

# The Nakba (Arabic: النكبة an-Nakba )

Jeff Kisling

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# The Nakba (Arabic: النكبة an-Nakba )

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*The tragedy in Palestine is not just a local one; it is a tragedy for the world, because it is an injustice that is a menace to the world's peace.*

**-Arnold Toynbee**

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**The Nakba is translated as “the catastrophe”.**

*The Nakba (Arabic: النكبة an-Nakba, lit. 'the catastrophe') was the ethnic cleansing of Palestinians in Mandatory Palestine during the 1948 Palestine war through their violent displacement and dispossession of land, property, and belongings, along with the destruction of their society, and the suppression of their culture, identity, political rights, and national aspirations. The term is also used to describe the ongoing persecution and displacement of Palestinians by Israel. As a whole, it covers the fracturing of Palestinian society and the long-running rejection of the right of return for Palestinian refugees and their descendants.[4][5] [Nakba Wikipedia](#)*

# Introduction

The history of the Middle East is complex but necessary to understand to make sense of the genocide that is occurring in Gaza now.

Palestinians and Israelis have very different views about the history and current crisis in Israel/Palestine. Palestinians are Indigenous to the land called Israel. Israelis see their return being promised in religious texts as the land that was to be inherited by Abraham's descendants.

## Empire

The two diametrically opposed views about Israel and Palestine trigger intense, sometimes violent reactions. When I began writing this, I hoped what I learned would help me understand the Israeli view of the Middle East conflicts. I did learn about that, but what I learned also confirmed my view of the Israeli government's devastation in Gaza as the escalation of the settler-colonization of Palestine. Ethnic cleansing, as Noam Chomsky explains below.

My ancestors came to this country in the late 1800s and settled on farms in Iowa. I didn't think about how they came to "own" the property. They were settler colonists. Some were involved in the colonial enterprise of assimilating Indigenous children into white society. Although, as white Quakers, we opposed war and worked for justice, most of us did not realize we were perpetuating the injustices of the dominant society. And continue to do so. We are settler-colonists, too. We benefit from capitalism, an inherently unjust economic system. And benefit from white supremacy and institutional racism.

The root cause of the multigenerational injustices in this country, and the multigenerational injustices of the government of Israel is **empire**.

*The conquest of the West was also a dress rehearsal for an overseas American empire. After dispossessing indigenous nations, the United States joined the European rush for empire. The American republic would no longer be merely a settler colonial society asserting its hemispheric dominance and its "manifest destiny" to overspread the continent, but an imperial power on the world stage. The roots of American imperialism can, of course, be traced far back to the early American republic, but the acquisition of large foreign colonies marked an accelerated phase in the history of US empire. The treatment of black southerners and Indians was, in this sense, a precursor for the colonization of native populations in the Pacific and the Caribbean.*

**Sinha, Manisha. *The Rise and Fall of the Second American Republic: Reconstruction, 1860-1920* (p. 309). Liveright. Kindle Edition.**

## Why I Wrote This

Most white people I talk with stop listening at this point, when the discussion turns to empire and colonialism. They don't want to question the systems they benefit from so significantly.

I need to state this clearly in hopes that you might not turn away. That you might move outside your comfort zone. That you might consider what life is like for those who are experiencing the "catastrophic" (Nakba) consequences of those systems continuing today.

Why should you listen to me? Over the past twenty years I've been led on a journey to witness what life is like for those who aren't 'white' in this country. Those lived experiences taught me perspectives of those who are not included in the dominant society. The daily injustices and violence against Black, Indigenous and other people of color (BIPOC).

When I say I was “led” on this journey, I mean I listened to the Spirit to guide me. As a Quaker I’ve had spiritual experiences that have shown me what to do, where to go, when I had no idea myself. I’m also led to share these experiences and what I’ve learned from them.

