paused; it was too risky to go onto the exposed sand. Imagine what my silhouette, captured by an Israeli drone, might look like as a grainy image on a laptop somewhere in Israel: wearing body armor and a helmet, carrying cameras that could be mistaken for weapons. If children are being killed, what is there to protect me, or anyone else?

I watched as a group of people ran to the children's aid. I joined them, running with the feeling that I would find safety in numbers, though I understood that feeling could be deceptive: Crowds can make things worse. We arrived at the scene to find lifeless, mangled bodies. The boys were beyond help. They had been killed instantly, and the people who had rushed to them were shocked and distraught.

Earlier in the day, I had photographed the funeral for a man and a 12-year-old boy. They had been killed when a bomb hit the car in which they were

riding south of Gaza City, severely injuring an older woman with them.

There is no safe place in Gaza right now. Bombs can land at any time, anywhere.

A small metal shack with no electricity or running water on a jetty in the blazing seaside sun does not seem like the kind of place frequented by Hamas militants, the Israel Defense Forces' intended targets. Children, maybe four feet tall, dressed in summer clothes, running from an explosion, don't fit the description of Hamas fighters, either.

[2014]

## TALKING TO BUTLER, WHO IS TALKING TO ARENDT I. L.

I don't know you, Judith Butler, and I have never read *Gender Trouble*. I know of you, of course, from friends and colleagues who have found your work brilliant and challenging and terribly confusing. You have been both the trump card in philosophical arguments about feminism and discourse and the punch line in jokes about how fucking impossible it is to talk coherently about feminism and discourse. I have seen your face on a magnet for sale at a kitschy little shop on Çukurcuma, an Istanbul back street known for its antique shops. Your presence there told me that you were comfortable in both roles. And so, although I had never read a page of your work until «Is Judaism Zionism?» (Butler 2011), it seems fitting that you would also end up having so much to teach me about taking a Jewish anti-Zionist stance.

You write:

If one openly and publicly criticizes Israeli state violence one is then considered anti-Semitic or

anti-Jewish, and yet to openly and publicly criticize such violence is in some ways an obligatory ethical demand from within Jewish frameworks, both religious and nonreligious. (73)

Open and public criticism of everything under the sun comes as naturally to me as breathing. But when it comes to Israeli state violence, particularly the most recent murderous violence in Gaza, I often find myself speechless. Although I skipped the Birthright trip and only lasted a month on JDate, the idea that in some visceral way I belong to Israel, just as it belongs to me, has taken refuge in some corner of my brain. And so it is *my* Israel that relentlessly pursues its goals of peace and security through airstrikes on schools and hospitals.

Closer to home, it is my family that demands to know why it is always the Jews who must bear all the blame and condemnation. Indeed, there are many anti-Semitic and anti-Jewish voices among those condemning the murderous violence. But does this mean that the rest of us must be silent and leave the murderous violence uncondemned? Well, if it's violence you want to condemn, my interlocutors continue, then why is it that nobody seems to care about all of the death in Syria and Iraq? And even as I try to explain that our collective lack of attention spans for complicated and drawn-out conflicts between

relatively unsympathetic actors is not exactly the same sort of thing as the Dreyfuss Affair, I wonder whether there is something to this question. That is, when I find myself telling my family that no life is worth more than any other, I wonder whether those lives extinguished by Jewish agents of the Jewish state actually bear a greater negative weight for me. Why *do* they weigh me down so when those other deaths do not?

You write:

I think one has to return to certain diasporic traditions within Judaism [...] to reanimate certain ideals of cohabitation. Cohabitation forms the ethical basis for a public critique of those forms of state violence that seek to produce and maintain the Jewish character of the state through the radical disenfranchisement and decimation of its minority, through occupation, assault, or legal restriction. (76)

The assault on Gaza is part of an ongoing project to «maintain the Jewish character of the state», but in disenfranchising and decimating the Palestinian population, the Israeli state is disenfranchising and decimating Jewishness as I have learned to know it. My Jewishness and yours, Judith Butler, but also that of millions of others, even those who “Stand

With Israel” and would be the first to call us traitors and self-hating Jews. If the dominant historical narrative suggests that Jews have generally had no choice but to seek peaceful forms of cohabitation with neighbors whose identities more closely aligned with the kingdoms, empires, and states in which they lived, as citizens and putative citizens of our own modern and well-equipped Israeli state we are not encouraged to continue and improve on this tradition. Instead, the complex tradition of cohabitation is collapsed into its greatest failure and the Holocaust becomes a totalizing event, the only moment that really matters. And it is this abridged history that is presented to us as the backstory to a bloody revenge epic. It is necessary, we are told, to break the cycle of meekness and accommodation that led us to die obediently in the camps and to emerge the fearsome conquering victors, our state and identity stronger than ever. This narrative certainly has its appeal. But what are this state and this identity? Will those who so proudly stand with it now recognize it, or themselves, when they look back on this slaughter?

«No one people could claim a monopoly on dispossession» (80).

I would submit that all dispossessed people *could* claim a monopoly on dispossession and most of them do. This is not a problem in itself, but an essential form of cultural knowledge for many of us.

But what do we expect to get out of such a claim? A medal or a monument, as the saying goes? A congressional resolution? Reparations? Safe and dignified return? Or a free pass to inflict collective punishment whenever and wherever we feel threatened again? We can debate the merits and practicality of almost all of these possibilities, but when it comes to the last one, we must insist that even the most dispossessed among us simply take it off the table.

According to Arendt, Eichmann thought that he and his superiors might choose with whom to cohabit the earth and failed to realize that the heterogeneity of the earth’s population is an irreversible condition of social and political life itself. [...] In fact, if we seek to make a choice where there is no choice, we are trying to destroy the conditions of our own social and political life (83).

We are both admirers of Hannah Arendt. And here, Judith Butler, you have used her work to hit the genocidal nail on its genocidal head. When undergraduate anthropology textbooks and various “experts” explain conflict as the result of some unfortunate and unwelcome heterogeneity, I want to ask whether they have a lasting solution to this seemingly intractable problem. A final solution, perhaps? But you, with

Arendt as inspiration, express the opposing view far more eloquently:

We not only live with those we never chose, and to whom we may feel no social sense of belonging, but we are also obligated to preserve those lives and the plurality of which they form a part. In this sense, concrete political norms and ethical prescriptions emerge from the unchosen character of these modes of cohabitation. To cohabit the earth is prior to any possible community or nation or neighborhood. We might choose where to live, and who to live by, but we cannot choose with whom to cohabit the earth (84).

This way of being bound to one another is precisely not a social bond that is entered into through volition and deliberation; it precedes contract, is mired in dependency, and is often effaced by those forms of social contract that depend on an ontology of volitional individuality. Thus it is, even from the start, to the stranger that we are bound, the one, or the ones, we never knew and never chose. If we accept this sort of ontological condition, then to destroy the other is to

destroy my life, that sense of my life that is invariably social life (88).

But what if, Judith Butler, these unchosen strangers do not wish to share the earth with us? Is it not reasonable to say that *they* must first acknowledge these bonds of dependency and stop praying and working for our destruction? The supporters of the Israeli state and its assault on Gaza would understandably like to know. Our only reply is this: It is in the nature of cohabitation that we cannot impose this demand, particularly from our current position of state power and state violence, because it entails the belief that our lives and our suffering are worth more than the stranger's. We must acknowledge that this position is, in the final estimation, contrary to life on this earth.

Perhaps it is my participation in Jewish belonging, into which I was born, but have come to engage with through volition and deliberation, that makes the loss of these Palestinian strangers weigh so heavily on me. I mourn selfishly. I am implicated in the destruction of the other and, like you, Judith Butler, I fear that this represents the destruction of my life, as well.

Butler, Judith. 2011. "Is Judaism Zionism?" in E. Mendieta and J. VanAntwerpen (eds.) *The Power of Religion in the Public Sphere*, 70-91. New York: Columbia University Press.

[2014]

**CARTA CONTRA  
LA MASACRE EN PALESTINA,  
31 DE JULIO DE 2014**

Naschla Aburman  
Macarena Chahuán  
Diamela Eltit  
Ana Harcha  
Nancy Lolas  
Diana Massis  
Lina Meruane  
Marcela Said  
Marcela Zedán  
Faride Zerán

Somos chilenas de origen palestino. Inmersas en el quehacer académico e intelectual mantenemos un compromiso irrestricto con la libertad, los derechos humanos y la dignidad y autodeterminación de los pueblos.

Los ataques abiertamente letales contra civiles palestinos perpetrados por el ejército israelí son



acciones terribles y ominosas. Avergüenza además el comportamiento cómplice del gobierno de Estados Unidos y de diversos países europeos.

Vemos cómo los grandes medios de comunicación, nacionales e internacionales, justifican tácitamente el asesinato masivo de hombres, mujeres y niños acogiendo los torcidos argumentos del gobierno de Israel, que se funda en Hamas para ejercer un poderío militar incommensurable en contra de una población cercada y completamente desvalida.

Pero Palestina es Gaza, como también Cisjordania; Palestina es Hamas y además Al Fatah y otras organizaciones políticas, laicas o profesionales, cristinas o musulmanas que conforman la Autoridad Nacional Palestina, elegidas democráticamente más allá de los prejuicios y estereotipos de Occidente.

Y Palestina es también el muro de más de seiscientos kilómetros de largo que nos habla de la ocupación y apartheid a todo un pueblo intensificado mediante el silencio cómplice de gran parte de Occidente.

Estamos ante una masacre abiertamente genocida que nos violenta y genera intensos sentimientos de impotencia. Carecemos de poder para detener estos actos, pero al menos buscamos explicitar cuánto nos conmueve el terror y el dolor que experimenta ahora mismo el pueblo palestino.

[2014]



the poet AUDRE LORDE writes

*"there are so many roots  
to the tree of anger/  
that sometimes the  
branches shatter/  
before they bear."*

(from "Who Said It Was Simple, 1973)

I USE THIS POEM IN MY CLASSES,  
TO TEACH ABOUT INTERSECTIONAL  
POLITICS AND HOW THE PERSONAL  
IS POLITICAL.



THESE LINES HAVE BEEN RUNNING  
THROUGH MY MIND LATELY...



AS MY FATHER AND I CIRCLE EACH OTHER,  
SNAPPING LIKE DOGS.



(AND THEN RETREAT, BECAUSE WE LOVE EACH OTHER)



THIS IS NOT A POLITICAL ARGUMENT. THE HISTORY IS THERE FOR YOU TO FIND AND I AM DONE ARGUING WITH YOU. I FEEL LIKE I HAVE TO SAY THESE THINGS SO YOU DON'T GET THE WRONG IDEA, SO YOU CAN STOP EMAILING ME OP-EDS BY AIPAC LOBBYISTS AND FORMER ISRAELI AMBASSADORS.



I JUST NEED TO WRITE *SOMETHING*, BECAUSE I AM AN AMERICAN JEW (WITH ISRAELI RIGHT OF RETURN) & ZIONISM HAS STOLEN MY CULTURE & RELIGION FROM ME & I BURN WITH THIS KNOWLEDGE



BECAUSE MY TAX DOLLARS BUY ISRAELI ARSENALS AND BECAUSE THERE HAVE BEEN TREES PLANTED IN MY NAME BY THE JEWISH NATIONAL FUND IN WHAT ZIONISTS CLAIM WAS A BARREN DESERT, BUT WHAT I KNOW TO BE BOMBARDS OF OLIVE GROVES & PALESTINIAN VILLAGES



THE SMALL ACTIONS I CAN TAKE FEEL INADEQUATE AGAINST THIS ASTOUNDING LOSS, AGAINST THIS SENSE OF AN UNSTOPPABLE BOULDER ROLLING DOWNHILL, FASTER & FASTER.



BECAUSE I WENT TO ISRAEL IN 2005 & CAME HOME WITH AN UNSHAKEABLE SENSE OF WRONGNESS, THE APARTHEID WALL INDUCED MORE FEELING IN ME THAN THE WESTERN WALL.



I AM STILL LEARNING HOW TO CONFRONT MY COMPLICITY. I AM STILL FIGURING OUT HOW TO BE IN SOLIDARITY AS A JEW WITHOUT TAKING UP SO MUCH SPACE.



WHAT IS THE POINT OF THIS EVEN? TO SAY I WAS ON THE RIGHT SIDE OF HISTORY, LATER? THIS IS AN OLD WORRY FOR ME - THAT I AM SITTING HERE DRAWING INSTEAD OF TAKING IT TO THE STREETS.



REPOSTING ON A PIECE BY AMEN ABENNAVA

WILL MY HOLDING A SIGN OUTSIDE THE ISRAELI CONSULATE AT A PROTEST IN PHILADELPHIA END U.S. MILITARY AID TO ISRAEL? HOW RIGHTeous CAN I FEEL WHEN I BUY MY DECOLONIAL HUMMUS?



WILL MY RETWEET, MY PETITION SIGNATURE, SAVE A CHILD'S LIFE IN GAZA?



INCREASINGLY, I FEEL THE NEED TO BE UNCOMFORTABLE BY PROTEST. I WANT THE STREETS TO BE FULL OF PROTESTORS TRAFFIC TO BE BLOCKED BY MARCHERS, FOR EVERYTHING TO BE SHUT DOWN.



(PICTURES SOURCE A JUNE 18th PROTEST)

IF IT WOULD STOP A SINGLE MISSILE FROM LAUNCHING, I WANT TO BE A HUMAN SHIELD.



I DON'T KNOW WHAT TO DO WITH THIS GRIEF, THIS RAGE (THIS GUILT)...



HOW TO KEEP MYSELF FROM SHATTERING WHEN THE WORLD IS EXPLODING.



**A CALL TO ACTION FROM  
INDIGENOUS AND WOMEN  
OF COLOR FEMINISTS**

Rabab Abdulhadi  
Ayoka Chenzira  
Angela Y. Davis  
Gina Dent  
G. Melissa Garcia  
Anna Romina Guevarra  
Beverly Guy-Sheftall  
Premilla Nadasen  
Barbara Ransby  
Chandra Talpade Mohanty

Between June 14 and June 23, 2011, a delegation of 11 scholars, activists, and artists visited occupied Palestine. As indigenous and women of color feminists involved in multiple social justice struggles, we sought to affirm our association with the growing international movement for a free Palestine. We

wanted to see for ourselves the conditions under which Palestinian people live and struggle against what we can now confidently name as the Israeli project of apartheid and ethnic cleansing. Each and every one of us –including those members of our delegation who grew up in the Jim Crow South, in apartheid South Africa, and on Indian reservations in the U. S.– was shocked by what we saw. In this statement we describe some of our experiences and issue an urgent call to others who share our commitment to racial justice, equality, and freedom.

During our short stay in Palestine, we met with academics, students, youth, leaders of civic organizations, elected officials, trade unionists, political leaders, artists, and civil society activists, as well as residents of refugee camps and villages that have been recently attacked by Israeli soldiers and settlers. Everyone we encountered –in Nablus, Awarta, Balata, Jerusalem, Hebron, Dheisheh, Bethlehem, Birzeit, Ramallah, Um el-Fahem, and Haifa– asked us to tell the truth about life under occupation and about their unwavering commitment to a free Palestine. We were deeply impressed by people’s insistence on the linkages between the movement for a free Palestine and struggles for justice throughout the world; as Martin Luther King, Jr. insisted throughout his life: «Justice is indivisible. Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere.»

Traveling by bus throughout the country, we saw vast numbers of Israeli settlements ominously perched in the hills, bearing witness to the systematic confiscation of Palestinian land in flagrant violation of international law and United Nations resolutions.

We met with refugees across the country whose families had been evicted from their homes by Zionist forces, their land confiscated, their villages and olive groves razed. As a consequence of this ongoing displacement, Palestinians comprise the largest refugee population in the world (over five million), the majority living within 100 kilometers of their natal homes, villages, and farmlands. In defiance of United Nations Resolution 194, Israel has an active policy of opposing the right of Palestinian refugees to return to their ancestral homes and lands on the grounds that they are not entitled to exercise the Israeli Law of Return, which is reserved for Jews.

In Sheikh Jarrah, a neighborhood in eastern occupied Jerusalem, we met an 88-year-old woman who was forcibly evicted in the middle of the night; she watched as the Israeli military moved settlers into her house a mere two hours later. Now living in the small back rooms of what was once her large family residence, she defiantly asserted that neither Israel’s courts nor its military could ever force her from her home. In the city of Hebron, we were stunned by

the conspicuous presence of Israeli soldiers, who maintain veritable conditions of apartheid for the city's Palestinian population of almost 200,000, as against its 700 Jewish settlers. We crossed several Israeli checkpoints designed to control Palestinian movement on West Bank roads and along the Green Line. Throughout our stay, we met Palestinians who, because of Israel's annexation of Jerusalem and plans to remove its native population, have been denied entry to the Holy City. We spoke to a man who lives ten minutes away from Jerusalem but who has not been able to enter the city for twenty-seven years. The Israeli government thus continues to wage a demographic war for Jewish dominance over the Palestinian population.

We were never able to escape the jarring sight of the ubiquitous apartheid wall, which stands in contempt of international law and human rights principles. Constructed of twenty-five-foot-high concrete slabs, electrified cyclone fencing, and winding razor wire, it almost completely encloses the West Bank and extends well east of the Green Line marking Israel's pre-1967 borders. It snakes its way through ancient olive groves, destroying the beauty of the landscape, dividing communities and families, severing farmers from their fields and depriving them of their livelihood. In Abu Dis, the wall cuts across the campus of Al Quds University through

the soccer field. In Qalqiliya, we saw massive gates built to control the entry and access of Palestinians to their lands and homes, including a gated corridor through which Palestinians with increasingly rare Israeli-issued permits are processed as they enter Israel for work, sustaining the very state that has displaced them. Palestinian children are forced through similar corridors, lining-up for hours twice each day to attend school. As one Palestinian colleague put it, «Occupied Palestine is the largest prison in the world.»

An extensive prison system bolsters the occupation and suppresses resistance. Everywhere we went we met people who had either been imprisoned themselves or had relatives who had been incarcerated. Twenty thousand Palestinians are locked inside Israeli prisons, at least 8,000 of them are political prisoners and more than 300 are children. In Jerusalem, we met with members of the Palestinian Legislative Council who are being protected from arrest by the International Committee of the Red Cross. In Um el-Fahem, we met with an Islamist leader just after his release from prison and heard a riveting account of his experience on the Mavi Marmara and the 2010 Gaza Flotilla. The criminalization of their political activity, and that of the many Palestinians we met, was a constant and harrowing theme.

We also came to understand how overt repression is buttressed by deceptive representations of the state of Israel as the most developed social democracy in the region. As feminists, we deplore the Israeli practice of “pink-washing,” the state’s use of ostensible support for gender and sexual equality to dress-up its occupation. In Palestine, we consistently found evidence and analyses of a more substantive approach to an indivisible justice. We met the President and the leadership of the Arab Feminist Union and several other women’s groups in Nablus who spoke about the role and struggles of Palestinian women on several fronts. We visited one of the oldest women’s empowerment centers in Palestine, In’ash al-Usra, and learned about various income-generating cultural projects. We also spoke with Palestinian Queers for BDS [Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions], young organizers who frame the struggle for gender and sexual justice as part and parcel of a comprehensive framework for self-determination and liberation. Feminist colleagues at Birzeit University, An-Najah University, and Mada al-Carmel spoke to us about the organic linkage of anti-colonial resistance with gender and sexual equality, as well as about the transformative role Palestinian institutions of higher education play in these struggles.

We were continually inspired by the deep and abiding spirit of resistance in the stories people told

us, in the murals inside buildings such as Ibdaa Center in Dheisheh Refugee Camp, in slogans painted on the apartheid wall in Qalqiliya, Bethlehem, and Abu Dis, in the education of young children, and in the commitment to emancipatory knowledge production. At our meeting with the Boycott National Committee –an umbrella alliance of over 200 Palestinian civil society organizations, including the General Union of Palestinian Women, the General Union of Palestinian Workers, the Palestinian Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel [PACBI], and the Palestinian Network of NGOs– we were humbled by their appeal: «We are not asking you for heroic action or to form freedom brigades. We are simply asking you not to be complicit in perpetuating the crimes of the Israeli state.»

Therefore, we unequivocally endorse the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions Campaign. The purpose of this campaign is to pressure Israeli state-sponsored institutions to adhere to international law, basic human rights, and democratic principles as a condition for just and equitable social relations. We reject the argument that to criticize the State of Israel is anti-Semitic. We stand with Palestinians, an increasing number of Jews, and other human rights activists all over the world in condemning the flagrant injustices of the Israeli occupation.

We call upon all of our academic and activist colleagues in the U. S. and elsewhere to join us by endorsing the BDS campaign and by working to end U. S. financial support, at \$8.2 million daily, for the Israeli state and its occupation. We call upon all people of conscience to engage in serious dialogue about Palestine and to acknowledge connections between the Palestinian cause and other struggles for justice. Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere.

[2011]

**RESISTENCIA INDÍGENA DE  
COLOMBIA A PALESTINA  
[FRAGMENTO]**

Anna Baltzer

Traducido por Beatriz Morales Bastos

«Sólo ven nuestra agua, nuestra tierra, nuestros árboles. No les importamos. Quieren la tierra, sin la gente que vive en ella.»

Estas palabras no son de un agricultor palestino, sino de Justo Conda, gobernador de la Reserva Indígena de López Adentro, al sudoeste de Colombia, cuya comunidad fue repetidamente amenazada de desplazamiento por el ex presidente Álvaro Uribe Vélez.

Según el Alto Comisionado de Derechos Humanos de la ONU, Colombia tiene una de las mayores poblaciones de desplazados internos del mundo, que asciende a 4.9 millones de personas, muchas de ellas de comunidades indígenas, afro-colombianos descendientes de antiguos esclavos y campesinos.

Como Israel, Colombia es el mayor receptor de ayuda militar estadounidense en su hemisferio.

**INDIGENOUS RESISTANCE,  
FROM COLOMBIA TO PALESTINE  
[EXCERPT]**

Anna Baltzer

«They only see our water, our land, our trees. They don't care about us. They want the land —without the people on it.»

These words are not of a Palestinian farmer but of Justo Conda, governor of Lopez Adentro Indigenous Reserve in southwestern Colombia, whose community was repeatedly threatened with displacement under former president Alvaro Uribe Vélez.

According to the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Colombia has one of the largest populations of internally displaced people in the world, numbering as many as 4.9 million, many of them indigenous communities, afro-Colombian descendants of former slaves, and *campesinos* [farmers].

Like Israel, Colombia is the largest recipient of U.S. military aid in its hemisphere. Six billion U. S.



En los últimos diez años se han destinado 6.000 millones de dólares de los contribuyentes estadounidenses a Colombia, tercer receptor de ayuda militar estadounidense del mundo tras Israel y Egipto. Armados con armas y respaldo político estadounidense, el gobierno de Uribe y otros actores armados han expulsado por la fuerza a millones de personas por medio del asesinato extrajudicial y de tácticas terroristas, con lo que han dejado el camino libre para la explotación de recursos naturales por parte del gobierno y de las compañías multinacionales. Siempre en nombre de la seguridad y de la “guerra contra el terrorismo”, los soldados colombianos han quemado pueblos, saqueado hogares y destruido los medios de vida de comunidades que han tomado la decisión radical de permanecer en su propia tierra.

Para muchas comunidades indígenas esta no es la primera vez que han sido desarraigadas. Con la invasión española hace quinientos años y la fundación de Colombia trescientos años después, los pueblos indígenas han sido obligados muchas veces a huir de sus fértiles valles ricos en agua y minerales, a trasladarse cada vez más lejos hacia la cordillera de los Andes, donde el clima es más árido y la tierra menos cultivable. Ahora el gobierno quiere apoderarse incluso de esta tierra y dejar atrapadas a las comunidades: si van más alto en las montañas pueden verse amenazadas por las guerrillas que luchan por

tax-dollars over the past ten years have placed Colombia third in the world for U. S. military assistance, after Israel and Egypt. Armed with U. S. weapons and political backing, Uribe’s government and other armed actors have forced out millions through extrajudicial assassinations and terror tactics, clearing the way for the exploitation of natural resources by the government and multinational companies. Always in the name of security and the “War on Terror,” Colombian soldiers have burned villages, ransacked homes and destroyed the livelihoods of communities who have taken the radical decision of staying on their own land.

For many indigenous communities, this is not the first time they’ve been uprooted. With the Spanish invasion five hundred years ago and the founding of Colombia three hundred years later, indigenous peoples have been repeatedly forced to flee their fertile valleys rich with water and minerals, moving further and further into the Andes mountain ranges where the climate is harsher and the land less arable. Now the government wants to take even that land, leaving the communities trapped —community members say if they head higher into the mountains they may be threatened by guerillas who are fighting to maintain control of those areas, while going down into the valleys they will face aggression from paramilitaries, corporations and the army.

mantener el control de esas zonas, mientras que si bajan a los valles se enfrentan a las agresiones de los paramilitares, las corporaciones y el ejército.

Hay algo inquietante y extrañamente familiar en esta expulsión calculada y violenta, y no resulta sorprendente que Israel se haya convertido en el principal suministrador de armas para Colombia, en su asesor sobre organización militar y de inteligencia, y en su modelo de la “lucha contra el terrorismo”. Pero, como los palestinos, el pueblo de Colombia no está dispuesto a abandonar sus hogares y medios de vida sin luchar. Hace casi veinte años y en contra de un ejército armado hasta los dientes, las comunidades indígenas de sudoeste de Colombia desarrollaron su propia forma de protección La Guardia Indígena.

De pie ante la bandera de Consejo Indígena Regional de Cauca en la reserva indígena de López, el gobernador Conda explicó :

Ante el Estado altamente militarizado que sistemáticamente nos niega nuestros derechos básicos, La Guardia Indígena es la única defensa que podemos ejercer. Nos hemos declarado neutrales, sin alinearnos ni con las guerrillas ni con el ejército. Estamos ofreciendo una solución pacífica basada en acabar con la colonización y en el respeto por la vida y la cultura. No tenemos armas o pistolas. No necesitamos armas o

There is something eerily familiar about this violent and calculated expulsion and it is no surprise that Israel has now become Colombia’s number one supplier of weapons, advisor on military organization and intelligence-gathering and model for “fighting terror.” But like the Palestinians, the people of Colombia are not prepared to abandon their homes and livelihoods without a struggle. Almost twenty years ago, up against a military armed to the teeth, the indigenous communities of southwestern Colombia developed their own form of protection: La Guardia Indígena [The Indigenous Guard].

Standing before the flag of the Regional Indigenous Council of Cauca in the indigenous reserve of Lopez, Governor Conda explained:

In the face of a highly-militarized state that consistently denies us our basic rights, The Indigenous Guard is the only defense we can exercise. We have declared ourselves neutral, allied with neither the guerillas nor the army. We are offering a peaceful solution based on an end to colonization and respect for life and culture. We have no weapons or guns. We don’t need weapons or guns to exercise control. Our guards stand outside our gates, armed only with their colorful staff –a symbol of our strength and our values. And although we have received

pistolas para ejercer control. Nuestros guardias se alzan fuera de nuestras puertas armados sólo con sus coloridos bastones, un símbolo de nuestra fortaleza y de nuestros valores. Y aunque hemos recibido muchas amenazas, muchas autoridades también han llegado a respetar a La Guardia Indígena.

Las comunidades indígenas de Colombia tienen una larga historia de resistencia popular. En la década de 1920 las tribus boicotearon colectivamente los impuestos que el gobierno había impuesto a las comunidades indígenas por vivir y trabajar su propia tierra. Desde entonces, se han formado consejos para decidir cómo recuperar territorio y resistir a la expulsión. Aunque su presencia precedió a la colonización europea, a menudo se trata a los indígenas colombianos como si fueran extranjeros e invasores.

La respuesta a la resistencia organizada indígena frente al desplazamiento ha sido brutal. Solamente el año pasado fueron asesinados cuatro miembros de la pequeña comunidad de López Adentro. Según el abogado de derechos humanos Felix Posada, 1.400 indígenas fueron asesinados durante los ocho años del mandato de Uribe, lo que representa un 1 por ciento de la población indígena total de Colombia. Este país tiene el índice más alto de asesinatos de indígenas de América Latina, que fueron 114 el año

many threats, many authorities have also come to respect the indigenous guard.

Colombia's indigenous communities have a long history of popular resistance. In the 1920s, tribes collectively boycotted taxes imposed by the government on indigenous people to live and work on their own land. Since then, councils have been formed to decide how to recuperate territory and resist expulsion. Although their presence preceded European colonization, indigenous Colombians are often treated as foreigners and invaders.

The response to organized indigenous resistance to displacement has been brutal. Last year alone, four members of the small Lopez Adentro community were assassinated. According to human rights advocate Felix Posada, 1,400 indigenous persons were assassinated during Uribe's eight-year tenure, representing one percent of Colombia's total indigenous population. Colombia has the highest rate of indigenous killings in Latin America, numbering 114 last year, reported Posada. In addition, countless cases have confirmed collaboration between the Colombian army and the paramilitaries (renamed "organized delinquents" these days), the latter often doing the dirty work in exchange for power and immunity.

The gravest threat of all faced by Colombia's indigenous population is cultural destruction and

pasado, informó Posada. Además, se han confirmado innumerables casos de colaboración entre el ejército colombiano y los paramilitares (a los que en estos días se les ha vuelto a bautizar como “delincuentes organizados”), en los que éstos hacen el trabajo sucio a cambio de poder e inmunidad.

La peor amenaza a la que se enfrenta la población indígena de Colombia es la destrucción y desaparición cultural. El 32 por ciento de las 102 tribus indígenas de Colombia está en peligro de desaparición. En 18 tribus sólo quedan menos de doscientas personas. Otro miembro de la comunidad de López Adentro explicaba: «La paz no es simplemente acabar con la guerra. La paz llegará cuando se respeten los derechos indígenas a la tierra, la cultura y la autodeterminación. No puede haber paz por medio de la destrucción o sumisión de la población indígena».

Esta definición de paz resulta muy oportuna en el momento en que Israel y el ilegítimo presidente de la Autoridad Palestina, Mahmoud Abbas, reinician las negociaciones mientras ignoran los requisitos fundamentales de justicia para el pueblo palestino, incluyendo su derecho a la tierra, la cultura y la autodeterminación. Y aunque hay notables diferencias entre las situaciones en Colombia y Palestina, la similitud de las respuestas de los gobiernos colombiano e israelí a la resistencia indígena [importante

extinction. Of Colombia’s 102 indigenous tribes, 32 percent are in danger of disappearance. Eighteen tribes have fewer than two hundred persons remaining. Another member of the Lopez Adentro community explained: «Peace is not simply an end to war. Peace will come when indigenous rights to land, culture and self-determination are respected. There can be no peace through the destruction or submission of the indigenous population.»

This definition of true peace is a timely one as Israel and the illegitimate Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas resume negotiations while ignoring the fundamental requirements of justice for the Palestinian people, including their respective rights to land, culture and self-determination. And although there are notable differences between the situations in Colombia and Palestine, the likeness of the Colombian and Israeli governments’ responses to indigenous resistance [importantly their support by the U.S. government] is unmistakable.

Meanwhile, the *sumoud* and resilience of the indigenous Colombian people persists. Governor Conda continued, «Just as we have for five hundred years, we will continue to struggle and move forward. In fact, we are ready to work harder than ever.»

[2010]

en cuanto a la ayuda suministrada por el gobierno de los Estados Unidos] es inequívoca.

Mientras tanto, persistirá la sumoud y resistencia de la población indígena de Colombia. El gobernador Conda continuó: «Como hemos hecho durante quinientos años, seguiremos luchando y avanzando. De hecho, estamos dispuestos a trabajar mas duro que nunca».

[2010]

**INAUGURATION OF THE FIRST  
EXCHANGE OF INDIGENOUS  
PEOPLES OF MEXICO  
WITH ZAPATISTA PEOPLES  
[EXCERPT]  
Zapatista National  
Liberation Army**

**WELCOME INDIGENOUS PEOPLES!**

We come to share our suffering and pain caused by the neoliberal system.

But not only this.

We also come to share valuable knowledges, our experiences in struggle and organization, and our goals and challenges.

We do so in the face of the neoliberal capitalist invaders that have done us so much damage.

These invaders were not satisfied with the theft and looting carried out by the conquistadors in 1492.

**INAUGURACIÓN DE LA  
PRIMERA COMPARTICIÓN  
DE PUEBLOS ORIGINARIOS  
DE MEXICO  
CON PUEBLOS ZAPATISTAS  
[FRAGMENTO]  
Ejército Zapatista  
de Liberación Nacional**

**¡BIENVENIDOS PUEBLOS ORIGINARIOS!**

Venimos para compartir nuestros sufrimientos y dolores que nos ha hecho este sistema neoliberal.

Pero no sólo.

También es seguro que venimos a compartir los valiosos conocimientos, experiencias de lucha, de organización, retos y desafíos.

Frente a los capitalistas invasores neoliberales que tanto daño nos han causado.

Estos invasores no se llenaron, no les bastó con el robo y saqueo que hicieron los conquistadores en 1492.

Those conquistadors encountered the resistance of the peoples, tribes, and indigenous nations of these lands of this country called Mexico.

They killed those who opposed subordination to the Spanish monarchy.

These wicked invading tormentors stained their hands with indigenous blood and stole the riches cared for by our oldest ancestors.

They persecuted the Indian peoples of Mexico and all of Latin America with the goal of eliminating the indigenous peoples completely and banishing their existence.

They did not achieve this. That we are here now is proof.

We as originary peoples were ignored, deceived, forgotten, exploited, and enslaved in their dominion for more than 500 years.

And now, through the rise of the neoliberal powers, the machine of destruction appears once again to disappear our peoples.

They have made it bigger and more modern, supported by laws and bad governments, in order to invade us once again.

It has a new plan of dispossession, dispossessing us of our Mother Earth using the machinery of the power of money, looting the riches that Mother Earth has held and kept safe for millions of years.

Esos conquistadores encontraron resistencia de los pueblos, tribus, naciones originarios de estas tierras, de este país que es México.

Asesinaron a quienes se opusieron a ser sometidos bajo el poder de la monarquía española.

Estos malvados verdugos invasores mancharon sus manos de sangre indígena, robaron las riquezas que cuidaban nuestros más viejos abuelos.

Pero no sólo persiguieron a los pueblos indios de México y de toda América Latina con el propósito de desaparecer la existencia de los pueblos originarios y desterrar su existencia.

Eso no lo consiguieron, la muestra es que aquí estamos presentes.

Nosotros los pueblos originarios fuimos ignorados, engañados, olvidados, explotados, por más de 500 años esclavizados en el dominio.

Y ahora de nuevo está el invento de los poderosos neoliberales, la maquinaria de destrucción de desaparición de nuestros pueblos.

La han hecho más grande y moderna amparados con leyes y malos gobernantes para invadirnos de nueva cuenta.

Con su nuevo plan de despojo, despojándonos en nuestra madre tierra, con la maquinaria del poder del dinero y saquear todas las riquezas que la madre tierra tiene, que hace millones de años ahí las tiene guardada.

With this machine comes the death and destruction of our peoples and our Mother Earth.

When we say these two words so well known by our peoples—these words of death and destruction—our heart and our gaze goes to the PALESTINIAN people. We hear and read what they say about “the conflict in Gaza,” as if there were two equal forces confronting each other, and as if saying “conflict” would hide the death and destruction such that death would not kill and destruction would not destroy.

But as the indigenous people that we are, we know that what is happening there is not a “conflict” but a MASSACRE, that the government of Israel is carrying out a war of extermination upon the PALESTINIAN people. Everything else is just words to try to hide reality.

But we also know, as the indigenous people that we are, that the PALESTINIAN people will resist and will rise again, that they will once again begin to walk and that they will know then that, although we are far away on the map, the Zapatista peoples embrace them today as we have before, as we always do, with our collective heart.

And here on our map, the power of money’s machine of war of is without a brain, without memory, wicked, like a savage animal unleashed against our indigenous peoples of Mexico.

Con esta máquina viene acompañada la muerte y destrucción de nuestros pueblos y de nuestra madre tierra.

Y cuando decimos estas dos palabras tan conocidas por nuestros pueblos, estas palabras de muerte y destrucción, llevamos nuestro corazón y nuestra mirada hasta el pueblo PALESTINO. Porque lo escuchamos y lo leemos, que dicen “el conflicto de Gaza” como si fueran dos fuerzas iguales que se están enfrentando, como si al decir “conflicto” se escondieran la muerte y la destrucción y así ya no matara la muerte y ya no destruyera la destrucción.

Pero como indígenas que somos lo sabemos bien que lo que está pasando no es un “conflicto”, sino que es UNA MASACRE, que lo que hay es el gobierno de Israel haciendo una guerra de exterminio en contra del pueblo PALESTINO. Lo demás son palabras que quieren esconder la realidad.

Pero también sabemos, como indígenas que somos, que el pueblo de PALESTINA resistirá y se levantará de nuevo y volverá a andar y sabrá entonces que, aunque lejos en los mapas, los pueblos zapatistas los abrazamos hoy como lo hicimos antes, como lo haremos siempre, o sea que los abrazamos con nuestro corazón colectivo.

Y acá en nuestro mapa esta máquina de guerra del poder del dinero está sin cerebro, está desmemoriada,



They do not care about the destruction and death of our entire peoples, tribes, and nations.

We as the indigenous peoples of Mexico are not protected by laws and by bad governments.

Our hope lies only in ourselves.

No one is going to come save us; absolutely no one will fight for us.

Not political parties, nor politicians, nor laws; there is nothing there for us.

They all work in the service of transnational capitalists.

That is why we have to struggle together to defend ourselves and to defend our Mother Earth.

We will work with wisdom and intelligence these days together.

On behalf of the Indigenous Revolutionary Clandestine Committee—General Command of the Zapatista Army for National Liberation, in the name of all of the women, children, men, and elders of the Zapatista Army for National Liberation.

I declare formally inaugurated this first Exchange.

Welcome to all of you.

Welcome here is the word of those who resist and struggle. Welcome is the ear that listens and the heart of a compañero.

Thank you very much.

malvados. Son animales salvajes contra nuestros pueblos indígenas de México.

No les importa la destrucción, la muerte de nuestros pueblos enteros, de tribus y naciones.

Nosotros los pueblos originarios de México estamos desprotegidos de leyes y malos gobiernos.

La esperanza que hay somos nosotros mismos.

Nadie va venir a salvarnos, nadie absolutamente nadie va a luchar por nosotros.

Ni partidos políticos, ni políticos, ni leyes, ni nada hay para nosotros.

Todos éstos están al servicio de los capitalistas transnacionales.

Por eso tenemos que luchar juntos para defendernos y a defender nuestra madre tierra.

Con sabiduría e inteligencia trabajemos estos días.

A nombre del Comité Clandestino Revolucionario Indígena –Comandancia General del Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional–, y a nombre de todas las mujeres, niños, hombres y ancianos del Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional,

Declaro formalmente inaugurada esta primera Compartición.

Sean todos y todas bienvenidos.

Bienvenida la palabra de quienes resisten y luchan. Bienvenido el oído que escucha y el corazón compañero.

From the Zapatista Realidad,

Comandante Tacho

*México, August of 2014.  
In the twentieth year of  
the war against oblivion.*

Muchas gracias.

Desde la Realidad Zapatista,

Comandante Tacho

*México, agosto del 2014.  
En el año 20 del inicio  
de la guerra contra el olvido.*

**THE STORY OF MY BROTHER,  
MARTYR MOHAMMED  
ALAREER [EXCERPT]  
Refaat Alareer**

My brother Mohammed Alareer, 31, was killed by an Israeli airstrike while he was at home. While he was at home. No one knows yet if he bled for three days or if he died of the shockwaves from the explosion, or the sound, or the debris, or the shrapnel, or the fire, or by them all.

But my brother Mohammed is gone.

His two very beautiful children. Raneem, four, and one-year-old Hamza, are without a father forever. And our big house of seven flats is gone.

I am the second of fourteen children. Mohammed is number five after three boys and one girl. Of all my early memories in life, the birth of Mohammed is the most vivid. I was only four then. When I heard they wanted to name my new brother Mohammed, I started crying and shouting, «I don't want you to name him Mohammed. I want you to name him Hamada! I want Hamada!».

I used to scream my lungs out every time someone called him Mohammed until no one dared do so. Everyone called him Hamada except, to my disappointment, my dad, who always used his official name, Mohammed.

Ever since, I felt a very strong connection towards Hamada. It was like he was my son, like I owned him, like I had to take care of him and to make sure his name remained Hamada.

Born in 1983, Hamada was timid but humorous and adventurous. He would be silent most of the time, but when he did speak, he was usually seeking to go beyond the boundaries of the given.

The second intifada in the early 2000s gave him his real, life-changing experiences as some of his school friends were killed by Israel and he took leading roles in their funeral processions.

Hamada went to college and finished a two-year degree in public relations, which equipped him with skills to reach out to people. My shy brother started leading demonstrations and reciting poetic chants to mobilize the masses protesting an Israeli attack on Jerusalem, or he would lead nationalistic chants at the many funerals of martyrs we had in Shujaiya (locally, we pronounce it «Shijaiya») and elsewhere.

His newly developed public speaking and acting skills won him the role of Karkour, the most famous television character in the Gaza Strip. Karkour, a

mischievous chicken, was the star of Al-Aqsa TV's program *Tomorrow's Pioneers*, which hosted children from all over the Gaza Strip.

Hamada's character attracted an audience from all over Palestine and even the Arab world, where kids would call to protest Karkour's jaywalking, shouting over the telephone and other such annoying behaviors, and suggest to him more well-behaved alternatives. The death of my brother will come as a shock to the large numbers of children whose favorite part of Friday was watching Karkour misbehave and helping him change into a better Karkour, thanks to their advice, only for him to relapse at the start of the next episode into another anti-social behavior.

Hamada got married five years ago and had two children. Everyone, his wife and kids included, still called him Hamada. He was still living in my parents' place after he got married; he worked very hard to build his own flat in the same building, which he finished last year. He was never able to move up to it, however, because the siege on Gaza, which became even tighter over the past year, made it very difficult for him to furnish the apartment.

Like all Palestinian victims who fell to Israeli terror and aggression, Hamada leaves behind a loving family. My brother will be martyr number 26 in my extended family; five of them were killed last week

and had their bodies dug out of the rubble during Saturday's twelve-hour "humanitarian ceasefire."

When I spoke to my mother, who lost two nephews years ago, she was stronger than I ever imagined. My father was calmer than ever before.

They both told me about the tremendous destruction Israel left in Shijaiya —whose name means "the land of the brave." They told me about the families that lost five, ten and even twenty members.

Israel intended to bomb people to surrender by randomly destroying houses and killing people in the streets. But to the contrary, what Israel's actions are doing is bringing Palestinians in Gaza to a position of «we have nothing to lose.» «We are patient. We are steadfast. We are believers. God will surely end this aggression,» Mom kept assuring me. «They can't beat Shijaiya. They just can't,» my father told me.

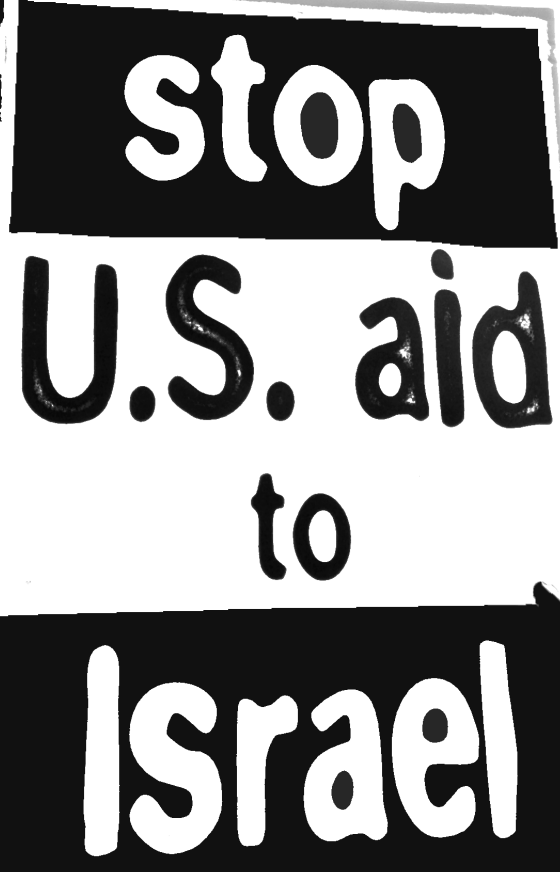
We now live at a time in Palestine when a son lost, two kids orphaned, a young wife widowed must be compared to those who have lost ten or twenty family members at once. There is a clear attempt to ethnically cleanse Palestine, to make us leave and never come back. But Palestinians have been acting as they should: resilient, steadfast and even more determined. We understand that we are not only fighting our own battle but also fighting a universal battle for justice and human rights against barbarity and occupation.

And now, like hundreds of kids who survived the horror of Israel killing either or both of their parents, Raneem and Hamza will be without a father for life. They will live to be witnesses to Israel's war on civilians. They will live and grow in an unjust world where their father can be killed because he is in his own house and the killer will not even be brought to justice because he is an Israeli soldier.

But before that happens, we will continue the struggle against Israeli ethnic cleansing of Palestinians, in the hope that before Hamza and Raneem are old enough, Israeli apartheid will be abolished forever.

When my brother passed away, everyone was lamenting the death of «Mohammed.» No one called him Hamada. He is again Mohammed. But I didn't shout at them. I came to the realization that I have to finally let go and let Hamada grow into Mohammed.

[2014]



stop  
U.S. aid  
to  
Israel

## **GAZA ES LIBRE Y DEBE SERLO\*** Mirian Mijangos

To watch a subtitled version of this song:  
Vea el video subtulado de esta canción:  
[youtu.be/zng\\_QkJUFPU](https://youtu.be/zng_QkJUFPU)

No en mi nombre  
señor presidente  
no en mi nombre  
señor senador.

Que asesinen a tanta gente  
O es que no tienen ya corazón  
Gaza es libre y debe serlo  
No hay razón para derramar  
Sangre inocente de tanta gente  
Que a traición van a atacar.

Israelíes pongan ya un alto  
A los misiles y hagan la Paz  
Somos humanos, no hay diferencia

---

\* Esta canción fue escrita a petición de mi linda maestra  
Carolina Alonso Bejarano.

Somos hermanos, hagan la Paz  
Hermanos somos, amigos míos  
Pongan ya un alto a la maldad.

Gaza es libre y debe serlo  
No hay razón para ignorar  
Que los derechos de otras tierras  
Todos debemos de respetar  
Gaza es libre y debe serlo  
No hay razón para ignorar.

Que los Estados Unidos sean  
Pero que sean para dar paz  
No desbaraten allí los fondos  
Porque a niños van a asesinar  
Somos humanos, no es justo eso  
Somos hermanos, hagan la Paz.

Somos hermanos no hay derecho  
No hay derecho de asesinar --  
Que palestinos y otras tierras  
Tienen derecho de vivir en paz  
Somos humanos no hay diferencia  
Somos hermanos hagan la Paz.

[2014]

## SCENES FROM PALESTINE [EXCERPT] Eduard Said

I have just returned from two separate trips to Jerusalem and the West Bank where I have been making a film for the BBC to be shown in England. The occasion for my film is Israel's 50th anniversary, which I am examining from a personal and obviously Palestinian point of view. So powerful for me was the experience of going around Palestine and recording what I saw that it seemed to me worthwhile here to reflect a little on the experience itself.

Two completely contradictory impressions override all the others. First, that Palestine and Palestinians remain, despite Israel's concerted efforts from the beginning either to get rid of them or to circumscribe them so much as to make them ineffective. In this, I am confident in saying, we have proved the utter folly of Israel's policy: there is no getting away from the fact that as an idea, a memory, and as an often buried or invisible reality, Palestine and its people have simply not disappeared. No matter

the sustained and unbroken hostility of the Zionist establishment to anything that Palestine represents, the sheer fact of our existence has foiled, where it has not defeated, the Israeli effort to be rid of us completely. The more Israel wraps itself in exclusivity and xenophobia towards the Arabs, the more it assists them in staying on, in fighting its injustices and cruel measures. No matter where you turn, we are there, often only as humble, silent workers and compliant restaurant waiters, cooks, and the like, but often also as large numbers of people who continuously resist Israeli encroachments on their lives.

The second overriding impression is that minute by minute, hour by hour, day after day, we are losing more and more Palestinian land to the Israelis. There wasn't a road, or a bypassing highway, or a small village that we passed in our travel for three weeks that wasn't witness to the daily tragedy of land expropriated, fields bulldozed, trees, plants, and crops uprooted, houses destroyed, while the Palestinian owners stood by, helpless to do much to stop the onslaught. There is nothing quite like the feeling of sorrowful helplessness that one feels listening to a young man who has spent fifteen years working as an illegal daylaborer in Israel in order to save up money to build a little house for his family, only to discover one day upon returning from work that the house has been reduced to a pile of rubble,

flattened by an Israeli bulldozer with everything still inside the house. When you ask why this was done—the land, after all, was his—you are told that there was no warning, only a paper given to him the next day by an Israeli soldier stating that he had built the structure without a license. Where in the world, except under Israeli authority, are people required to have a license (which is always denied them) before they can build on their own property? Jews can build, but never Palestinians. This is racist apartheid in its purest form.

Jerusalem is overwhelming in its continuing, unrelenting Judaization. The small, compact city in which I grew up over fifty years ago, has become an enormously spread-out metropolis, surrounded on the north, south, east and west by immense building projects that testify to Israeli power and its ability, unchecked, to change the character of Jerusalem. Here too there is a manifest sense of Palestinian powerlessness, as if the battle is over and the future settled. Few Palestinians from Gaza or the West Bank (i.e. from cities like Ramallah, Hebron, Bethlehem, Jenine and Nablus) can enter Jerusalem, which is cordoned off by Israeli soldiers. Apartheid once again.

On the Israeli side the situation is not as bleak as one would have expected. I conducted a long interview with Professor Ilan Pappé of Haifa University.



He is one of the new Israeli historians whose work on 1948 has challenged Zionist orthodoxy on the refugee problem. In this, of course, the new historians have confirmed what Palestinian historians and witnesses have said all along –that there was a deliberate military campaign to rid the country of as many Arabs as possible. But what Pappe also said is that he is very much in demand for lectures in high schools all over Israel, even though the latest textbook for classes on Israel’s history simply make no mention of the Palestinians at all. This blindness coexisting with a new openness regarding the past, characterizes the present mood.

I spent a day filming in Hebron, which strikes me as embodying all the worst aspects of Oslo. A small handful of settlers, numbering no more than about 200 people, virtually control the heart of an Arab city whose population of over 100,000 is left on the margins, unable to visit the city center, constantly under threat from militants and soldiers alike. I visited the house of a Palestinian in the old Ottoman quarter. He is now surrounded by settler bastions, including three new buildings that have gone up around him, plus three enormous water tanks that steal most of the city’s water for the settlers, plus several rooftop nests of soldiers. He was very bitter about the Palestinian leadership’s willingness to accept the town’s partition on the entirely specious grounds that it

had once contained 14 Jewish buildings dating back to Old Testament times but no longer in evidence. «How did these Palestinian negotiators accept such a grotesque distortion of the reality,» he asked me angrily, «especially given that at the time of the negotiations not one of them had ever set foot in Hebron when they negotiated the deal?». The day after I was in Hebron three young men were killed at the barricade by Israeli soldiers, and many more injured in the fighting that ensued. Hebron and Jerusalem are victories for Israeli extremism, not for coexistence, or for any sort of hopeful future.

Perhaps the most unexpected highpoint of experiences with Israelis was an interview I held with Daniel Barenboim, the brilliant conductor and pianist who has been conducting the Berlin State Opera and the Chicago Symphony Orchestra for the last ten years. He was very open in our interview and regretted that 50 years of Israel should also be the occasion of 50 years of suffering for the Palestinian people; during our discussion he openly advocated a Palestinian state. After his Jerusalem recital to a packed audience, he dedicated his first encore to a Palestinian woman, present at the recital, who had invited him to dinner the night before. I was surprised that the entire audience of Israeli Jews (she and I were the only Palestinians present) received his views and the noble dedication with enthusiastic

applause. What I found extremely heartening is that Barenboim, one of the world's greatest musicians, has offered his services as a pianist to Palestinian audiences, a gesture of reconciliation that is truly worth more than dozens of Oslo accords.

So I conclude these brief scenes from Palestinian life today. I regret not having spent time among refugees in Lebanon and Syria, and I also regret not having many hours of film at my disposal. But at this moment it seems important that we testify to the resilience and continued potency of the Palestinian cause, which clearly has influenced more people in Israel and elsewhere than we have hitherto supposed. Despite the gloom of the present moment, there are rays of hope indicating that the future may not be as bad as many of us have supposed.

[1998]

## **IN DEFENSE OF PALESTINE** Red en Defensa de la Humanidad

The Network in Defense of Humanity (REDH), in face of the tragic events the Palestinian people are going through in Gaza, fulfills its duty to manifest the following:

We declare our adhesion to the words of comrade Evo Morales, founder of the Network in Defense of Humanity, president of the Plurinational State of Bolivia declaring Israel a terrorist state.

We further manifest our absolute rejection of the genocide against the Palestinian people by a State founded on the remains and colonial occupation of Palestinian territories.

We recognize and express our solidarity with the historical struggle of the Palestinian people and its organizations of resistance, especially in

## **EN DEFENSA DE PALESTINA** Red en Defensa de la Humanidad

La Red en Defensa de la Humanidad (REDH), ante los trágicos sucesos que está viviendo el hermano pueblo palestino en Gaza, cumple con su deber de manifestar lo siguiente:

Declaramos nuestra adhesión a las palabras del compañero Evo Morales, fundador de la Red En Defensa de la Humanidad y Presidente del Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia, por las que se declara a Israel como Estado terrorista.

Manifestamos nuestra absoluta repulsa al genocidio que sufre el pueblo palestino a manos de un Estado fundado sobre el despojo y la ocupación colonial de los territorios palestinos.

Reconocemos y expresamos nuestra solidaridad con la heroica lucha del pueblo palestino y de sus organizaciones de resistencia, especialmente en

Gaza, against the attempt of Israel to exterminate it and strip what is left of their homeland.

We condemn the imperialist role of the United States that feeds and supports Israel politically, financially and militarily in face of the unbelievable inaction of the UN Security Council whose resolutions on Palestine have been disregarded systematically and with impunity by Washington. A United States that demonstrates its hypocrisy and the cynicism of its actions throughout history, threatening sanctions against the peoples of Latin America, Africa and Eurasia that defend their sovereignty, while it supports the actions of Israel.

We accuse the complicity of these actions, by omission in some cases, of the governments of the European Union, as well as the unconditional support of the media obeying the dictates of Washington. Stop Now! Stop calling this genocide, perpetrated by one of the best-armed armies in the world against peoples whose defensive resources are infinitely less in number and quality, a war!

We call on you to join the campaign for the Boycott, lack of investments and sanctions against

Gaza, contra el intento de Israel de exterminarlo y arrebatarle los jirones que quedan de lo que fue su patria.

Condenamos el rol imperialista de Estados Unidos, que alimenta y apoya política, financiera y militarmente a Israel ante la insólita inacción del Consejo de Seguridad de la ONU, cuyas resoluciones sobre la cuestión Palestina son violadas sistemática e impunemente por Washington. Unos Estados Unidos que muestran la hipocresía y el cinismo con el que han venido actuando a lo largo de su historia, amenazando con sanciones e intervenciones a pueblos de América Latina, África y Eurasia que defienden su soberanía al mismo tiempo que respalda la acción de Israel.

Denunciamos la complicitad con estos hechos, por omisión en algunos casos, de los gobiernos de la Unión Europea, así como la subordinación incondicional de los oligopolios mediáticos a los dictados de Washington. ¡Basta ya de llamar guerra al genocidio perpetrado por uno de los ejércitos mejor armados del mundo contra un pueblo cuyos recursos defensivos son infinitamente inferiores en número y calidad!

the terrorist state of Israel. It is now time for solidarity to be active and creative further from the statements of condemnation. We have failed the more than 1,600 persons killed in Palestine in recent weeks as well as the 9,000 wounded since the terrorist campaign called, hypocritically, “Protective Edge”.

We demand an end to apartheid, to genocide and to the walls and illegal settlements. We insist that the governments of the world demand Israel to comply with the resolutions of the UN Security Council and force their withdrawal from Gaza, the West Bank, and East Jerusalem, return to the borders prior to the “Six Days War” (1967) and ensure the return of Palestinian refugees as established by the Resolution No. 242 of November, 1967, a resolution that has yet to be complied with by the State of Israel.

We defend a real political solution to the conflict in Palestine on the basis of a dialogue, negotiation, and the existence of two equal states with definite borders recognized internationally. A solution that requires the immediate lifting of the blockade of Gaza and the liberation of all the Palestinian political prisoners. We congratulate the posture of solidarity of the governments of

Animamos a sumarse a la campaña por el Boicot, las Desinversiones y las Sanciones al Estado terrorista de Israel, siendo hora de la solidaridad activa y creativa, más allá de comunicados de condena. Hemos fallado a las más de 1.600 personas asesinadas en Palestina en las últimas semanas, así como a las más de 9.000 heridas desde que comenzó la operación terrorista llamada hipócritamente “Margen Protector”.

Exigimos el fin del apartheid y el genocidio, así como de los muros y asentamientos ilegales. Demandamos a los gobiernos del mundo que exijan a Israel el cumplimiento de las resoluciones del Consejo de Seguridad de la ONU que lo obligan a retirarse de Gaza, Cisjordania y Jerusalén Oriental, retornar a las fronteras anteriores a la “Guerra de los Seis Días” (1967) y asegurar el retorno de los refugiados palestinos, tal cual fuera establecido por la Resolución del Consejo de Seguridad N° 242 del 22 de noviembre de 1967, resolución incumplida hasta el día de hoy por el Estado de Israel.

Nos pronunciamos por una verdadera solución política del conflicto en Palestina sobre la base del diálogo, la negociación y la existencia de dos Estados con iguales derechos y fronteras delimitadas

ALBA, Mercosur and other governments of the South against the barbarous conduct of Israel in Gaza.

Making ours the words of revolutionary Nelson Mandela who said: «we know only too well that our freedom will be incomplete without the freedom of the Palestinians,» we affirm that Israel has lost morally and politically this battle against the brave people of Palestine, and we support the growing condemnation of the peoples of the world against a *rogue* State that violates international law. The unyielding resistance of Palestine will be rewarded sooner than later with the smiles of the children of a free homeland.

Against Israeli terrorism and U.S. imperialism, in defense of the inalienable rights of Palestine and all the peoples of the world!

*La Paz, Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia.*  
*August 4, 2014*

For adhesions send your name and country to: [endefensadepalestina@gmail.com](mailto:endefensadepalestina@gmail.com)

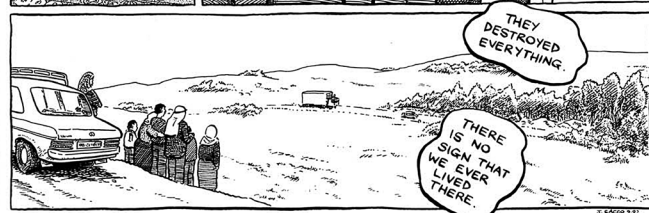
y reconocidas internacionalmente, solución que pasa por el inmediato levantamiento del bloqueo a Gaza y la liberación de todos los presos políticos palestinos. Saludamos la postura solidaria de los gobiernos del ALBA, Mercosur y otros gobiernos del Sur contra la bárbara conducta de Israel en Gaza.

Haciendo nuestras las palabras del revolucionario Nelson Mandela: «sabemos demasiado bien que nuestra libertad será incompleta sin la libertad de Palestina». Afirmamos que Israel ha perdido moral y políticamente esta batalla frente al valiente pueblo palestino y merece la condena creciente de los pueblos del mundo a un Estado *canalla* que viola la legalidad internacional. La indoblegable resistencia palestina tendrá su recompensa más temprano que tarde en la sonrisa de sus niñas y niños en una patria libre.

¡Contra el terrorismo israelí y el imperialismo estadounidense, en defensa del derecho de autodeterminación de Palestina y de todos los pueblos del mundo!

*La Paz, Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia.*  
*4 de agosto de 2014*

Para adherir, manda tu nombre y país a [endefensadepalestina@gmail.com](mailto:endefensadepalestina@gmail.com)



## STATEMENT ON GAZA FROM THE CRITICAL FILIPINO AND FILIPINA STUDIES COLLECTIVE

As Filipino and Filipino American academics, activists, organizers and allies, we stand in solidarity with the Palestinian people –in Gaza, the West Bank, and throughout the Palestinian diaspora. We denounce the state of Israel for its massacre of nearly 2,000 Palestinians in its current military offensive into Gaza. This is the most recent of over a half century of attacks by the Israeli state, from the 1948 genocide and forced dispersal of Palestinians to the last decade of Israeli attacks on Gaza: Operation Cast Lead in the winter of 2008/2009, the 2012 offensive known as Operation Pillar of Defense, and the most recent 2014 attacks, Operation Protective Edge. The current bombing of Gaza only exacerbates the ongoing conditions of dispossession and occupation by the Israeli military of the Palestinian people. We call for not only the end to the current attack on Gaza, but an end to the crippling blockade of Gaza, the violent military occupation of the West Bank by

the Israeli military, and the illegal Israeli settlements in the West Bank. We demand the destruction of the Israeli apartheid wall, the right of return for all Palestinian refugees, and equal rights for all Palestinians, whether in 1948 Palestine, the West Bank, Gaza, or throughout the Palestinian diaspora. As U. S.-based scholars, we are critical of the U. S. state and its role in funding the Israeli military for such barbaric ends. As U. S. taxpayers, public funds to the amount of \$9.9 million per day help fund the Israeli military. That is money allocated away from our schools, healthcare, and necessary social services. We also stand in solidarity with the over 36,000 Filipino overseas workers in Israel, who encounter the exploitation and dehumanization faced by all non-Jewish racialized immigrants in Israeli society.

The Critical Filipino and Filipina Studies Collective (CFFSC) stands with all people resisting colonial domination, violent occupation, and dehumanizing racism. While the histories of the Philippines and Palestine are in no way equivalent, Filipino people have also experienced the denial of sovereignty and self-determination as exemplified throughout history and in particular by the Philippine (neo) colonial relationship with the United States. The CFFSC is focused and committed to a confrontation of empire building grounded in the Philippines'

colonial history and neocolonial present. We find inspiration, hope, and points of commonality with other oppressed people's resistance to injustice and oppression and in particular the resilient imagination and everyday practices of Palestinian people to insist on their freedom.

As scholars-activists and educators, the CFFSC supports academic freedom and the right to an education. As such, we denounce the Israeli military's bombing of ten Palestinian educational institutions in Gaza, including the Islamic University of Gaza and a technical college. The restriction of movement of Palestinian scholars and students, from the Israeli checkpoints in the West Bank to the denial of exit to study at institutions abroad, make the basic human right of education impossible for many Palestinians. We denounce Israeli academic institutions for their collusion in the genocide and displacement of Palestinian communities. For example, Tel Aviv University, which is built on the former Palestinian village of Shayk Muwannis, conducts research for the advancement of Israeli military technology and tactics. As primarily U. S.-based scholars, we also call for an end to the tactics of intimidation meant to stifle academic freedom at U. S. institutions. The recent firing of Dr. Steven Salaita from his position at the University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign, due to his social media statements in support of



Palestine, demonstrates how scholars have been silenced by the threat of Zionist reprisal.

The CFFSC supports the boycott, divestment, and sanctions (BDS) movement against Israeli institutions. As scholars within the broader field of Asian American studies, we have issued a statement of solidarity with the Association for Asian American Studies for its resolution in support of the academic and cultural boycott of Israel. We also applaud the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association, the Critical Ethnic Studies Association, and the African Literature Association for their recent endorsements of the academic boycott of Israel. The CFFSC calls on our colleagues within other academic disciplines to heed Palestinian civil society's call for an international BDS movement.

We stand in solidarity with Palestine and the international BDS movement in calling for freedom and justice for the Palestinian people. Please join us! The AAAS resolution can be found here:

[http://www.usacbi.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/AAAS-resolution.FINAL\\_.pdf](http://www.usacbi.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/AAAS-resolution.FINAL_.pdf)

To learn more about the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions movement, please visit:

<http://www.bdsmovement.net/bdsintro>

[2014]

## **CARTA DE ANAID CABRERA-QUIARA**

San Juan, 03 de agosto de 2014

A quien le pueda interesar:

Saludos con todo el respeto merecido a nuestros grandes hermanos de América. También con ímpetu todopoderoso para los amantes de nuestra Gran Madre Naturaleza. Tengo mis deseos de presentar una declaratoria pacífica. El propósito es simple, hacer un alto y llamado para acaparar la atención de la humanidad. Esta atención se circunscribe a la tortura que vive Palestina, en Gaza. ¡Basta ya con la masacre de Palestina!

También presento una cita de nuestro gran pensador, líder y activista Martin Luther King: «La injusticia en cualquier parte es una amenaza a la justicia en todas partes».

A lo largo del tiempo sorprende cómo los israelitas insisten en perseguir los atropellos y atrocidades a nuestro nombre. El perjuicio, ajeno,

es como maldecir a su propia madre protectora. Castigándola sin el perdón, sin el sentir de su propio cuerpo humano. Los israelitas reciben el apoyo del gobierno de los Estados Unidos para financiar las fuerzas militares. También añado los millones en gastos de misiles. Pero más que nada estoy tan aturrida de que los impuestos que muchos de nosotros pagamos terminen financiando la guerra sangrienta de Israel. Estados Unidos apoya el Estado de Israel ante esta horrible guerra sucia. El Estado de Israel acosó a Palestina con la intención y voluntad de exterminar su propia sangre, sus hermanos. Atacaron a sus aliados, hermanos y vecinos haciendo creer al mundo que es para combatir a los oponentes. Están obligando a los Palestinos a abandonar sus hogares, escuelas, hospitales, parques y hasta sus propias vidas. ¿Es esto lo que quiere el Estado de Israel? ¿Una guerra abusadora? Los israelitas sentencian al pueblo palestino sin dejar ninguna huella para el futuro. Su propósito es grave y vergonzoso. Israel a través de sus libros sagrados ha proclamado ser el “Pueblo” escogido por Dios, el “Dios” creado a la misma imagen suya. ¿Es esta la visión de una organización de oligarquías? ¿El Nuevo Orden Mundial? ¿Ser controlados por seres elitistas, burocráticos, plutocráticos y superpotencias?

«Nuestro poder científico ha dejado atrás nuestro poder espiritual. Tenemos misiles guiados

y hombres equivocados» (Martin Luther King). América: el inmenso continente del Nuevo Mundo, acompañada del mar Caribe, en conjunto con las Antillas, archipiélagos e Islas Vírgenes, sentimos el lamento del pueblo palestino. Estamos unidos para hacer frente y decirles: ¡basta ya con el exterminio!

Tan dolorosas imágenes sangrientas que entorpecen a los demás con las almas en la perdición del olvido. Esto es un castigo, es un delito, es un genocidio. Subrayo esto porque de alguna manera tiene que parar. “Los grandes poderes del mundo” no están prestando la atención que se necesita. No están haciendo nada al respecto para acabar con los cañonazos y bombazos. No les importa las agresiones contra Palestina. Es inhumano, es egoísta y es cruel. En BBC Mundo el 13 de agosto de 2014 señalan que por el momento se mantiene una tregua. Insisto en mi pensar de que esta tregua no garantiza que se pueda parar la guerra de Israel contra Gaza. Los resultados son la destrucción de muchas vidas. Me uno con la gente que sale a la calle a protestar para que se termine el crimen contra Gaza. También respaldo a los países que condenan a Israel y a los Estados Unidos por la violencia en Gaza.

Palestina no esta sola. Estamos con ella. Unamos el amor y la compasión que el pueblo palestino se merece. La paz. Mi llamado es simple: que pare

ya el genocidio. Hacerle daño a alguien es como hacerle daño a ti mismo. En resumidas, cito el poema de «El don de la estrella», de Og Mandino y Buddy Kaye: «Lo que siembres, bueno o malo, eso será lo que coseches. Nunca culpes a los demás por tu situación».

¿Es esto lo que queremos? Digo no a esto y que acabe el sufrimiento a los inocentes. Estoy pidiendo a gritos que pare esta guerra horrible. No es bueno. Mi llamado es para que también otros se levanten. Luchemos para salvaguardar la empatía, el amor y encanto de un pueblo soñador. Es un pueblo que ha dejado su sentir audible en todos los rincones. El pueblo palestino es un pueblo fuerte, lleno de esperanzas, vivo e indestructible. En Gaza se sigue enfrentando ferozmente a los seres oscuros que ya perdieron el sendero del camino correcto.

Israel no puede seguir con este mal. No a nuestro nombre. Un pueblo que condena a su hermano a la hoguera, al exterminio, es el mismo pueblo que condena a nuestro planeta, La Tierra. Cada misil que sueltan en territorio palestino esparce la desgracia a nuestra Tierra. No quieren el bien, solamente el poder, y controlar las mentes de los caídos. No merecen nuestro dinero, nuestro apoyo, nuestra energía sagrada; el regalo más puro de nuestro ser, nuestra esencia. No lo merecen. Israel tiene que cambiar, tiene que apaciguar este mal entendido. El pueblo

de Israel tiene que buscar dentro de su corazón la luz para el bien. La fuerza positiva. Los gobiernos tienen que dejar de usar elementos como el fuego, el gas, el parasito maligno. Tienen que parar la masacre en Gaza de una vez por todas. Es la Tierra la que sangra, la que esta sufriendo, la tregua malgastada para destruir. Somos seres de la creación conectados unos con otros; llámala bendita o científica, es y será siempre creación. Israel tiene que cambiar y hacer el bien.

Manifiesto mi rechazo al abuso que tiene que vivir Palestina. Esta violencia respaldada por el gobierno demócrata que rige a los Estados Unidos es intolerable. Los Estados Unidos han servido como muletilas a la protección del Estado de Israel, malgastando los bienes por venir para las codicias ajenas de una visión retrograda y repugnante. Nuestros tiempos tienen que cambiar, tiene que parar la destrucción a los seres humanos. Los gobiernos aristocráticos tienen que desaparecer, obstaculizan los medios para su despojo y dominio detestable. No buscan soluciones positivas, tampoco les importa mejorar los recursos ambientales, preservar y proteger al planeta.

¿Cómo es posible que un pueblo que sufrió el holocausto sea el autor de esta terrible y desgarradora tragedia de nuestros tiempos?

No con nuestro nombre seremos ya ingenuos por el engaño. Aprendamos, respetémonos unos con

otros sin pensar en dolor, solamente en compasión hacia los más necesitados y con todos. Sigamos a los grandes pensadores, quienes tienen ideas buenas para vivir en un mundo lleno de esperanzas, de alegrías, de hermandad y sabiduría. Rescatemos los principios sin juzgar al vecino. Tenemos que abrir los ojos ante lo que estamos viviendo. Aprendamos a apreciar las aspiraciones creativas para el bienestar de la naturaleza. Vivamos en armonía entre nosotros sin mirar mal a quien sea diferente. Hagamos la diferencia de solucionar los problemas que nos oprimen. Unamos nuestro clamor por Palestina, la paz que fue arrancada de sus vidas. La búsqueda del conocimiento para cultivar la buena educación. Este es mi pedido, mi sentir. Con todo mi amor y paz. Que viva la lucha, la paz y la libertad.

Atentamente.

**LOVE FOR OUR  
OPPRESSED PALESTINIAN  
BROTHERS AND SISTERS**  
Cornel West

We are here [at the Answer Coalition rally in Washington, DC] out of a deep love for our oppressed Palestinian brothers and sisters who are undergoing not just occupation, not just domination, not just humiliation, but more and more every day an annihilation. And we will not stand for it. We will not stand one minute for it.

We want an end to occupation now. I have come to you also in the spirit of the black defiant tradition of Frederick Douglass, W. E. B. Dubois, Martin Luther King Jr., Malcolm X –and they say Benjamin Netanyahu is a war criminal, not because he is Jewish but because he has chosen to promote occupation and annihilation. This is a human affair. Any human being who chooses occupation and annihilation is a war criminal, and especially when they're killing precious Palestinian babies. It is the exact same as a white baby in Newtown, CT; as a brown baby in

Eastside LA; as a Jewish baby in Israel. Every human being is made in the image of God.

Let's tell the truth. Let's tell the truth in such a way that we are honest and open. No anti-Jewish hatred here, it is anti-occupation here, anti-annihilation of anybody here, this is a universal affair. It begins with our oppressed Palestinian brothers and sisters –precious Palestinian brothers and sisters. We want to shatter all of the lies. There is a connection between lies and crimes against humanity.

What I want to say to my black brother in the White House –Barack Obama is a war criminal, not because he is black or half African and white but because his drones have killed 233 innocent children, and because he facilitates the killing of innocent Palestinians in Gaza and the West Bank. That would be true anywhere else.

I'm going to be honest with you before I sit down. I would be here if there was a Palestinian occupation of the Jewish brothers and sisters. Because it is wrong, unjust, and we stand, not with skin pigmentation or ethnic identity but with the human identity. The killing of any innocent civilian is a war crime. With 1,500 and counting, this is Israeli state terrorism in action. This Jewish racism, it does not stand on behalf of all of the Jewish brothers and sisters who have a choice to say, «we are against occupation,» «we are against annihilation.»

Stand up together!  
Free Palestine and let Gaza live!

[2014]

## I WRITE TO YOU AS

Jenan Matari

I thought of an idea that could potentially turn into something valuable, or it could just be a way for people to express themselves, or it could never be read and become absolutely nothing at all. But I figured it was worth a try, right? There are enough biased news articles that are circulating the world of social media. There are enough graphic videos and photos that make people uncomfortable to the point where they simply scroll past them (because people don't like feeling uncomfortable), but I haven't seen anything that focuses on how the recently publicized Israeli-Palestinian conflict is affecting people around the world. So I created the platform *I Write To You As*, where people can share their opinions and voice their feelings on what has been happening halfway around the world, in hopes to "rehumanize" the situation and to encourage people to make the difficult effort of not choosing a side and to understand that the insensitive murdering of human beings of any race

is not “okay”. I now have a partner on the project, Ali Abouomar, who has become my biggest support system throughout this mission, in addition to my family. All submissions are edited by one of us prior to posting to the page in order to ensure that nothing posted can generate even a hint of an argument that will taint the purpose and voice of this project. Here are some excerpts from the most powerful submissions we’ve received so far:

**I Write To You As  
an American Muslim –Nadine Selim**

«As an American, I’m supposed to have the right to believe what I want and the right to express my views. While that may be technically true, this so-called freedom of religion doesn’t come easily. The government that is supposed to protect this right of mine is the exact same government that allows my religion to be slandered all over the mainstream media. It’s the exact same government that has made NO effort to break the stereotypes that journalists all over the west have been reinforcing over the years. And most disturbingly, it’s the exact same government taking MY tax dollars and using them to kill my own people in Palestine.»

**I Write To You As  
a Humanitarian –Bassel Mudarris**

«Above all else, I’m overcome with a feeling of disheartenment. I have always said it and will continue to say it: I will never understand how anyone can celebrate the death of another human being, no matter who that may be, but especially when those human beings are innocent men, women, and children. The children are what especially get me. As someone who adores children and hopes to one day have children of my own, I cannot for the life of me understand how anyone can justify to themselves the killing of children. What is most disappointing is that these children will never be able to have the opportunity to grow up and make a difference in the world [...] One of these children could have grown up to be the next Nelson Mandela, and yet we’ll never know, which absolutely breaks my heart.»

**I Write To You As  
a Film Maker, a Brother,  
a Friend & a Human –Ali Abouomar**

«I write to you as a friend. My friends are Muslim. And Jewish. And Israeli. And Palestinian. And. It doesn’t matter. People are good or bad. There are bad Muslims, Jews, and those with no religion. Evil doesn’t subscribe to a faith. I am

proud to have such an eclectic taste in the people in my life. It is a testament to a simple truth. We CAN do this.»

**I Write To You As  
an American Jew –Matthew Scanella**

«I write to you as an American Jew who also prays for peace in the Middle East. During my time abroad, I have prayed for peace at the Western Wall, a mosque, and a church. I met several Jews while in Israel, and also had positive interactions with many Muslims. I learned about desert hospitality and traditions from a Bedouin in Asad, and enjoyed the food, shops, and mosque of the Druze in Daliyat al-Karmel. If you opened the *New York Times*, you would only read about the war and the hatred between Jews and Muslims, but there is much to be said about the peace and the love. Jews and Muslims coexist in Israel and throughout the world as colleagues, families, and friends. Hopefully Israel and Palestine can soon find a way to expand on this peace.»

**I Write To You As  
an Israeli/American;  
as a Humanitarian and  
as a Former Soldier –Yannai Kalman**

«My family is in Israel and my friends are fighting for their safety. To all my Arab friends, Palestinian, Israeli or otherwise, I love you and feel a deep pain for the suffering of your brethren in Gaza. The shared history of our peoples is rife with misfortune and struggle, bad politics and cultural misunderstandings. We both say ‘never forget,’ Jews in reference to the atrocities of the Holocaust and Palestinians with regard to their subsequent expulsion from many ancestral homes during the Naqba [...] We are a people desperate for peace, not knowing how to achieve it.»

There is so much more to say and so much more to read, and there is so much more to learn about each other. *I Write To You As* is the platform that makes this type of communication –the human type of communication– possible. Your words are just as valid, just as important, if not more meaningful than any politician’s, journalist’s or “official” speaker’s for whatever country of whatever part of the world. And we should all be heard. Through our platform we’ve been able to generate enough of a following to create a donation page that will benefit the children of this tragedy. We’ve partnered up with Palestinian Children’s Relief Fund (PCRf –created during the First Intifada by Steve Sosebee) and the Save Gaza



Project (started by the doctors of Al-Shifa hospital in Gaza along with others internationally concerned for the well-being of human life), to ensure that all donations and contributions will be placed directly in the hands of children and civilians in need.

If you'd like to contribute to the page please follow the links below. But before typing, here are a few things to keep in mind: Please no negative or hateful posts or responses to others. If you disagree with something that you read, please think before typing your response. The best thing about a keyboard is that words are just as easily erased and rewritten as they are originally typed out. Please help us in connecting the world and helping us all remember that we are all the same. Help us to help people understand that what they have to say and how they are feeling matters. But most importantly help the people of Gaza, the West Bank and Israel, and around Africa and the rest of the Middle East understand that they are not alone, and that we are not okay with what is happening to them. Let them know that it is not "them vs. the world" because we are the world and we refuse to stand by and watch it get destroyed.

One last thing: please start your first sentence with the words, «I write to you as...» and then type away. Good luck! And we can't wait to read what you all have to say.

## **I Write To You As Links**

Facebook:

<https://www.facebook.com/pages/I-Write-To-You-As/820068011349295?tab=public&view>

Blog:

<http://iwritetoyouas.blogspot.com/>

## **I Donate To You As Link**

Facebook:

<https://www.facebook.com/pages/I-Donate-To-You-As/339380386227176?ref=hl>

## **Palestinian Children's Relief Fund Links**

Website:

<http://www.pcrf.net/>

Facebook:

<https://www.facebook.com/pages/PCRF-Palestine-Childrens-Relief-Fund/114319561948157>

Twitter:

<https://twitter.com/pcrftweets>

## **Save Gaza Project**

Website:

<http://savegazaproject.org/>

Twitter:

<https://twitter.com/SaveGazaProject>

[2014]

**«NOT IN OUR NAME»**  
Rocío Lorca Ferreccio

That sentence did not inspire me. I thought I had something to say as I kept talking about this. But I could not find space for expression under this sentence. It must have been because «not in my name» suggests an alternative. It is relative. It implies a division. A divided world. And in my resistance to the sentence maybe there is something.

An aspiration for a divided world is not a moving aspiration. I see a divided world where I claim with all my strength: «Not in my name!». I know I mean for peace, but what do these words mean? I detach from a world. I think I can be divided. It allows for it. Does it not?

And maybe it also suggests a divided belonging. It made me think: Am I entitled to ask anything from the U. S.? I am a non-resident alien. So maybe not. But I pay taxes. Then maybe yes. So here that sentence made me wonder who I am in this divided world. It strengthened my divided reality.

What does it mean to have something not done in your name? What division does it create?

It creates the division of historical reporting. You tell me your story I tell you mine. Meanwhile nasty things happen. We want them to end, but we think we have to get it right to see who is responsible and who is not. «Not in my name» suggests to me a strong concern for being placed on the right side: you do it, but not with my tax money. Let us make things clear. Here, in the clarity of our stories, I separate myself from you and I remain in the space where I'm right. You and me, we do not belong together. Give me back my money!

Also, it creates the division of the politics of no taxation without representation: Your 5%, 10%, 15% does not belong to you any more than any other thing does. All the rest is bureaucracy. You are entitled to participate and protest because you can, not because you have paid to do so. Again, are the taxes paid by a non-resident alien good enough to give her political standing? Or how much should we pay?

This is a divided world that does not inspire me. This is the same divided world that Israel is creating together with us. We must go beyond, to the undivided space of the No.

Not in our name does not inspire me if it means anything else than No. There is no division here in

the realm of the No. Nothing I need to explain about the past. No special standing that I have to claim.

Who belongs where. Who is entitled. Whose policies. Whose taxes. Whose money. Political power was never about representation or about a service you buy with your tax money. It is collective force that we try to contain through these ideas. Yet in the very fact that there is no such thing as representation lies the biggest possibility for emancipation. Because it means that there is no division. We have full entitlement to everything. Unless you think we can divide the world. And in the end, we cannot. Because we watch the news and we know that we are very responsible for what is happening.

That there is no division means that on the face of the massacre in Gaza we can reside in the unity of the No. Even with the very individual that is shooting the very little kid that was born in the hell of a divided existence. Actually, we must reside with him too. You cannot be more or less responsible as a result of some idea about the political order because there is no order in the political. Central American children are being held in some giant detention center in the south of the U. S. There is no division. We are all responsible for the tragedies that we contemplate from the distance of our cramped hearts. Cramped by the very idea of taxes and representation. We cannot opt out. It is not done in our name. It is done by us.

Whether with or without our tax money. This is the world that we create together, and from the rhetoric of belonging we should imagine a world otherwise.

[2014]

## WHAT I WILL Suheir Hammad

I will not  
dance to your war  
drum. I will  
not lend my soul nor  
my bones to your war  
drum. I will  
not dance to your  
beating. I know that beat.  
It is lifeless. I know  
intimately that skin  
you are hitting. It  
was alive once  
hunted stolen  
stretched. I will  
not dance to your drummed  
up war. I will not pop  
spin beak for you. I  
will not hate for you or  
even hate you. I will  
not kill for you. Especially

I will not die  
for you. I will not mourn  
the dead with murder nor  
suicide. I will not side  
with you nor dance to bombs  
because everyone else is  
dancing. Everyone can be  
wrong. Life is a right not  
collateral or casual. I  
will not forget where  
I come from. I  
will craft my own drum. Gather my beloved  
near and our chanting  
will be dancing. Our  
humming will be drumming. I  
will not be played. I  
will not lend my name  
nor my rhythm to your  
beat. I will dance  
and resist and dance and  
persist and dance. This heartbeat is louder than  
death. Your war drum ain't  
louder than this breath.

[2010]

## CUATRO NOTAS CIUDADANAS ESCRITAS EN UN PAR DE DIAS

Marcelo Dinali

### I

El domingo pasado, en la feria de las pulgas que se pone una vez al mes en el Parque Forestal, me compre un libro llamado *Cuentistas Contemporáneos de Estados Unidos*. Estos autores “contemporáneos” van desde O’Henry hasta Truman Capote, incluyendo también a Faulkner, Hemingway y Salinger entre otros menos conocidos por estos lados. El libro es de 1967. Se supone que es la primera traducción chilena de estos narradores y la realizó Ramiro Páez, un profesor de inglés que se dio la pega de hacer esta antología de puro entusiasmo por compartir el gusto de leer la obra de estos escritores. «Esta es la historia que cuentan en la comarca fronteriza donde Massachussetts linda con Vermont y Nueva Hampshire»: así comienza «El pleito contra el Diablo», que es como el señor Páez tradujo «The Devil and Daniel Webster», de Stephen Vincent Benet. Me encantaría visitar esta comarca fronteriza donde hay

campesinos dispuestos a todo por su familia, y anda el diablo metiendo su cola y seduciendo con mentiras veladas, igual que en el campo chileno.

## II

Al final Walter White se los jodió a todos en la serie *Breaking Bad*, porque le dio cáncer y el puto gobierno de USA esta más preocupado de gastar plata en armas que en la salud de sus ciudadanos. Mr. White se quemó las pestañas estudiando e investigando, aunque unos amigos empresarios se quedaron con sus descubrimientos y se forraron en dólares. Después se sacó la mugre trabajando como profesor y llevando la vida tranquila y aburrida que algunos están interesados en perpetuar, hasta que finalmente le dio cáncer y vio que todo se iba al carajo y se convirtió en un Willy Wonka de los cristales azules.

## III

Es una mierda que los ciudadanos tengan que andar con la mochila de los crímenes, asesinatos y robos que realizan los gobiernos a los que por alguna circunstancia están suscritos. El hecho de que autoridades legítimas o poderes velados entreguen

dinero, apoyen o intervengan en asuntos siniestros no significa que el campesino, el profesor, el escritor, el estudiante, el borracho, el cartero o la chica que atiende un café tengan algo que ver con esto, o que celebren cada vez que muere un niño inocente o se da un golpe de Estado en un pequeño país. A ellos finalmente también se los esta atacando. Porque son las personas y sus historias las que conforman un país, y no un grupo de enfermos que sólo siguen sus propios intereses.

## IV

Una de las cosas más valientes que he visto en los últimos días fue a unos judíos en las manifestaciones de apoyo al pueblo palestino. Marchaban con pancartas en contra del genocidio en Gaza, pero dejando en claro que ellos eran judíos. Porque esto realmente va por otro lado, hay que estar atentos para sentir de dónde viene de verdad el olor a azufre y así no dejarnos engañar por esos pocos que buscan separarnos para lograr sus objetivos.

[2014]

**COME SEPTEMBER**  
**[EXCERPT]**  
Arundhati Roy

Since it is September 11th we're talking about [at the Lensic Performing Arts Center in Santa Fe, NM], perhaps it's in the fitness of things that we remember what that date means, not only to those who lost their loved ones in America last year, but to those in other parts of the world to whom that date has long held significance. This historical dredging is not offered as an accusation or a provocation. But just to share the grief of history. To thin the mists a little. To say to the citizens of America, in the gentlest, most human way: «Welcome to the World.»

September 11th has a tragic resonance in the Middle East, too. On the 11th of September 1922, ignoring Arab outrage, the British government proclaimed a mandate in Palestine, a follow-up to the 1917 Balfour Declaration which imperial Britain issued, with its army massed outside the gates of Gaza. The Balfour Declaration promised European Zionists a national home for Jewish people. (At the

time, the Empire on which the Sun Never Set was free to snatch and bequeath national homes like a school bully distributes marbles.)

How carelessly imperial power vivisected ancient civilizations. Palestine and Kashmir are imperial Britain's festering blood-drenched gifts to the modern world. Both are fault lines in the raging international conflicts of today.

In 1937, Winston Churchill said of the Palestinians:

I do not agree that the dog in a manger has the final right to the manger even though he may have lain there for a very long time. I do not admit that right. I do not admit for instance, that a great wrong has been done to the Red Indians of America or the black people of Australia. I do not admit that a wrong has been done to these people by the fact that a stronger race, a higher-grade race, a more worldly wise race to put it that way, has come in and taken their place.

That set the trend for the Israeli State's attitude towards the Palestinians. In 1969, Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir said: «Palestinians do not exist.» Her successor, Prime Minister Levi Eschol said: «What are Palestinians? When I came here (to Palestine), there were 250,000 non-Jews, mainly Arabs

and Bedouins. It was a desert, more than underdeveloped. Nothing.» Prime Minister Menachem Begin called Palestinians «two-legged beasts.» Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir called them «grasshoppers» who could be crushed. This is the language of Heads of State, not the words of ordinary people.

In 1947, the U. N. formally partitioned Palestine and allotted 55 percent of Palestine's land to the Zionists. Within a year, they had captured 76 percent. On the 14th of May 1948 the State of Israel was declared. Minutes after the declaration, the United States recognized Israel. The West Bank was annexed by Jordan. The Gaza strip came under Egyptian military control, and formally Palestine ceased to exist except in the minds and hearts of the hundreds of thousands of Palestinian people who became refugees. In 1967, Israel occupied the West Bank and the Gaza strip.

Over the decades there have been uprisings, wars, intifadas. Tens of thousands have lost their lives. Accords and treaties have been signed. Cease-fires declared and violated. But the bloodshed doesn't end. Palestine still remains illegally occupied. Its people live in inhuman conditions, in virtual Bantustans, where they are subjected to collective punishments, twenty-four hour curfews, where they are humiliated and brutalized on a daily basis. They never know when their homes will be



demolished, when their children will be shot, when their precious trees will be cut, when their roads will be closed, when they will be allowed to walk down to the market to buy food and medicine. And when they will not. They live with no semblance of dignity. With not much hope in sight. They have no control over their lands, their security, their movement, their communication, their water supply. So when accords are signed, and words like «autonomy» and even «statehood» bandied about, it's always worth asking: What sort of autonomy? What sort of State? What sort of rights will its citizens have?

Young Palestinians who cannot control their anger turn themselves into human bombs and haunt Israel's streets and public places, blowing themselves up, killing ordinary people, injecting terror into daily life, and eventually hardening both societies' suspicion and mutual hatred for each other. Each bombing invites merciless reprisal and even more hardship on Palestinian people. But then suicide bombing is an act of individual despair, not a revolutionary tactic. Although Palestinian attacks strike terror into Israeli citizens, they provide the perfect cover for the Israeli government's daily incursions into Palestinian territory, the perfect excuse for old-fashioned, nineteenth-century colonialism, dressed up in a new fashioned, twenty-first century "war".

Israel's staunchest political and military ally is and always has been the U. S. The U. S. government has blocked, along with Israel, almost every U. N. resolution that sought a peaceful, equitable solution to the conflict. It has supported almost every war that Israel has fought. When Israel attacks Palestine, it is American missiles that smash through Palestinian homes. And every year Israel receives several billion dollars from the United States –taxpayers' money.

What lessons should we draw from this tragic conflict? Is it really impossible for Jewish people who suffered so cruelly themselves –more cruelly perhaps than any other people in history– to understand the vulnerability and the yearning of those whom they have displaced? Does extreme suffering always kindle cruelty? What hope does this leave the human race with? What will happen to the Palestinian people in the event of a victory? When a nation without a state eventually proclaims a state, what kind of state will it be? What horrors will be perpetrated under its flag? Is it a separate state that we should be fighting for or, the rights to a life of liberty and dignity for everyone regardless of their ethnicity or religion?

Palestine was once a secular bulwark in the Middle East. But now the weak, undemocratic, by all accounts corrupt but avowedly nonsectarian P. L. O. [Palestine Liberation Organization] is losing ground

to Hamas, which espouses an overtly sectarian ideology and fights in the name of Islam. To quote from their manifesto: «we will be its soldiers and the firewood of its fire, which will burn the enemies.»

The world is called upon to condemn suicide bombers. But can we ignore the long road they have journeyed on before they have arrived at this destination? September 11, 1922 to September 11, 2002 –eighty years is a long time to have been waging war. Is there some advice the world can give the people of Palestine? Should they just take Golda Meir’s suggestion and make a real effort not to exist?

The U. S., which George Bush has called «the most peaceful nation on earth», has been at war with one country or another every year for the last fifty. Wars are never fought for altruistic reasons. They’re usually fought for hegemony, for business. And then of course there’s the business of war.

Protecting its control of the world’s oil is fundamental to U. S. foreign policy. The U. S. government’s recent military interventions in the Balkans and Central Asia have to do with oil. Hamid Karzai, the puppet President of Afghanistan installed by the U. S., is said to be a former employee of Unocal, the American-based oil company. The U. S. government’s paranoid patrolling of the Middle East is because it has two-thirds of the world’s oil reserves. Oil keeps America’s engines purring sweetly. Oil

keeps the Free Market rolling. Whoever controls the world’s oil, controls the world’s market. And how do you control the oil?

After the 11th of September 2001 and the War Against Terror, the hidden hand and fist have had their cover blown –and we have a clear view now of America’s other weapon –the Free Market– bearing down on the Developing World, with a clenched, unsmiling smile. The Task That Never Ends is America’s perfect war, the perfect vehicle for the endless expansion of American imperialism.

But, fortunately, power has a shelf life. When the time comes, maybe this mighty empire will, like others before it, overreach itself and implode from within. It looks as though structural cracks have already appeared. As the War Against Terror casts its net wider and wider, America’s corporate heart is hemorrhaging. For all the endless, empty chatter about democracy, today the world is run by three of the most secretive institutions in the world: The International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the World Trade Organization, all three of which, in turn, are dominated by the U. S. Their decisions are made in secret. The people who head them are appointed behind closed doors. Nobody really knows anything about them, their politics, their beliefs, their intentions. Nobody said they could make decisions on our behalf.

A world run by a handful of greedy bankers and

C. E. O.s whom nobody elected can't possibly last. Soviet-style communism failed, not because it was intrinsically evil but because it was flawed. It allowed too few people to usurp too much power. Twenty-first century market-capitalism, American style, will fail for the same reasons. Both are edifices constructed by the human intelligence, undone by human nature.

The time has come, the Walrus said. Perhaps things will become worse and then better. Perhaps there's a small god up in heaven readying herself for us. Another world is not only possible, she's on her way. Maybe many of us won't be here to greet her, but on a quiet day, if I listen very carefully, I can hear her breathing.

Thank you.

[2002]

## **GAZA TODAY: AN INTERVIEW WITH NOAM CHOMSKY [EXCERPT]**

AMY GOODMAN: Noam, on Friday [August 8, 2014], at the point where the death toll for Palestinians had exceeded Operation Cast Lead (it had passed 1,400), President Obama held a news conference. He didn't raise the issue of Gaza, but he was immediately asked about it, and he reaffirmed the U. S. support for Israel. He said that the resupply of ammunition was happening, that the \$220 million would be going for an expanded Iron Dome. Can you talk about this?

NOAM CHOMSKY: There was a debate in the Human Rights Commission about whether to have an investigation –no action, just an investigation– of what had happened in Gaza, an investigation of “possible” violations of human rights. It was passed with one negative vote. Obama voted against an investigation, while he was giving these polite

comments. That's action. The United States continues to provide the critical, the decisive support for the atrocities. When what's called "Israeli" jet planes bomb defenseless targets in Gaza, that's U. S. jet planes with Israeli pilots. And the same with the high-tech ammunition and so on and so forth.

A.G.: But do you sense a difference in the American population –the attitude toward what's happening in Israel and the Occupied Territories?

N.C.: Very definitely. It's been happening over some years. There was a kind of a point of inflection that increased after Cast Lead, which horrified many people, and it's happening again now. You can see it everywhere. *The New York Times* devoted a good part of their op-ed page to a Gaza diary a couple of days ago, which was heart-rending and eloquent. That's new, and it reflects something that's happening in the country. You can see it in polls, especially among young people. You can see it on college campuses. I've been giving talks on these things for almost 50 years. I used to have police protection, literally, even at my own university. The meetings were broken up violently, you know, enormous protests. Within the past, roughly, decade, that's changed substantially, by now Palestinian solidarity is maybe the biggest issue on campus.

However, there's something we have to remember about the United States: It's not a democracy; it's a plutocracy. There's study after study that comes out in mainstream academic political science which shows what we all know or ought to know, that political decisions are made by a very small sector of extreme privilege and wealth, concentrated capital. For most of the population, their opinions simply don't matter in the political system. They're essentially disenfranchised. Now, public opinion can make a difference. Even in dictatorships, the public can't be ignored, and in a partially democratic society like this, even less so. So, ultimately, this will make a difference. And how long "ultimately" is, well, that's up to us.

We've seen it before. Take, say, the East Timor case. For 25 years, the United States strongly supported the vicious Indonesian invasion and massacre, virtual genocide. Finally, in mid-September 1999, under considerable international and also domestic pressure, Clinton quietly told the Indonesian generals: «It's finished.» And they had said they'd never leave. They pulled out within days. Well, you know, that's a dramatic indication of what can be done. South Africa is a more complex case but has similarities, and there are others. Sooner or later, it's possible –and that's really up to us– that domestic pressure will compel the U. S. government to join the world on this issue, and that will be a decisive change.

A.G.: I wanted to turn to the words of Hamas leader Khaled Meshaal. This was in July:

KHALED MESHAAL: [translated] Life is not a prerequisite. Life is a right for our people in Palestine. Since 2006, when the world refused the outcomes of the elections, our people actually lived under the siege of eight years. This is a collective punishment. We need to lift the siege. We have to have a port. We have to have an airport. This is the first message.

The second message: In order to stop the bloodletting, we need to look at the underlying causes. We need to look at the occupation. We need to stop the occupation. Netanyahu doesn't take heed of our rights.

N.C.: Well, he was basically reiterating what he and Ismail Haniyeh and other Hamas spokespersons have been saying for a long time. In fact, if you go back to 1988, when Hamas was formed, even before they became a functioning organization, their leadership, Sheikh Yassin –who was assassinated by Israel– and others, offered settlement proposals, which were turned down. And it remains pretty much the same. You can read it in *The Washington Post*. They don't go on to say «We'll recognize Israel,» but

they say «Yes, let's have a two-state settlement and a very long truce, maybe 50 years. And then we'll see what happens.» Well, that's been their proposal all along. That's far more forthcoming than any proposal in Israel. But here what you read is: all they're interested in is the destruction of Israel.

A.G.: Six billion dollars of damage in Gaza right now. About 1,900 Palestinians are dead, not clear actually how many, as the rubble hasn't all been dug out at this point. Half a million refugees. You've got something like 180,000 in the schools, the shelters. And what does that mean for schools, because they're supposed to be starting in a few weeks, when the Palestinians are living in these schools, makeshift shelters?

N.C.: Well, there is a kind of a slogan that's been used for years: Israel destroys, Gazans rebuild, Europe pays. And what will happen unless U. S. policy changes, is that Israel will continue with the policies it has been executing: Take what you want in the West Bank, integrate it into Israel, leave the Palestinians there in unviable cantons, separate it from Gaza, keep Gaza on that diet, under siege and, of course, control the West Golan Heights –and try to develop a greater Israel. This is not for security reasons, incidentally. That's been understood by the

Israeli leadership for decades. Back around 1970, Ezer Weizman, the air force general, later president, pointed out, correctly, that taking over the territories does not improve their security situation –in fact, it probably makes it worse– but, he said, it allows Israel to live at the scale and with the quality that they now enjoy. In other words, they can be a rich, powerful, expansionist country.

A.G.: Actually, Noam, can you explain that, you’ve talked about it before. But can you explain what you meant when you said “keep Gaza on that diet”?

N.C.: Israeli experts have calculated in detail exactly how many calories, literally, Gazans need to survive. And if you look at the sanctions that they impose, they’re grotesque. Just enough calories to survive. And, of course, it is partly metaphoric, because it means just enough material coming in through the tunnels so that they don’t totally die. Israel restricts medicines, but you have to allow a little trickle in. When I was there right before the November 2012 assault, I visited the Khan Younis hospital, and the director showed us that they don’t even have simple medicines, but they have something. And the same is true with all aspects of it. And the reason is very simple, and they pretty much said it: “If they die, it’s not going to look good for Israel. We may claim

that we’re not the occupying power, but the rest of the world doesn’t agree.” It’s not the 19th century, when, as the U. S. expanded over what’s its national territory, it pretty much exterminated the indigenous population. Well, by 19th century’s imperial standards, that was unproblematic. This is a little different today.

But in the entire world, as far as I know, only a few Latin American countries have taken an honorable position on this issue: Brazil, Chile, Perú, Ecuador, El Salvador have withdrawn ambassadors in protest. They join Bolivia and Venezuela, which had done it even earlier in reaction to other atrocities. That’s unique.

[2014]

**DÍA 23. RESPECTO  
DE “LOS MOCHILEROS”  
[CUADERNO DE VIAJE]  
Francisca García**

La tarde del 28 de febrero arribamos a El Chaltén, una localidad del oeste de la provincia de Santa Cruz, en Argentina. En el pueblo hay un sinnúmero de restaurantes, hoteles y hostales, y a pesar de que la temporada alta ya ha pasado, nos es difícil dar con alojamiento. Nos vamos dando cuenta que muchos argentinos de Salta y Tucumán mantienen en este lugar sus micronegocios durante la temporada veraniega para paliar la crisis económica generalizada que afecta a las provincias del norte del país. Joaquín acota que El Chaltén podría tratarse del primer pueblo sin-historia, producido desde y por el neoliberalismo. Su ubicación a los pies del cerro Fitz Roy –o Chaltén, en lengua tehuelche– y a orillas del río de las Vueltas es estratégica para el turismo, la única condición de su existencia. Se trata de una pequeña villa fundada en 1985 por un grupo de andinistas profesionales en pleno Parque Nacional Los

Glaciares. Desde aquel año, el crecimiento económico y demográfico es ascendente pese a convertirse en una villa desierta fuera de temporada. Nuestra errancia por sus calles durante las primeras horas me hace reconectar con el ambiente multilingüe de Berlín: el alemán, el inglés, el español y lenguas nórdicas que no diferencio. Todas resuenan en un murmullo y la montaña a la espalda, como la propia Babel. Pero también el hebreo, una lengua ya escasa en Berlín. Ésta no solo se escucha, también se inscribe. Es posible constatarla en anuncios y letreros informativos que colaboran con el itinerario del viajero. A decir verdad está por todas partes, incluso manuscrita. Una opción es que la realidad en ese lugar se construya en hebreo, y desde allí se traduzca a las demás lenguas. Chilenxs y argentinxs –en un reduccionismo banal y centralizador– no se diferencian a simple vista de israelitas. Es fácil confundirse. Son jóvenes, optan por agruparse, visten multicolores y portan bultos y aparatos de sonido al hombro. En contraste los europeos del norte van solitarios, bien vestidos y sus conversaciones son casi imperceptibles. En estos momentos hago una Google search para indagar sobre la hipótesis de la segunda nación israelita en Patagonia. Fue el músico chileno Jorge González quien, temeroso, me habló hace un par de años y por primera vez sobre la penetración discreta del sionismo por esas tierras. Google arroja

una serie de entradas sobre el llamado Plan Andinia, desarrollado a fines del diecinueve por el sionista T. Herzl, que en su obra *El Estado Judío* escribía: «la Society [of Jews] entablará discusión sobre el territorio que ha de ser tomado en posesión. Dos países tienen que ser tomados en cuenta: Palestina y la Argentina». En la web es posible hallar algunas páginas escaneadas del libro, incluso con anotaciones anónimas y subrayados. Otra entrada, de 2013, propaga fotografías de Cristina K firmando ventas de tierras patagónicas a Eduardo Elztain, presidente de la comunidad mundial judía. Los “mochileros” de El Chaltén comenzaron a llegar en 1976, señala un recorte de prensa sin referencia, y como parte del programa recreativo del trekking realizan relevamientos en la zona sobre el clima, la flora, la fauna y las riquezas potenciales del lugar. Muchos de los textos relativos al Plan Andinia, a los que es posible acceder desde Google, probablemente sean escritos por argentinxs. Está la vitalidad –siendo eufemística– de ese nacionalismo, y la delación conspirativa la intensifican por medio del uso de tipografías de estilo barato que adquieren una dimensión maquiavélica. Algunas llevan sombreado, como si desde las propias letras se desprendiera la muerte oscura que marchita todo a su paso. Esas mismas sombras describen la construcción de los túneles DUMB (Deep Underground Military Bases) que conformarían redes



subacuáticas y que darían la posibilidad de hundir incluso los submarinos que osen atravesar el paso en Cabo de Hornos; bases militares subterráneas que funcionarían como refugios atómicos y de catástrofes naturales. Los DUMB de los diferentes continentes se irían entrelazando a partir de la labor que realizan las «tuneladoras potentes». Máximo número de kilómetros y de tramos posibles. Avances secretos, perforando silenciosamente los muros subterráneos que requieren de alianzas estratégicas. Uno de los documentos advierte de la influencia sionista sobre los ingleses malvineros, quienes no podrán resistirse a ceder sus territorios. La complicidad del gobierno de Estados Unidos respecto a los ataques actuales en territorios palestinos no distaría demasiado de la complicidad chilena o argentina, aunque Chile haya llamado a consultas a su embajador recientemente. Los ejércitos nacionales israelí, estadounidense, argentino y chileno se encargarían de mantener el secretismo y la discreción del desarrollo del proyecto. «Los rumores solo se disipan con otro aun más descabellado, nunca con la verdad», señalaba Werner Herzog en uno de sus diarios. Abriéndonos paso entre “los mochileros” ascendemos el 1 de marzo el monte Fitz Roy, una caminata de extensas ocho horas si contemplamos el ir y venir vertical. Mientras Joaquín se recrimina en-sí-mismo el sinsentido de esta clase de andadura, los rayos enardecidos del sol

penetran como proyectiles y yo me protejo cubriéndome con la kufiyya [ةيفوك].

*Berlín, agosto de 2014*



**A UNO DE ESTOS  
SE LE OCURRIRÁ FUNDAR  
LA NUEVA BELÉN EN ARAUCO**  
Carlos Labbé

- Chuta la barbita, compadre.  
–¿Hielo?  
–Ya. Hasta ahí nomás, honorable. Gracias. Aquí tiene una moneda.  
–Jeje, conchetumadre. Si me vengo recién bajando del avión.  
–¿De Miami?  
–Putá el hueón penca. De Beit Jala.  
–Sí sé. No me hablé de mi pueblo.  
–Chi, más lo que huevearon ustedes para que rompiéramos relaciones y ahora te hacé el cucho. Está realmente la cagá.  
–Se les está pasando la mano. Pásate el amargo de Angostura.  
–Verdad. Tuve que explicarle a mis benjamines de mierda con peras y manzanas que vamos a tener que ir a firmar cuando sea la Copa América nomás.

–Se les está pasando la mano, pero con la contrapropaganda. Ahora mi hija chica quiere ir a conocer el pueblo de mi abuelo y todo eso. Ni cagando la mando.

–A mí la vieja me tiene enfermo con sus preguntas de por qué Chile ahora es antisemita. Alega que ni en la época de Aguirre Cerda este país fue enemigo nuestro.

–Cuéntale entonces de tu viaje a la Franja. Yo quedo como rey en mi casa si pudiera ir a solidarizar con mi pueblo masacrado.

–Sale, que estando allá te cagái en dos tiempos.

–Ni que me impresionaran un par de casuchas en el suelo. ¿Quién lideró la reconstrucción de Topopilla con toda la plana ejecutiva de Homecenter en terreno, perrito?

–Te estoy diciendo que te cagái con el lobby de allá. Sólo los que tenemos un verdadero ruso adentro aguantamos que no nos enchufen al tiro sus cargamentos de Epiladies y máquinas salmoneras.

–Buena po, Shevchenko.

–Shev... ¿qué? No se me ponga comunacho, honorable, justo cuando viene la votación de la nueva ley antiterrorista.

–Qué paja. Si no hubiera venido el Kerry culiao estaríamos en la casa hace rato.

–Putta, sí.

–¿A ti te llamó el Luksic bueno o el malo?

–Obvio que el feo. El que usa la barbita larga. Me llamó desde Malleco mismo, ¿cachái? Invitó al gringo al fundo; estaban cortando canelos con un hacha de litio.

–Dónde la viste. ¿Y a ustedes se les ocurrió ya dónde chucha vamos a meter a todos esos mapuches ahora?

[2014]

**PALESTINE, G4S AND THE  
PRISON INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX  
[EXCERPT]  
Angela Y. Davis**

As I mourn the passing of Nelson Mandela, I offer my deep gratitude to all of those who kept the anti-apartheid struggle alive for all the decades that it took to finally rid the world of apartheid. And I would like to evoke the spirit of the South African constitution and its opposition to racism and anti-Semitism, as well as to sexism and homophobia. Today I join with you once more to intensify the campaigns against another regime of apartheid, and in solidarity with the struggles of the Palestinian people. As Nelson Mandela said, we know too well that our freedom is incomplete without the freedom of the Palestinians.

Mandela's political development took place within the context of an internationalism that always urged us to make connections among freedom struggles, between the black struggle in the southern

United States and the African liberation movements, for example, conducted by the A. N. C. in South Africa but also the M. P. L. A. in Angola, and Swapo in Namibia and Frelimo in Mozambique and P.A. I. G. C. in Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde. And those solidarities were not only among people of African descent, but with Asian and Latin American struggles as well. The ongoing solidarity with the Cuban revolution, and of course solidarity with the people who were struggling against U. S. military aggression in Vietnam.

And so, almost a half century later, we have inherited the legacies of those solidarities, however well or badly specific struggles may have tuned out, the solidarities were what produced hope and inspiration. And helped to create real conditions to move forward.

So now we're confronted with the task of assisting our sisters and brothers in Palestine, as they battle against Israeli apartheid. Their struggles have many similarities with those against South African apartheid. One of the most salient being the ideological condemnation of their freedom efforts under the rubric of terrorism. It wasn't until the year 2008 –that's like five years ago, right?– that Nelson Mandela's name was taken off of the “terrorist watch list.” In other words, when Mandela visited the U. S. on several occasions after his re-

lease in 1990, he was still on the terrorist list, and the requirement that he was banned from the U. S. had to be expressly waived.

The point that I'm making is that for a very long time, he and his comrades shared the same status as numerous Palestinians today. And as the U. S. explicitly collaborated with the South African apartheid government, it supported and continues to support the Israeli occupation of Palestine, currently in the form of over \$8.5 million a day in military aid. The occupation would not be possible without the collaboration of the U. S. government. And that is one of the messages we need to send to Barack Obama.

This evening's gathering [hosted by War on Want, the School of Law at SOAS and the Russell Tribunal on Palestine, in London U. K.] specifically focuses on the importance on expanding the B. D. S. movement –the boycott, divestment and sanctions movement, which has been crafted in accordance of the powerful movement of the anti-apartheid movement with respect to South Africa.

While there are numerous transnational corporations which have been identified as targets of the boycott –Veolia, for example, there's SodaStream, and Ahava, and Caterpillar, and Boeing and Hewlett-Packard, and I could go on and on but I'll stop there– I will also say that G4S [the largest security company in the world] is especially important because it

participates blatantly, directly, openly in the maintenance and reproduction of repressive apparatuses in Palestine.

G4S represents the growing insistence on what is called “security” under the neoliberal state. The ideologies of security represented by G4S bolster not only the privatization of security but the privatization of imprisonment, the privatization of warfare as well, the privatization of health care and the privatization of education. They tell you exactly what they’re doing. And I’m quoting from their website: «from insuring that travelers have a safe and pleasant experience at ports and airports around the world [...] to secure detention and escorting of people who are not lawfully entitled to remain in a country [...] In more ways than you might realize [...] G4S is securing your world.» And we might add: in more ways that we might realize, G4S has insinuated itself into our lives under the guise of security and the security state, from the ways that Palestinians experience political incarceration and torture to racist technologies of separation and apartheid, from the wall in Israel to prison-like schools and the wall along the U. S.-Mexico border.

In the U.S., schools, particularly in poor communities, in poor communities of color, are so thoroughly entangled in this prison industrial complex that sometimes we have a hard time distinguishing

between schools and jails. Schools look like jails, and they use the same technologies of detection and they use oftentimes the same law enforcement officials. We have elementary schools in the U. S. whose halls are actually patrolled by armed officers. And as a matter of fact, a recent trend has been to arm the teachers. So if they cannot afford private security, then they teach their teachers how to shoot and give them guns. I kid you not.

If you look at a website that is entitled “great schools,” and you look up a school in Florida that’s called the Central Pasco Girls’ Academy in Land-o-Lakes, you will only learn that it’s a small alternative public school. But if you look at the “facilities” page of the G4S website, you will discover this entry: Central Pasco Girls’ Academy serves moderate risk females aged 13-18 who have been assessed as needing intensive mental health services.

The reach of the prison industrial complex is far beyond the prison itself. And in that context, we might also think about other ways in which a firm like G4S is complicit with other aspects of Israel’s system of apartheid. And the fact that it provides equipment and services to the checkpoints. And it provides services that refer to part of the route of the illegal wall, and so forth and so on. And it’s interesting that we see G4S along the wall in Israel, but we also see G4S providing transportation for

deportees from the U. S. to Mexico, thus colluding with the repressive immigration legislation and the practices inside the U. S.

And I think this egregious treatment of undocumented immigrants compels us to make connections with Palestinians who are transformed into immigrants, into undocumented immigrants, on their own land. And companies like G4S provide the technical means of carrying out this process. When one looks at the major clients of G4S security, banks, governments, corporations, etcetera, it becomes evident that when G4S says it is “securing your world,” as the company’s slogan goes, it is referring to a world of exploitation, repression, occupation and racism.

When I traveled to Palestine two years ago with a delegation of indigenous and women of color scholar-activists, it was actually the first trip, the first visit to Palestine for all of us. And most of us had been involved for many years in Palestine solidarity work. But we were all totally shocked by the blatant nature of the repression associated with settler-colonialism. The Israeli military made no attempt to conceal or even mitigate the character of the violence they were charged with inflicting on Palestinian people. We were already in prison. And of course, as far as Palestinians were concerned, one misstep and that person could be arrested and hauled off to prison. From an open-air prison to a closed prison.

G4S, it seems to me, represents these carceral trajectories that are so obvious in Palestine, but that increasingly characterize the profit-driven moves of transnational corporations associated with the rise of mass incarceration in the U. S. and in the world.

In the U. S., there are some 2.5 million people in our country’s jails and prisons and military prisons, and jails in Indian country, and immigrant detention centers on any given day. The majority of those people are people of color. The fastest-growing sector consists of women of color. Many prisoners are queer, and trans –as a matter of fact, trans people of color are the group most likely to be arrested and imprisoned. Racism provides the fuel for the maintenance, reproduction and expansion of the prison industrial complex. And so, if we say, as we do, abolish the prison industrial complex, we should also say abolish apartheid. And end the occupation of Palestine.

And so, just as we say «never again» with the respect to the fascism that produced the Holocaust, we should also say «never again» with respect to apartheid, in the southern U. S. But that means, first and foremost, that we will have to expand and deepen our solidarities with the people of Palestine. People of all genders and sexualities. People inside and outside prison walls. Inside and outside the apartheid wall.

Boycott G4S, support BDS, and finally Palestine  
will be free.  
Thank you.

[2013]

**SANKOFA**  
Jasmin A. Young

In meditating on the events occurring in Gaza I'm struck by the eerie feeling of familiarity that washes over me. I'd like to share with you, the reader, the protester, the possibly uninformed, the words of someone who also found himself pushed to stand up and oppose war. As we individually approach the current war in whatever ways we see fit –as we pray, meditate, protest, blog, organize, and raise the consciousness of others– let us always keep in mind that another world is possible. Let us give as much, if not more energy towards imagining and working towards that world than we give to articulating our current state of affairs. Or at the very least, let our dissent be as strong and as loud as our power to create change.

We would be wise to revisit the words of this dissenter, who boldly called for a radical shift in our values from a thing-oriented society to a person-oriented society. It is important to note this call for a revolution of values is directed at the individual



—that would be you as well as the United States government.

His words are as relevant today as they were nearly fifty years ago:

I'm convinced that if we are to get on the right side of the world revolution, we as a nation must undergo a radical revolution of values. We must rapidly begin the shift from a thing-oriented society to a person-oriented society. When machines and computers, profit motives and property rights are considered more important than people, the giant triplets of racism, militarism and economic exploitation are incapable of being conquered.

[...] True compassion is more than flinging a coin to a beggar. A true revolution of values will soon look uneasily on the glaring contrast of poverty and wealth with righteous indignation [...] It will look across the seas and see individual capitalists of the West investing huge sums of money in Asia, Africa, and South America, only to take the profits out with no concern for the social betterment of the countries, and say, «This is not just.» It will look at our alliance with the landed gentry of Latin America and say, «This is not just.» The Western arrogance of feeling that it has everything to teach others and nothing to

learn from them is not just. A true revolution of values will lay hands on the world order and say of war, «This way of settling differences is not just.»

In these times, silence is not an option. On April 4, 1967, in New York City's Riverside Church, Martin Luther King Jr. delivered one of the greatest speeches of his life, his reflections on the war in Vietnam. King's commentary, which I quote here, is not solely about the Vietnam War, but stands as an oration against war in principle. His words resonate with us today as we in the United States witness the escalating war at home against minorities, our youth, and the poor; and as war motivated by a thirst for expanding territory at the expense of human lives finds its expression on the latest attack on the people of Gaza.

[2014]

**MI CARTA AL IRS  
[SERVICIO DE IMPUESTOS  
INTERNOS DE USA]  
[EXTRACTO]  
Alice Walker**

Traducción de Manuel Verdecia

Para: Servicio de Impuestos Internos  
Asunto: Retención del pago parcial de impuestos en protesta por las guerras financiadas por los Estados Unidos

15 de abril de 2014

Estimados funcionarios  
del Servicio de Impuestos Internos:

La presente carta es para informarles que he decidido quedarme con \$1,00 de mi pago de impuestos sobre la renta como un símbolo de mi rechazo a las guerras en que están involucrados los Estados Unidos, las cuales se sostienen de la contribución que pagan al gobierno los norteamericanos comunes.

**MY LETTER TO THE IRS  
[EXCERPT]  
Alice Walker**

Attention:  
The Internal Revenue Service  
Re: Withholding of partial payment of taxes in protest of Wars funded by American taxpayers

April 15, 2014

Dear Persons  
of the Internal Revenue Service,

This letter is to inform you that I have decided to withhold \$1.00 from my income tax payment as a token of my resistance to the wars the United States is engaged in, which are supported by the taxes paid to the government by ordinary Americans.

I am attaching a letter to other American taxpayers, which explains more fully my reasons for doing this.

Anexo una carta a otros contribuyentes estadounidenses, en la que les explico más detalladamente mis razones para hacer esto.

Atentamente,

Alice Walker

#### A LOS CONTRIBUYENTES ESTADOUNIDENSES:

Al hecho de proporcionar a nuestro gobierno dinero que mutila y mata a miles, incluso a cientos de miles de niños, sus madres, padres, hermanos, hermanas y abuelos, se debe en parte que suframos, en todas las formas que sufrimos, en los Estados Unidos. Cada año siento la náusea de la complicidad, el pesar en mi corazón, que la entrega de dinero para comprar balas y bombas me trae a mí o a cualquiera que considere que está mal hacer daño, herir, matar a otro ser humano que es, en verdad, una parte de nosotros. La realidad de que estamos asesinando a nuestros propios seres –tal vez a nuestra conciencia como la primera parte que dañamos– es la causa para que nos sintamos enfermos. ¿Qué hacer al respecto?

En 2003, junto con un par de docenas de mujeres, me arrestaron frente a la Casa Blanca por protestar contra el inicio inminente de la guerra

Sincerely,

Alice Walker

#### TO THE AMERICAN TAXPAYERS:

Giving money to our government each year that maims and kills thousands, even hundreds of thousands of children, their mothers, fathers, brothers and sisters, their grandparents, is part of why we suffer, in all the ways we do suffer, in the United States. Each year I feel the nausea of complicity, the sorrow in my heart, that sending money to buy bullets and bombs brings to me, or to anyone who believes it is wrong to harm, to injure, to kill another human being, who is, in truth, a part of ourselves. The reality that we are killing our own selves –our conscience perhaps the first part of us to atrophy– is why we feel so sick. What to do about it?

In 2003 along with two dozen other women I was arrested in front of the White House for protesting the imminent start of the war against the people of Iraq. Earlier I had marched with hundreds of thousands of people around the world against this pending war. Everyone understood what it was about, from the beginning. In fact, in the San Francisco march a young woman's satirical banner read:

contra el pueblo de Irak. Antes había marchado con cientos de miles de personas alrededor del mundo contra esa guerra próxima. Todos comprendían de qué se trataba desde el inicio. De hecho, en la demostración de San Francisco, la satírica pancarta de una joven decía «¿Qué hace mi petróleo debajo de tu arena?», lo cual ciertamente atrajo la atención de nuestros “líderes”. Líderes que nos ignoraron por completo.

Luego iría a Palestina y vería enormes cascacos de cohetes usados que habían derribado casas y escuelas, hospitales y, sí, a cientos de adultos y niños. En ellos se leía la inscripción «MADE IN USA» [«Hecho en los Estados Unidos»]. Me senté en los escombros de la Escuela Americana de Palestina, que había sido totalmente demolida.

Entonces vino el intento de llevar alimentos y medicinas a la gente que pasaba hambre en Gaza y el hecho de que nos hicieran retroceder, aunque mis compañeros y yo rogábamos por ser útiles a seres humanos que nos necesitaban desesperadamente.

¿Dónde estaba nuestro país? ¿Acaso dijo, como debía hacerlo, «déjenlos pasar con los alimentos y medicinas que llevan»? No. Éramos vistos como los pica-pleitos, en lugar de los que causaban el desastre.

Otro esfuerzo de llegar a Gaza nos hizo apelar a nuestro gobierno para que protegiera nuestra pequeña lancha en la que intentábamos navegar

«What is my oil doing under your sand?», which certainly captured the attitude of our “leaders.”

Leaders who completely ignored us.

Later I would go to Palestine and see huge spent shells whose rockets had demolished homes and schools, hospitals and, yes, hundreds of grownups and children, and there was the imprint «MADE IN USA» on them. I sat in the rubble of The American School in Palestine that had been completely demolished.

Then there was the attempt to take food and medicine to people who were starving in Gaza and the fact of being turned back, though my companions and I were begging to be of service to humans who desperately needed us.

Where was our country? Did it say, as it might have done, Let them, and the food and medicine they are bringing, through? No. We were seen as the troublemakers, not those causing the disaster.

Another effort to reach Gaza had us appealing to our government to protect our small boat as we attempted to sail in and deliver hope in the form of letters, mainly to the children who, by now, must think all grown-ups outside of Gaza are deaf. Our Secretary of State informed us we were the threat, not the people who waited with guns to stop us.

And so on.

When my Civil Rights lawyer husband and I lived in Mississippi in the Sixties and early Seventies

para entregar esperanza en forma de cartas, principalmente a los niños que, por entonces, debían pensar que todos los adultos fuera de Gaza eran sordos. Nuestro Secretario de Estado nos informó que nosotros éramos la amenaza, no las personas que nos esperaban con armas.

Y así sucesivamente.

Cuando mi esposo –abogado de derechos civiles– y yo vivíamos en Mississippi por los sesenta y principios de los setenta, el IRS nos auditó. Unos años más tarde (en San Francisco) me auditaron de nuevo. No hallaron ningún problema. Me pareció que el IRS fue utilizado por COINTELPRO (una entidad del FBI), para acosarnos a todos los que participábamos en el movimiento negro de liberación. Lo que recuerdo de las auditorías es lo insultante que resultaba para nosotros, que habíamos acumulado justo lo que un día requeriríamos para tener una modesta casa, ser considerados como posibles estafadores. Era una clara tensión para nuestras vidas ya tensas, viviendo bajo las leyes de apartheid en Mississippi, luchando por desmantelarlas, y en un matrimonio interracial “ilegal” para remate. También sabíamos que en cualquier momento mi esposo podía ser reclutado para pelear en la guerra asesina contra el pueblo de Vietnam.

Esto quiere decir que pensé cuidadosamente en qué más podría hacer para mostrar mi horror

we were audited by the IRS. A few years later (in San Francisco) I was audited again. Nothing was amiss, and it seemed to me the IRS was used, perhaps by COINTELPRO, a project of the FBI, to harass all of us who were active in the black liberation movement. What I remember about the audits was how insulting it felt that we, who had amassed nothing beyond what was required to one day own a modest home, were considered people who would cheat. It was a definite stress to our already strained lives, living under apartheid laws in Mississippi, working to dismantle them, and in an “illegal” interracial marriage to boot. We also knew my husband might be drafted to fight in a criminal war against the people of Vietnam at any time.

Which is to say, I thought very carefully about what more I could do to show my horror and disgust at the slaughter of people around the globe that a greedy American Empire appears to require. Grandmothers pulverized in their okra fields, children bombed in their beds, wedding parties obliterated in the road. Roaming the internet for help, I found The War Resister’s League website and there learned some of the ways the IRS can make your life miserable if you refuse to be a war criminal and withhold all the taxes you would like to withhold. I am sorry to say I don’t wish to go through the tension of IRS harassment again. I learned, though,

y disgusto ante la masacre de personas por todo el mundo que el rapaz imperio norteamericano parece requerir.

Abuelas pulverizadas en sus campos de quimbombó, niños bombardeados en sus camas, ceremonias matrimoniales borradas en el camino. Navegando la internet en busca de ayuda, encontré el sitio web de la Liga de Resistentes contra la Guerra (WRL) y allí conocí algunas de las formas por las que el IRS puede hacer tu vida lamentable si rehúas ser un criminal de guerra y retienes todos los impuestos que quisieras retener. Siento decir que no deseo pasar por toda la tensión del acoso del IRS otra vez. Sin embargo supe que puedo quedarme con un solo dólar, como símbolo de mi resistencia al asesinato de inocentes. (Incluso no creo en la muerte de los culpables. Creo que todas las prisiones deben convertirse en monasterios seculares con la enseñanza de la meditación como pilar.)

Aunque me gravarán sobre este dólar eternamente, debo ser capaz, si me obligan, de pagar.

¿Qué puede, en una guerra que gasta trillones de dólares cada año, comprar un sólo dólar? (¿Dos sellos de primera clase?), eso me pregunté a mí misma, pesimistamente. Mi solo dólar no es nada, pero ¿qué sucede si millones de personas, diez millones de personas, también retienen un dólar? ¿Qué podemos evitar que el gobierno compre? ¿La mitad

that I can withhold a single dollar, as a token of my resistance to the murder of innocents. (I don't even believe in the murder of the guilty. I think all prisons should be turned into secular monasteries with the teaching of meditation a mainstay.) Though I will be taxed on this one dollar into infinity, I should be able, if forced, to pay.

What, in an endless war that spends trillions each year can a single dollar buy? (Two first class stamps?) I asked myself, gloomily. My single dollar is almost nothing, but what if millions of people, ten million people, also withhold one dollar? What might we prevent the government from buying? Half of a drone? The propellers of a helicopter? A whole drone? A tank? The wheels of many tanks? A rocket? Those goggles that let you see at night? Part of a computer system that allows anonymous Americans, while chatting or eating their lunch, to murder children and their families sitting far away in their living rooms?

We must not let frustration at our smallness unnerve us. Perhaps it is time to remember the ants. They too are small, yet they are persistent in everything they do; they never stop.

There are brave women and men standing, and have always stood, against the wars our country wages, wars that intensify climate change, destroy histories, cultures and identities, animals, trees,

de un dron? ¿Las hélices de un helicóptero? ¿Un dron completo? ¿Un tanque? ¿Las ruedas de muchos tanques? ¿Un cohete? ¿Esas gafas que te permiten ver de noche? ¿Una pieza de una computadora que le permite a anónimos estadounidenses, mientras conversan o almuerzan, matar a niños y sus familias que están sentados en hogares distantes?

No debemos dejar que la frustración por nuestra pequeñez nos perturbe. Tal vez sea tiempo de recordar a las hormigas. De igual forma son pequeñas, pero son persistentes en todo cuanto hacen. Nunca se detienen.

Hay hombres y mujeres valientes que se enfrentan, siempre lo han hecho, a las guerras que nuestro país desarrolla; guerras que intensifican el cambio climático, aniquilan historias, culturas e identidades, animales, árboles, agua y tierra; mutilan, lesionan y matan a gente de las más asombrosas del mundo. Hombres y mujeres jóvenes a quienes nos gustaría conocer. Ancianos que pudieran enseñarnos y guiarnos. Campesinos que podrían mostrarnos cómo cultivar la tierra. Músicos, poetas, escritores, médicos, científicos, que podrían inspirarnos a soñar. Niños que podrían recordarnos la juventud con su irrefrenable agrado por las patinetas y bicicletas. Quedamos empobrecidos, debilitados, fatalmente desorientados por esta pérdida. Como un balazo en el corazón es lo que sentimos. Juntos

water and land; mutilate, main and kill some of the most astonishing people on earth. Young women and men we would love to know. Elders who could teach and guide us. Farmers who could show us how to cultivate the soil. Musicians, poets, writers, doctors, scientists, who could inspire us to dream. Children who could remind us of youth with their unrestrained affection for skateboards and bicycles. We are impoverished, weakened, fatally disoriented by this loss. Shot through the heart is what it feels like. Together we must find a way to keep them, our other selves, safe. And make the step, whether large or small, we are able to make. In my experience, Life frequently reveals the footpath before we are permitted a glimpse at the road.

«Walk together, children, don't you get weary,» is from one of many medicine songs from my own black Southern tradition of endless struggle, a necessary counterpart to the endless war against black people. I understand it better now than when I was a child. Now I know, from experience, that one of the hardest things to do is walk together; and that in fact we can get weary enough –forget about walking– to crawl. But in a way the ancestors were seeing life, and the overcoming of obstacles –brutal enslavement and other abuse in their case– with the comprehension and steadfastness of ants: togetherness is essential, being tired is not an excuse.

debemos hallar una manera de preservar a salvo a nuestros otros seres. Y demos el paso, sea grande o pequeño, que podamos dar. En mi experiencia, la vida frecuentemente muestra el sendero antes de que podamos avistar el camino.

«Anden juntos, niños, no se cansen»: eso viene de una de las muchas canciones sanadoras de mi propia tradición negra sureña de incansables luchas, una contrapartida necesaria a la inacabable guerra contra los negros. La comprendo mejor ahora que cuando era una niña. Ahora sé, por experiencia, que una de las cosas más difíciles de hacer es andar junto a otro; y que de hecho podemos cansarnos bastante –olvidense de caminar– para gatear. Mas de cierta forma nuestros ancestros veían la vida y la superación de los obstáculos –la esclavitud atroz y otros abusos en su caso– con la comprensión y la tenacidad de las hormigas. La unidad es esencial, cansarse no es una excusa.

Si no se les detiene, los organizadores de guerras seguirán destruyendo el planeta hasta su muerte total. No hay separación entre éste y nosotros.

En paz,

Alice Walker

[2014]

If not stopped, the makers of war will continue to kill the planet until it is dead. There is no separation between it and us.

In Peace,

Alice Walker

[2014]



## ONE OF FEW

Shirin Zarqa

No matter which one of the roles I play dominates my life at any given time, I am always One of Few. I grew up one of few Palestinians in a predominantly Jewish community. I was one of few first generation Americans in my family. I was one of few women in my family to go to college. I was one of few to marry a man of Jewish descent. I was one of few to have five kids; and the list goes on and on. I could write a monologue about each one of these experiences, but the consistent theme is that I am One of Few. Some would argue that being one of few is what makes me special, unique, gifted, blah, blah, blah. The only way I have ever felt about being one of few is... different. Growing up I had to remember to hide my Palestinian heritage from those my parents or I felt were “anti-Arab” or “anti-Semitic” towards Arabs (Surprise! Palestinians are Semites too!). Although, I could not even embrace the pain that anti-Semitic remarks brought on because I seemed to be one of few who possessed little known facts about the Semites.

Even explaining where my parents were from was difficult because my family heritage is one of few. My parents are from Palestine: not Pakistan, not Israel, not Jordan, not Syria, not Mars –Palestine.

My father was born in Palestine and he is one of few to have a birth certificate from Palestine in Hebrew, English, and Arabic. He too is one of few that remembers how Palestinians and Jews lived side by side prior to 1948, and I am one of few who listens to his nostalgia. I am also one of few who pictures my 13-year-old father as a petrified and parentified refugee rather than simply an adolescent. His family that remained in Palestine after 1948 are, also, one of few who became Arab-Israeli.

I am one of few Americans who cannot travel to Israel because my father was born in Palestine. I am one of few Americans who can travel to the Palestinian Territories so long as I understand that «Due to the situation there, the U. S. Government cannot assist Americans in entering Gaza and cannot provide assistance in exiting Gaza» (U. S. Consulate). I know that being one of few does not have to be my focus or my interpretation of my experiences, and on most days I focus on the similarities that we as humans share. So what changed today?

Last night I was one of few up at 3 AM thinking about the children who got goodbye kisses from their parents as they went to the market, and the

children who dismissed those kisses because they were busy being... well, children. Chances are I was one of few who somehow knew there was no such thing as a “humanitarian ceasefire” during genocide. By the way the world reacted, I think it’s clear I was one of few who thought of the children who trusted that their parents would come back with water and bread (the Gaza diet –also that of Alcatraz) and never imagined that as a result of blatant betrayal they will never have the chance to endure or dismiss those goodbye kisses again.

All the support that the Palestinians have received from countries around the world –the heartfelt pleas of Latin American governments, the acceptance of refugees in Scotland, the voices of the Irish who have no fear in identifying this as an act of inhumanity, the support of South Africans who can relate oh too well–, the demonstrations and protests, and the activists who now have «rap-sheets» for voicing their opinion... I was feeling like “one of many.” That is, until the lights went out on Gaza.

The power plant was destroyed. What will happen when the lights go back on in Gaza –Will it be there? Will it be desolate? Will I forever be One of Few?

I leave you with this: I am one of few who refuses to believe the atrocity we now call Gaza is the result of anyone other than the Likud regime. It is not the

people of Israel, it is not the Jews, it is not Hamas, it is not the rest of the Arab world or the Muslim world or even “the Western World,” the E. U. and U. S. It is the Likud regime. That said, there is only one of few ways this will end, and for it to end with a future for all mankind, the people of Israel must challenge the Likud party, and the teachings of Zionism.

A few have stepped forward to pose questions: «Why haven't Palestinians had the equal rights and opportunities that Israel offers?» «Surely every Jewish parent in Israel and every parent in Palestine wants to see their child take their first steps, learn how to ride their bike, and take pictures of their children on the first day of school.» «Is it really possible that an entire breed of humans wants to exterminate another?» «Is it perhaps-just perhaps-possible that the Israeli government has been exploiting the fear, frustration, sadness, and disappointment (that leads to anger and manifests as hate) of the world's complicit and explicit mistreatment of Jews during the genocide that we call the Holocaust to fulfill their own agenda?» «Is it possible that the Palestinian experience mimics the Jewish experience?» «Is it possible that they too feel like one of few?».

They say familiarity breeds contempt. I say familiarity leads to similarity, which leads to humanity, which leads to solidarity, which leads to Palestinians and Israelis being One of Many. I look

forward to a day where Jews and Arabs refuse to be enemies, but until then I continue to be One of Few and feel different, while the Palestinian people are treated differently... and wonder if the Jews feel the same way.

[2014]

## **A DISTANCIA Y A LA PELOTA** Enrique Winter

### **A distancia**

Geniales en sus locaciones de origen –gracias al acabado conocimiento de la idiosincrasia–, cada vez que directores como Woody Allen filman en el extranjero parecieran hacerlo con menos agudeza. El poeta Charles Bernstein se lo toma con humor en «Sonnette 747 de Nueva York», describiendo la ciudad con los errores típicos que cometería un turista leyéndola desde un avión.

Así actuó la Sociedad de Naciones cuando aprobó el Mandato Británico de Palestina, luego de la derrota del Imperio Otomano en la Primera Guerra Mundial; y mucho más las Naciones Unidas al dividir ese espacio colonial en dos estados, uno judío y uno árabe, con la noble intención de dar un territorio al pueblo brutalmente perseguido durante la Segunda Guerra. Para ello ocuparon un territorio sin país, pero con una nación mayoritaria, la palestina, que lo había habitado por siglos. Occidente pagaba así sus culpas con la cuenta sin fondos del Medio Oriente.

Las cosas de cerca se ven borrosas y por ello hay que alejarlas de la nariz, donde hieden: los europeos aprendieron mucho más sobre sí mismos que de los conquistados cuando llegaron a otros continentes y pudieron mirarse en perspectiva. La educación israelí, sin embargo, está demasiado cerca del conflicto. Aún predica que en su territorio la necesidad de ocupar por la fuerza a los vecinos se funda en derechos milenarios, no en la contingencia puntual y reciente de la Segunda Guerra Mundial. Los árabes no aceptaron entonces el Estado judío que se les impuso y lucharon contra él desde el mismo día en que se retiraron las tropas británicas. Israel ganó esa guerra, creciendo una cuarta parte sobre el espacio asignado, y desde entonces no ha detenido su plan de ocupación colonial, con el apoyo de Estados Unidos y una tibia resistencia del mundo.

La mayoría de los miembros de Naciones Unidas reconoce desde hace apenas dos años al Estado de Palestina, con las fronteras que los sionistas mantuvieron hasta 1967, previas a la Guerra de los Seis Días y a la expansión israelí que continua con los actuales bombardeos. La legítima postura de un solo estado palestino es casi marginal, inviable –Israel es real, no un juego de palabras–, sólo sostenida por Hamas, agrupación que gobierna la Franja de Gaza. Ésta es una de las dos mínimas zonas en que Israel separó entonces a la antigua Palestina; la otra es

Cisjordania, gobernada por los moderados Al Fatah. Equivalentes a dos reservas indígenas dentro de un territorio hostil, las razones por las que los palestinos de Gaza eligieron gobernantes dispuestos a atacar a Israel es simple: hasta 2005 estuvieron ocupados por ellos y, de los diez millones de palestinos en el mundo, una mitad debió huir y la otra quedó refugiada en su propia tierra, un tercio de la cual vive aún en campamentos insalubres.

Gaza es un área oprimida, en la cual sus habitantes intentan contrarrestar al invasor que todavía les impide salir con seguridad a la calle, con la mitad de la población desempleada y un quinto en condiciones de extrema pobreza. Aun a los palestinos que pagan los impuestos en la capital israelí (Jerusalén) el opresor no les recoge la basura, no les asigna transporte público ni suficiente luz eléctrica. Son parias que, entre las ratas, ni siquiera pueden votar por el Presidente del territorio supuestamente compartido.

Cuando Hamas accedió al poder en Gaza, Israel construyó un nuevo muro para incomunicar a sus habitantes, constituyendo la cárcel al aire libre más grande del mundo, y decretando un bloqueo que radicalizó las precarias condiciones de vida en la zona. El levantamiento del bloqueo es la única condición que pide Hamas para la paz. Esta organización terrorista –de acuerdo a la Unión Europea– detuvo

sus ataques tras las últimas negociaciones, acordó un gobierno de unidad con Al Fatah y ha intentado sin éxito establecer programas sociales, tres diferencias fundamentales con los otros terroristas que hoy gobiernan Israel, cuyos bombardeos en Gaza van dirigidos a hospitales, refugios y escuelas, con casi dos mil víctimas civiles en relación a las seis decenas de soldados caídos en sus filas.

El apoyo a los extremistas de Hamas por parte de los palestinos, en tanto, iba en franca caída en los últimos años, posibilitando el gobierno más moderado que pactó con Al Fatah y con ello la paz en la región. Toda la rabia que Israel ha generado en los padres de tantos niños muertos sólo ha revivido a Hamas como opción de contraataque. Bastaría la aplicación del derecho internacional humanitario –que distingue civiles de combatientes– y cierta prosperidad económica para que lentamente Hamas dejara de ser una opción política relevante. Pero Israel elige mantenerlo vivo al continuar los bombardeos, negándole a una nación su misma existencia como entidad política, ni qué decir sus derechos.

Es cierto que Israel es una democracia, pero una democracia racista, al sustentarse en la segregación de sus minorías. Un pueblo culto cuyo régimen demostraría una vez más que la cultura no sirve para nada –como la del país donde se les persiguió en la Segunda Guerra– y la memoria tampoco, tomando

en cuenta los museos repartidos por el mundo entero en honor a sus víctimas. Asistimos a la desoladora constatación colectiva del abusado que, en vez de condenar lo vivido, crece para volverse abusador. Para replicar campos de concentración de dos millones de personas en una mínima franja de la que no se puede huir. Campos mantenidos con municiones del mismo gobierno estadounidense que condena sus ataques, cuya prensa cómplice tiene otra obsesión en su agenda: la presencia rusa en Ucrania.

Han pasado cien años desde la Primera Guerra Mundial que terminó con el Imperio Otomano y se multiplican los disparos allí, en Afganistán, Siria, Iraq y Libia. Disparos que hoy martes 5 de agosto han cesado por setenta y dos horas en Gaza, pues Israel ya destruyó todos los túneles de Hamas, por los cuales justificaba sus injustificables bombardeos. Han comenzado en Egipto las negociaciones de paz. Amén.

## **Y a la pelota**

Palestina es el campeón vigente de la Copa Desafío, disputada por los tres últimos del ranking de cada una de las cuatro zonas de la Confederación Asiática de Fútbol. Es por supuesto su primer título, obtenido días después de que el ejército de Israel impidiera

el ingreso a su entrenador Jamal Mahmoud y detuviera al defensa Sameh Mar'aba. Ante el reclamo palestino, la Federación Internacional de Fútbol Asociado, FIFA, arguyó no entrometerse en asuntos políticos. Dos meses después el bombardeo israelí en Gaza mató a Ahmed Abu Sida, arquero de la selección sub 17.

Aun antes de declarar su independencia, Israel ya había usurpado el cupo del Mandato Británico de Palestina en la FIFA. Creado en 1928, participó con ese nombre en las clasificatorias del mundial de 1934, postergando en veinte años la formación de la propia institucionalidad futbolística de los palestinos. Pero tuvieron que pasar setenta para que la FIFA recién los reconociera, convirtiéndose paradójicamente en el primer organismo internacional en considerarlos un Estado en plenitud de derechos, pero, claro, no en igualdad de condiciones. Mientras Israel juega tranquilamente de local todos sus partidos contra las potencias europeas en el Estadio Nacional de Tel-Aviv, sólo en las clasificatorias para la última Copa del Mundo la FIFA autorizó a Palestina para debutar en su tierra. Se esgrimió que con anterioridad no habrían dado las necesarias garantías de seguridad que Israel sí cumplía.

Es conocida la pasión por el fútbol en los países árabes, particularmente entre los palestinos, que arman empolvados partidos en Gaza y que por su

injusta postergación de torneos oficiales constituyen un caso único en el mundo. Tal como el equipo Palestino, el único club profesional vinculado a esta nación, que juega desde 1920 no en el Medio Oriente, sino en Sudamérica, en la primera división de Chile; medio millón de descendientes de la diáspora palestina viven en este exótico país, constituyéndolo en su principal asentamiento fuera de los países árabes. El segundo es Estados Unidos.

Palestino ha obtenido dos títulos nacionales de primera división –uno de ellos con la máxima figura chilena, Elías Figueroa, tres veces mejor jugador de América–, dos copas Chile y dos títulos de segunda división, además de una semifinal de la Copa Libertadores. Es lejos el equipo que más ha logrado en Chile con menos público, pues no está permitido un ingreso mayor a tres mil personas en su estadio, que ni siquiera es suyo, sino de la municipalidad de la popular comuna de La Cisterna, la cual también recibió a los inmigrantes desde el campo a la ciudad de Santiago, entre ellos mis abuelos maternos. Palestino ostenta numerosas marcas –incluyendo el mayor invicto de la historia del fútbol chileno, con cuarenta y cuatro partidos, y los cuarenta y siete goles de Óscar Fabbiani en una temporada– y sigue animando los torneos locales con su fútbol aguerrido, principalmente cuando juega de local, lo que a la nación que representa le prohibieron por un siglo, hasta el 3 de julio de 2011.

Ese día el equipo nacional de Palestina comenzó ganándole a Afganistán, equipo al que ya habían vencido de visita por dos a cero. El empate final dio la clasificación a la segunda ronda a los eufóricos locales, que comenzaron a soñar con su debut en una Copa del Mundo. Un proceso extenuante, empezado hace tres lustros con técnicos profesionales de Argentina, Egipto, Polonia y Austria y, como no, de Chile: Nicola Hadwa Shahwan entre 2002 y 2004, con cinco valiosos empates en once partidos, y el ex arquero Nelson Mores, interino por un partido, perdido en 2007. No sólo tuvieron que traer entrenadores extranjeros, también jugadores, pues Israel prohibió hace décadas que los deportistas de los territorios ocupados pudieran viajar. Entonces la Federación buscó dónde jugar bajo la dirección de Hadwa y la tercera división de Chile los acogió en 2003. En otro hecho inédito en la historia del fútbol mundial, la selección de Palestina fue uno de los veintisiete equipos que disputó el título del torneo amateur de ese año. El desastroso rendimiento de ocho partidos jugados y ocho perdidos en el grupo no desanimó a los palestinos, que formaron allí una base de jugadores, descendientes de inmigrantes hasta en octavo grado, con la cual pudieron disputar las clasificatorias para los Juegos Olímpicos y los Mundiales, con figuras como el mediocampista chileno Roberto Bishara.

Pero ninguno de esos equipos sintió de veras la posibilidad de clasificar a una Copa del Mundo, como sí lo hizo el primero que pudo jugar de local en 2011. Porque luego de eliminar a Afganistán, con Bishara nuevamente en la cancha, les tocó en la segunda ronda ante Tailandia. Aunque el árbitro coreano los llenó de tarjetas amarillas, la selección de Palestina –que para entonces ya pudo reclutar futbolistas de sus dos ligas locales, separadas por Israel– luchó dignamente, perdiendo apenas uno a cero, resultado perfectamente remontable en casa, con su hinchada. Pero a pocos días del esperado encuentro Israel negó el permiso de entrada a Cisjordania de los ocho jugadores palestinos residentes en la Franja de Gaza.

[2014]



# NEÓN-DIÁSPORA

Pierre Sauré

Todos somos virtuales  
restos de un bombardeo.  
*Santiago Alba Rico*

Y cuando llegó a las tierras de Faulkner con su cara campesina se encandiló con tanta ampollita publicitaria que rodeaba la ciudad de la libertad esa, derrumbada por su ignorancia extrema que la apabullaba en la ciudad iluminada. Caminó por las calles habitadas en ese tiempo extra anticipado, o quizá más avanzado, y se perdía entre las avenidas numeradas con nombres desconocidos y en un idioma tan universal como iletrado para sus pasados de barro. Sí había empollado a leer en una sala de clases de madera con un par de morochos a su lado que jugaban con pelotas de traperos amarrados, embarrados y empapados de olores a fogones incinerados para recuperar la movilidad de las piernas luego de las interminables romerías en solitario por los caminos hechos a pie, o sobre algún animal domesticado por sus antepasados que heredaron la

salvaje doctrina de la sumisión y la subordinación sobre los débiles y el arriado como parte de un cotidiano que le pertenecía como sangre a las venas, amando en libre derecho a la naturaleza, a todos los seres vivos que la rodeaban, y que había tenido que dejar lejos para aventurarse en la búsqueda de una nueva oportunidad de avanzada proletaria para ver si así podía mantener la economía derrumbada de su país colonizado que había recibido a sus 2 hijos en las condiciones más rudimentarias, que según la otra mirada del primer mundo vendrían siendo el único derecho al cual se podía acceder. Y ahí los 2 cabros chicos la esperarían, desterrados de su teta, a ver si con las manos más llenas llegaba antes de que, ya reaccionarios y enrabiados por su linaje, no se sometieran a otras vidas menos dignas y recordaran a su madre con orgullo, y no olvidaran su rostro herido por la masacre a la cual habían estado destinados. Y con la frente en alto, recordándolos, caminó por esta renovada vereda que la recibía con pancartas que le ofrecían nuevas oportunidades para renovar su piel, cambiar el auto que aún no se compraba y comer veneno legalizado, y ella con su sueño de pertenecer a alguna tierra prometida olvidaba su estirpe tostada, y decidió emblanquecerse las pestañas, las manos, los cabellos y la mirada para sentirse menos puta y drogarse con esa buena vida por la cual sería domada, pues se lo merecía después

de tanto abandono y olvido. Lo hacía con orgullo y optimismo, con esa esperanza que sólo puede tener una mujer de la tierra. Una mujer verdadera. Una mujer de esas comprometidas que no confunden a su madre entre los mataderos. Y avanzó por esa vereda que, familiarizada, le daba una nueva calada a la vida. Era su sacrificio. Temía que sus hijos la olvidaran. Era cuidadosa y respetuosa. No quería olvidar la lucha de su pueblo ante los grandes edificios que la recibían cada noche, digna, con su cuerpo trabajado y descubierto. Se relacionó con los hombres más poderosos, de quienes heredó el derecho a la vida. Airosa. Erguida. Emancipada. Aprendió a hablar en rubio y recitaba la poesía de la mujer maravilla. Se llenó de constelaciones y comenzó a remunerarse en verde por primera vez, pues la ciudad iluminada ya era de ella. Le pertenecía. La merecía por tanto sacrificio hacia el éxito rotundo y ampuloso que tanto había deseado para saciar el hambre y el vacío que ha dejado en su rebaño. Y ella tan respetuosa. Tan bella. Tan educada se abrió camino hacia nuevos horizontes. Un par de años más sin ver a los cabros chicos no les haría tan mal. Estaban creciendo. Estaban bien. A buen cuidado. Si ella había crecido en el barrial por qué ellos no podrían hacerlo. A ellos se les había dado todo. Ella había tenido que sacrificarse. Sólo ella. Nadie más. Y dejando la tierra de Walt Disney se acercaba hacia el *Werther*, que

nunca había leído. No encontraba al amigo, a quién podría haberle escrito cartas de ensoñación, pues su sueño era cumplido. Y ya en esas veredas las calles le parecieron menos iluminadas. Más grises. Más lúgubres. Y deambuló con la cabeza en alto. Estaba lejos. Excitada. Un día, al salir de su habitación, se topó con su vecina que hablaba la lengua de Macondo. Ella le cantaba *arrurú mi guagua* a su moreno recién nacido. Ella la miró y recordó el rostro de los suyos. Rearmó sus caritas. Y juntó la nariz de uno con los ojos del otro y no sabía dónde poner las cejas. Los confundía. Les puso el pelo colorín y los ojos desteñidos. A ambos. Así los recordaría. Y se dio cuenta que había olvidado sus voces. Que ya no las conocía. Tomó su cartera. Bajó las escaleras. Y al llegar al primer escalón se encontró con una negra de 8 patas, arrancando de la madera de la entrada hacia los rincones. Ella la miró con asco. Negra de mierda, pensó. Y sin repulsión, sino llena del orgullo adquirido estos últimos años de cirugía, la aplastó con sus botas recién compradas. Limpió los restos del cadáver en la orilla del escalón y a la salida del portalón caminó cantando *arrurú mi guagua* en su idioma hacia la noche de bocas cerradas.

[2014]

## **VOLVERNOS OTROS [FRAGMENTO] Lina Meruane**

### **Paradojas de la empatía**

E m p a t í a, pienso ahora, otra vez separando letras en mi cabeza, deslizando el dedo por un artículo sociológico en busca de ideas que amplíen mi dilema sobre el pensamiento del otro y su pregón contemporáneo. Se trata de una palabra griega, *leo*, a saltos, que instala en el vocabulario la capacidad de sentir, de emocionarse, de participar de lo que siente alguien que no somos nosotros, que no soy yo. E m p a t i z a r es atravesar el muro o el espejo que representa otro y sufrir con él o ella desde su circunstancia. Es un movimiento que recurre a los afectos, contrario a la rigidez del fanatismo. Es identificarse en la desgracia, sobre todo, eso es. Hacer propio su dolor. Pero hay una contrariedad en este sentir, y es que se puede empatizar con la víctima de la misma manera en que se puede empatizar con el agresor. Implicarse en el sentimiento del palestino desalojado tanto como en el del joven soldado obligado a desalojarlo o del colono

que ocupa ilegalmente el hogar de ese palestino, e incluso con el de los hijos del colono que han nacido en esa casa y que sin duda se sienten no sólo dueños de ella sino que también parte de la misión que esa casa cumple. Empatía con el que defiende sus paredes con uñas, con dientes, con balas y sin piedad. La total empatía es entonces un nudo ciego que no se desata simplemente usando el mandamiento ético de imaginar a los otros en el lugar de la víctima. La posibilidad de la empatía como virtud literaria nunca podría (acaso no debería nunca) bastar para las decisiones políticas. Incluso podría volverse la empatía (señala un sesudo empatólogo) en una herramienta políticamente adversa. Con quién empatizar en una situación compleja podría invalidar toda acción (la clausura de los asentamientos ilegales) y dejar como única alternativa la deriva de la venganza (la resistencia palestina). Acaso haya que suspender entonces la fe en ese sentimiento y volver a las implicaciones éticas del desalojo. Acudir a una política incluso contra-empática, basada en el análisis de las obligaciones morales. Y no se trata de esgrimir un discurso contra la empatía y desterrarla por completo a favor de una calculada neutralidad o del fanatismo, asegura otro experto, porque la empatía es imprescindible para convertir la razón en acción: porque nos ponemos en el lugar del otro es que nos manifestamos y decidimos hacer algo para detener la

violencia o el abuso al que se le somete. Pero la acción política no sólo debe verificarse en el sentimiento de empatía que nos provoca la situación del otro, sino que fundarse en la justicia de la reivindicación.

### **Glosa del compromiso**

Y voy llegando, apurada, bombardeada por noticias de muerte, al final de esta glosa sin haberme ocupado del c o m p r o m i s o político de los escritores. Le he dado vueltas al engañoso encontrarse-a-medio-camino de la paz y a los paradójicos usos de la empatía, pero he esquivado la pregunta por el rol del escritor en conflictos que exceden las posibilidades de la letra. No tengo intención ni tiempo de volver a la ajada disquisición sobre la complicidad del escritor en la necesaria transformación del mundo. Al comentario no siempre acertado de que aquellos que llenaron sus obras de denuncia simplificaron su escritura hasta reducirla a meros lemas. A la idea de que quienes pusieron su arte al servicio de una causa abandonaron los alcances simbólicos y la complejidad estilística porque temían que la literatura no consiguiera ser más que una incisión acotada e imprecisa sobre la realidad. Es verdad que el trabajo político del lenguaje estético puede ser muy sutil o sinuoso o demasiado lento en reaccionar, que su

fuerza radica en la contundencia de las preguntas más que en las respuestas que propone. Que la literatura está destinada a interrumpir y a complejizar la lengua reductora de ciertas causas. Que importa desconfiar de los discursos que obligan a adhesiones ciegas, y explorar, en vez, las contradicciones del pensamiento y las pulsiones que se oponen a los órdenes del sentido común. Mirar la excepción, lo singular, ampliar la mirada y aguzar el sentimiento crítico sin pretender imponerlo. No me sirve, en el apremio de un genocidio, repetir que la literatura es una de las modulaciones de lo político, acaso la más libertaria, porque ejerce sus funciones por fuera de toda institución y contra ella. Que habita la zona tambaleante de las ideologías. Que no puede comprometerse más que consigo misma, eso escribo, escribo, se me van borrando las huellas de los dedos o las voy dejando junto con mi apellido en la superficie del teclado, y sé que estoy esquivando todavía una respuesta aunque estoy intentándola pero mueren mujeres y revientan niños y viejos y hombres en Gaza convencidos de que deben luchar por su libertad, es decir, por su vida. ¿Qué debería estar haciendo alguien que escribe con esas palabras que portan la consigna de una cierta destrucción?

## Contra la certeza

Bombardeados como estamos por la contingencia se puede perder el sentido de las palabras, uno puede verse tentado a trampear los significados, a manipular las metáforas, a desatender la rigurosa búsqueda de la verdad que subyace a las palabras. La única responsabilidad en la escritura del conflicto, me digo, es la de refutar la malversación del *l e n g u a j e*: esa es la palabra clave, me recuerda, en la esquina de una hoja marcada con un círculo de café, Mourid Barghouti. He subrayado las líneas finales de su testimonio, donde el poeta declama contra los «mayordomos de la guerra» que son, para él, muchos voceros del poder y periodistas, que «debemos restituirle a cada palabra su especificidad, volverla resistente a los procesos de vulgarización colectiva y establecer nuevas relaciones entre esas palabras para así crear una percepción nueva de la realidad». La literatura se separa de la vulgaridad común de los discursos hechos y de esa manera constituye, en sí misma, un acto de resistencia o de rebelión o de amotinamiento contra las formas dominantes pero reductoras, banalizadas e hiperbólicas de la expresión política. «Los escritores serios» (esta idea es de Susan Sontag), «los creadores de literatura,

no sólo deben expresarse de manera diferente a los mensajes hegemónicos de los medios, deben, además, oponerse a ellos». Hay que fracturar con el lenguaje la asfixiante dicotomía a que nos somete el discurso político, uno que intensifica dramáticamente las posiciones binarias (contra el enemigo, contra el traidor) cuanto más prolongado es el conflicto. El pobre idioma de la dicotomía acaba reemplazando toda complejidad y todo pensamiento crítico. Tal vez ese sea el único compromiso posible. El de volverse hacia la historia para poder retratar el presente. El de trabajar contra la generalización, contra la conversión a estereotipos y al desparramo de opiniones que aniquilan la verdad. Me amparo en la sentencia de Sontag donde ella asegura que la sabiduría de la literatura es contraria a la certeza. «Nada es mi última palabra sobre algo», escribe. Porque la certeza abarata y desbarata la tarea del escritor. Es necesario siempre patrocinar el acto de la reflexión, ir en busca de la complejidad y de los matices y contra los llamados a la simplificación. Siempre contra la supuesta universalidad de la experiencia personal que tiene un valor limitado, una verdad acotada, porque escribir es hacer ver que «mientras algo ocurre algo más está sucediendo». La exploración de ese algo más es la tarea, advierte ella o advertía, todavía viva durante la cruenta intifada que ahora, por Gaza, podría reiniciarse. Y no

es una tarea fácil. Ese algo más hay que descubrirlo en la exploración del lenguaje.

[2014]

**CAMPAÑA POR EL BOICOT,  
LAS DESINVERSIONES Y  
LAS SANCIONES CONTRA EL  
ESTADO DE ISRAEL**  
Sociedad Civil Palestina

*El 9 de Julio de 2005, la sociedad civil palestina lanzó este llamado unitario al inicio de una campaña por el asilamiento internacional de Israel, inspirada por la lucha contra el régimen de apartheid en Sudáfrica. Se unieron a este llamado más de 130 partidos políticos, sindicatos, asociaciones, coaliciones y organizaciones representantes de refugiados palestinos, palestinos bajo ocupación y palestinos ciudadanos de Israel. Desde entonces, la campaña civil internacional por el boicot, las desinversiones y las sanciones (BDS) contra Israel se ha expandido por el mundo y ha adquirido muchos adeptos. A continuación, el llamado.*

Un año después de que la histórica Opinión Asesora de la Corte Internacional de Justicia (CIJ, por sus siglas en inglés) encontró que el Muro de Israel construido sobre territorio palestino es ilegal, Israel continúa su construcción del Muro

**CALL FOR BOYCOTT,  
DISINVESTMENT AND  
SANCTIONS AGAINST ISRAEL**  
Palestinian Civil Society

*On July 9th 2005, Palestinian Civil Society made this unitary call to start a campaign of international isolation of Israel, inspired by the South African struggle against the apartheid regime. More than 130 Palestinian political parties, unions, associations, coalitions, and organizations representing Palestinian refugees, Palestinians under occupation, and Palestinian citizens of Israel supported the declaration. Since then, the international civil campaign for the Boycott, Disinvestment and Sanctions (BDS) against Israel has spread across the world and gained many supporters. Below is the call.*

One year after the historic Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice (ICJ), which found Israel's Wall built on occupied Palestinian territory to be illegal, Israel continues its construction of the colonial Wall with

colonial con un total desprecio por la decisión de la Corte. Después de 38 años de ocupación israelí de la Franja de Gaza y Cisjordania palestinas (incluyendo Jerusalén Oriental) y de los Altos del Golán sirios, Israel continúa expandiendo las colonias judías. Ha anexionado unilateralmente Jerusalén Oriental y los Altos del Golán ocupados, y ahora está anexionando de facto enormes partes de Cisjordania por medio del Muro. Israel está preparando también –a la sombra de su planeada reorganización de la Franja de Gaza– construir y expandir colonias en Cisjordania. 57 años después de la construcción del estado de Israel principalmente sobre tierra vaciada étnicamente de sus dueños palestinos, una mayoría de los palestinos están refugiados y muchos de ellos están sin un estado. Además, el consolidado sistema de discriminación racial israelí contra sus propios ciudadanos árabe-palestinos permanece intacto.

A la luz de las persistentes violaciones de Israel de la legislación internacional, y

Dado que desde 1948 cientos de resoluciones de la ONU han declarado ilegales las políticas coloniales y discriminatorias de Israel demandando medidas inmediatas, adecuadas y efectivas, y

total disregard to the Court's decision. 38 years into Israel's occupation of the Palestinian West Bank (including East Jerusalem), Gaza Strip and the Syrian Golan Heights, Israel continues to expand Jewish colonies. It has unilaterally annexed occupied East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights and is now de facto annexing large parts of the West Bank by means of the Wall. Israel is also preparing –in the shadow of its planned redeployment from the Gaza Strip– to build and expand colonies in the West Bank. 57 years after the state of Israel was built mainly on land ethnically cleansed of its Palestinian owners, a majority of Palestinians are refugees, most of whom are stateless. Moreover, Israel's entrenched system of racial discrimination against its own Arab-Palestinian citizens remains intact.

In light of Israel's persistent violations of international law; and:

Given that, since 1948, hundreds of UN resolutions have condemned Israel's colonial and discriminatory policies as illegal and called for immediate, adequate and effective remedies; and



Dado que todas las formas de intervención internacional y pacíficas hasta ahora han fallado en convencer y obligar a Israel para que cumpla con la legislación humanitaria, respete los derechos humanos fundamentales y termine su ocupación y opresión del pueblo palestino, y

En vista del hecho de que los pueblos conscientes de la comunidad internacional históricamente han cargado la responsabilidad moral de luchar contra la injusticia, como lo hicieron en la lucha para abolir el apartheid en Sudáfrica a través de diversas formas de boicots, desinversiones y sanciones;

Inspirados por la lucha de los sudafricanos contra el apartheid en el espíritu de la solidaridad internacional, la consistencia moral y la resistencia a la injusticia y la opresión,

Nosotros, representantes de la sociedad civil palestina, demandamos a las organizaciones de la sociedad civil internacional y a las personas conscientes de todo el mundo imponer amplios boicots e implementar desinversiones contra Israel, de manera similar a aquellas aplicadas contra Sudáfrica en la era del apartheid. Demandamos a ustedes que presionen a sus respectivos

Given that all forms of international intervention and peace-making have until now failed to convince or force Israel to comply with humanitarian law, to respect fundamental human rights and to end its occupation and oppression of the people of Palestine; and

In view of the fact that people of conscience in the international community have historically shouldered the moral responsibility to fight injustice, as exemplified in the struggle to abolish apartheid in South Africa through diverse forms of boycott, divestment, and sanctions; and

Inspired by the struggle of South Africans against apartheid and in the spirit of international solidarity, moral consistency, and resistance to injustice and oppression;

We, representatives of Palestinian civil society, call upon international civil society organizations and people of conscience all over the world to impose broad boycotts and implement divestment initiatives against Israel similar to those applied to South Africa in the apartheid era. We appeal to you to pressure your respective states to impose embargoes and sanctions against Israel. We also invite conscientious Israelis to

estados para que impongan embargos y sanciones contra Israel. Invitamos también a los israelíes conscientes a apoyar esta demanda, por el bien de la justicia y una paz verdadera.

Estas medidas punitivas no violentas deberán ser mantenidas hasta que Israel cumpla su obligación de reconocer el derecho inalienable del pueblo palestino a la autodeterminación y acate completamente los preceptos de la legislación internacional por medio de:

La finalización de su ocupación y colonización de todas las tierras árabes y el desmantelamiento del Muro;

El reconocimiento de los derechos fundamentales de los ciudadanos árabe-palestinos de Israel para una igualdad completa; y

El respeto, la protección y promoción de los derechos de los palestinos refugiados a retornar a sus casas y propiedades como lo estipuló la resolución 194.

[2005]

support this Call, for the sake of justice and genuine peace.

These non-violent punitive measures should be maintained until Israel meets its obligation to recognize the Palestinian people's inalienable right to self-determination and fully complies with the precepts of international law by:

Ending its occupation and colonization of all Arab lands and dismantling the Wall

Recognizing the fundamental rights of the Arab-Palestinian citizens of Israel to full equality; and

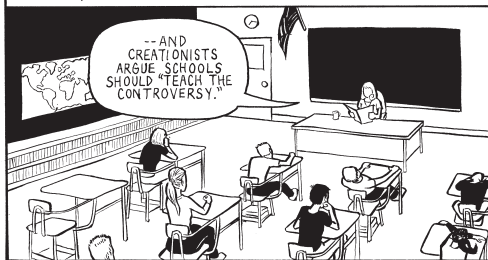
Respecting, protecting and promoting the rights of Palestinian refugees to return to their homes and properties as stipulated in UN resolution 194.

[2005]

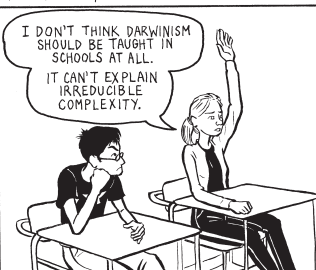
# US

BY  
PETER  
QUACH

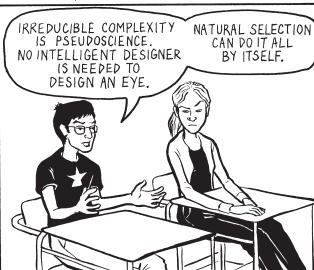
INDIANA, 2002.  
MY FIRST PERIOD HIGH SCHOOL CLASS WAS "CURRENT EVENTS,"  
A JOKE CLASS WHERE THE ONLY REQUIREMENTS WERE TO  
SHOW UP, READ THE NEWSPAPER, AND DISCUSS THE NEWS.



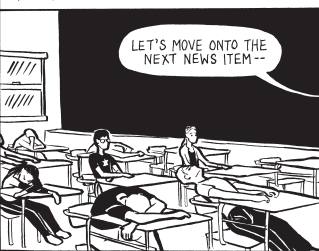
BUT THIS ONE GIRL AND I ARGUED ABOUT EVERYTHING--ABORTION, UNIVERSAL HEALTHCARE, YOU NAME IT.



MOST EVERY ISSUE BOILED DOWN TO THE FACT THAT SHE WAS A CONSERVATIVE CHRISTIAN, AND I WAS A LIBERAL ATHEIST.

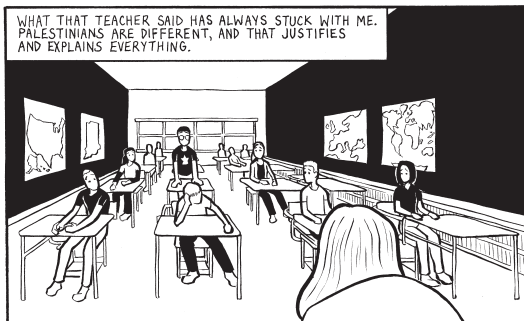
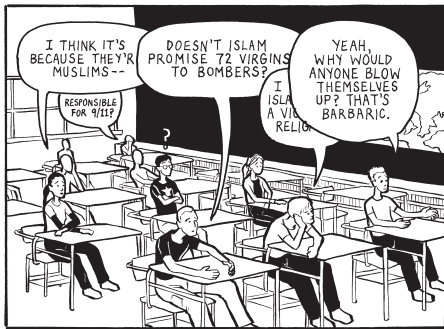


EVERYONE ELSE JUST SLEPT THROUGH CLASS (IT WAS 7:15 AM AFTER ALL) AND DIDN'T GIVE A CRAP ABOUT ANYTHING WE TWO ARGUED ABOUT.



--30 PEOPLE WERE KILLED IN A PALESTINIAN SUICIDE BOMBING IN ISRAEL YESTERDAY.





## ABOUT THE AUTHORS

### SOBRE LAS AUTORAS Y LOS AUTORES

HEIDI ABUCHAIBE es una abogada colombiana de origen palestino, especializada en derechos humanos, justicia transicional y medio ambiente. Su texto completo: [http://www.semana.com/opinion/articulo/antisemitismo-legitima-defensa-el-derecho-internacional-opinion-de-heidi-abuchaibe/400012-3#cxrecs\\_s](http://www.semana.com/opinion/articulo/antisemitismo-legitima-defensa-el-derecho-internacional-opinion-de-heidi-abuchaibe/400012-3#cxrecs_s)

NADIA ALAHMED comes from Jenin, Palestine. She is a poet and an academic, studying African American and Palestinian radical literature.

REFAAT ALAREER is a Palestinian academic in the English Department at the Islamic University-Gaza. He is the editor of *Gaza Writes Back: Short Stories from Young Writers in Gaza*. His full text: <http://electronicintifada.net/content/story-my-brother-martyr-mohammed-alareer/13653>

CAROLINA ALONSO BEJARANO is a Colombian feminist activist and academic living in Brooklyn, NY, USA. She took her photo in 2014.

ANNA BALTZER is an award-winning lecturer and activist for Palestinian rights. She is the author

of *Witness in Palestine: A Jewish American Woman in the Occupied Territories*. Her full text: <http://electronicintifada.net/content/indigenous-resistance-colombia-palestine/9031/>

JENNA BRAGER is a PhD student and artist based in Philadelphia, PA, USA. Her projects include *The Doykeit*, a compilation zine. She posts at <http://sassyfrasscircus.com/>

ANAID CABRERA-QUIARA es una artista, diseñadora, activista, voluntaria para limpieza de las playas, deportista de natación y surfista puertorriqueña.

NOAM CHOMSKY is a U. S.-born MIT Professor, renowned linguist and political dissident. He's written more than a hundred books. Among his latest is *Gaza in Crisis*. Find the complete transcript at [http://www.democracynow.org/2014/8/11/noam\\_chomsky\\_on\\_medias\\_shameful\\_moment](http://www.democracynow.org/2014/8/11/noam_chomsky_on_medias_shameful_moment)

NICOLE COSTA es una performer y artista chileno-española. Actualmente vive y trabaja en Nueva York, Estados Unidos.

THE CRITICAL FILINA AND FILIPINO STUDIES COLLECTIVE (CFFSC) is an activist-scholar group that seeks to interrogate and challenge histories of Western imperialisms, and ongoing neocolonial relations in the Philipines, including their migrations.

ANGELA Y. DAVIS is an African-American political activist, scholar, and author. She is an advocate for the abolition of the prison industrial complex in the U.S. and abroad. Find the full transcript at <http://electronicintifada.net/blogs/nora-barrows-friedman/angela-davis-support-bds-and-palestine-will-be-free>

MARCELO DINALI es un escritor y gestor cultural chileno. Dirige el Taller Literario Ciudad Abierta y forma parte de la revista *Empédocles*. Ha publicado el poemario *EP*.

EL EJÉRCITO ZAPATISTA DE LIBERACIÓN NACIONAL (EZLN) es un grupo militante revolucionario compuesto principalmente por indígenas y campesinos, fundado en Chiapas, México, en 1994. Vea el texto completo en <http://enlacezapatista.ezln.org.mx/2014/08/04/inauguracion-de-la-primer-a-comparticion-de-pueblos-origenarios-de-mexico-con-pueblos-zapatistas-palabras-del-comandante-tacho-a-nombre-del-comite-clandestino-revolucionario-indigena-comandancia-gene/>

BRIAN ENO is an English musician, composer, record producer, singer, and visual artist, known as one of the innovators of ambient music. His full text: <http://stopwar.org.uk/news/brian-eno-in-a-world-of-horrors-why-i-single-out-the-crimes-of-israel#.VAj5RKPIm8D>

FRANCISCA GARCÍA B. es una culturalista, médium y escritora esporádica chilena. Vive en Berlín, donde estudia un doctorado y colabora con proyectos editoriales, curatoriales y literarios.

SUHEIR HAMMAD is a Palestinian-American poet and activist. She was born to refugees in Jordan and immigrated to Brooklyn.

TYLER HICKS is a senior photographer for *The New York Times*. In 2014 he won the Pulitzer Prize for Breaking News Photography for his coverage of the massacre at the Westgate Mall in Nairobi, Kenya.

I.L. was born in Minsk and is a PhD student in New York.

CARLOS LABBÉ es un narrador, ensayista, tallerista, guionista y editor chileno. *Piezas secretas contra el mundo* es su más reciente novela.

ROCÍO LORCA FERRECCIO es una abogada chilena y candidata a doctora por NYU. Ha publicado artículos sobre la filosofía del castigo y su relación con la exclusión social.

JENAN MATARI is a first generation-born and raised American with Palestinian and Brazilian roots. A graduate of Rutgers University, she is now a New York City based publicist, traveler and writer.

LINA MERUANE es una narradora, ensayista y profesora chilena. Entre otros premios ha recibido el Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz de México. Sus más recientes publicaciones son *Volverse palestina/Volvernos otros* (2014) y el ensayo-diatriba *Contra los hijos* (2014).

MIRIAN MIJANGOS es una naturópata, activista, compositora y cantante que llegó a Estados Unidos desde Guatemala. Trabaja con la organización Casa Freehold por los derechos de los inmigrantes indocumentados en New Jersey, USA.

ZULMA OLIVERAS VEGA es una poeta, gestora cultural y activista puertorriqueña. Participó en la salida de la marina de Vieques y fue directora de MASA (Mujeres de Ambiente, Sociales y Activas) de San Juan.

PETER QUACH is a Vietnamese-American cartoonist and writer living in Brooklyn, NY, USA. *Temporary* is his most recent comic book.

La RED EN DEFENSA DE LA HUMANIDAD fue creada en el Encuentro Mundial de Intelectuales y Artistas en Defensa de la Humanidad, celebrado en Caracas el 6 de diciembre de 2004, que congregó a representantes de 52 países y de diversas culturas.

MÓNICA RÍOS es una narradora, profesora, ensayista, guionista, tallerista y editora. Nació en Santiago de Chile y vive en Brookly, NY, USA. Su más reciente novela es *Alias el Rocío*.

ARUNDHATI ROY is an Indian author and political activist involved in various human rights and environmental causes. Her novel *The God of Small Things* won the 1998 Man Booker Prize for Fiction. Find her entire speech at <http://ada.evergreen.edu/~arunc/texts/politics/comeSeptember.pdf>

PIERRE SAURÉ es un dramaturgo, pedagogo y director teatral chileno. Es parte de la Compañía de Teatro SUB. *Novela* es su más reciente libro de dramaturgia.

EDWARD SAID was a Palestinian-American literary theorist and postcolonial scholar, best known for his book *Orientalism*. Find the full text at <http://ziomania.com/edward-said/77.htm>

JOE SACCO is a Maltese-American cartoonist and journalist. He is best known for his comics journalism. The excerpt we included here is part of his book *Palestine* (1996).

ALICE WALKER is an African-American author and activist. She wrote the novel *The Color Purple*, for which she won the National Book Award and the Pulitzer Prize for Fiction. Find the full letter at <http://alicewalkersgarden.com/2014/04/my-letter-to-the-irs/>

CORNEL WEST is a renowned African-American philosopher, academic, activist, author, and public intellectual.

ENRIQUE WINTER es un poeta, editor y traductor chileno. Su más reciente poemario es *Primer movimiento*. También acaba de traducir *Blanco inmóvil*, antología de Charles Bernstein.

JASMIN A. YOUNG is a PhD candidate in History at Rutgers University, a MSc from the London School of Economics and Political Science in the Gender Institute, and a MA from Columbia University in African American Studies.

SHIRIN ZARQA-LEDERMAN is a Palestinian-American Licensed and Board Certified Professional Counselor in NJ, USA. She is also the author of the children's book series *The Trotters of Tweeville*.



# ÍNDICE / CONTENTS

<b>Nota editorial</b> <i>A Note from the Publishers</i> .....	6
<b>Prólogo: Lo que escuchamos</b> <i>Prologue: What We Hear</i> Mónica Ríos.....	10
<b>Why Single Out Israel? [excerpt]</b> Brian Eno.....	19
<b>No Name for Now</b> Nadia Alahmed.....	25
<b>Videogame</b> Nicole Costa.....	29
<b>Gargantas que gritan</b> <i>Screaming Throats</i> Zulma Oliveras-Vega.....	30
<b>Respuesta a Marcos Peckel, director de las comunidades judías en Colombia [extracto]</b> Heidi Abuchaibe.....	37

**Volverse palestina [fragmento]**

Lina Meruane.....43

**Through Lens,  
4 boys dead by Gaza shore**

Tyler Hicks.....51

**Talking to Butler,  
Who is Talking to Arendt**

I. L.....55

**Carta contra la masacre  
en Palestina, 31 de julio de 2014**

Diez chilenas de origen palestino.....63

**The Branches Shatter**

Jenna Brager.....65

**A Call to Action from Indigenous  
and Women of Color Feminists.....69**

**Indigenous Resistance,  
from Colombia to Palestine [excerpt]  
*Resistencia indígena  
de Colombia a Palestina [fragmento]***

Anna Baltzer.....78

**Inauguración de la primera  
compartición de pueblos originarios  
de México con pueblos zapatistas [fragmento]**

***Inauguration of the first  
exchange of indigenous peoples  
of Mexico with zapatista peoples [excerpt]***  
Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional.....90

**The Story of My Brother,  
Martyr Mohammed Alareed [excerpt]**

Refat Alareer.....101

**Stop U. S. Aid to Israel**

Carolina Alonso Bejarano.....106

**Gaza es libre y debe serlo**

Mirian Mijangos.....107

**Scenes from Palestine [excerpt]**

Edward Said.....109

**En defensa de Palestina  
*In Defense of Palestine***

Red en Defensa de la Humanidad.....116

**Palestine [excerpt]**

Joe Sacco.....124

**Statement of Gaza from  
The Critical Filipino and  
Filipina Studies Collective**.....125

**Carta de Anaid Cabrera-Quiara**.....129

**Love for Our Opressed  
Palestinian Brothers and Sisters**  
Cornel West.....135

**I Write to You As**  
Jenan Matari.....139

**«Not in Our Name»**  
Rocío Lorca Ferreccio.....147

**What I Will**  
Suheir Hammad.....151

**Cuatro notas ciudadanas  
escritas en un par de días**  
Marcelo Dinali.....153

**Come September [excerpt]**  
Arundhati Roy.....157

**Gaza Today: An Interview  
with Noam Chomsky [excerpt]**.....165

**Día 23. Respecto de “los  
mochileros” [cuaderno de viaje]**  
Francisca García.....173

**A uno de estos se le ocurrirá  
fundar la Nueva Belén en Arauco**  
Carlos Labbé.....179

**Palestine, G4S and the  
Prison Industrial Complex [excerpt]**  
Angela Y. Davis.....183

**Sankofa**  
Jasmin A. Young.....191

**My Letter to the IRS [excerpt]  
*Mi carta al IRS [extracto]***  
Alice Walker.....194

**One of Few**  
Shirin Zarqa.....209

**A distancia y a la pelota**  
Enrique Winter.....215

**Neón-diáspora**  
Pierre Sauré.....225

**Volvemos otros [fragmento]**  
Lina Meruane..... 220

**Call for Boycott, Disinvestment  
and Sanctions Against Israel**  
*Campaña por el boicot,  
las desinversiones y las  
sanciones contra el Estado de Israel.....*237

**US**  
Peter Quach.....245

**About the authors**  
**Sobre las autoras y los autores.....**249



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### **Legibilities**

1. *Art Cards / Fichas de arte*, Gordon Matta-Clark
2. *El libro de la letra A / The Book of the Letter A*, Ángel Lozada
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FORTHCOMING
4. *La han despedido de nuevo / She was fired again*,  
Claudia Hernández

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*Against the US Aid to the Massacre in Gaza /*  
*Contra la ayuda de los Estados Unidos a la masacre de Gaza,*  
various authors

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treinta y un narradores hispanoamericanos),*  
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- EN PREPARACIÓN
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14. *La parvó*, Carlos Labbé
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6. *Poste restante*, Cynthia Rimsky [fuera de circulación]
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9. *Bagual*, Felipe Becerra
- EN PREPARACIÓN
10. *Escenas inéditas de Alicia en el país de las maravillas*, Jorge Millas
11. *Pasión y muerte del cura Deusto*, Augusto d'Halmar
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13. *Libro de plumas*, Carlos Labbé

#### Instantáneas relaciones

1. *Manon y los conejos hacedores de papel*, Felipe Becerra
2. *Cabo frío*, Antonio Gil

#### Texto en acción

1. *El cielo, la tierra y la lluvia*, José Luis Torres Leiva
2. *Johnny Deep (Juanito Profundo) y la vagina de Laura Ingalls*, Alejandro Moreno Jashés
3. *Chile, logo y maquinaria*, Andrés Kalawski
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5. *Berlín no es tuyo*, Alejandro Moreno Jashés
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9. *Los clásicos*, Andrés Kalawski
- EN PREPARACIÓN
10. *Gastos de representación*, Alejandro Moreno Jashés
11. *Into Onto*, Annette Knol & Amelia Bande
12. *El trabajador de las verdades*, Alejandro Moreno Jashés

## **Ensayo**

1. *Las novelas de la oligarquía chilena*, Grínor Rojo
2. *El arte agotado*, Sergio Rojas
3. *Catástrofe y trascendencia en la narrativa de Diamela Eltit*, Sergio Rojas
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5. *Las novelas de aprendizaje chilenas*, Grínor Rojo

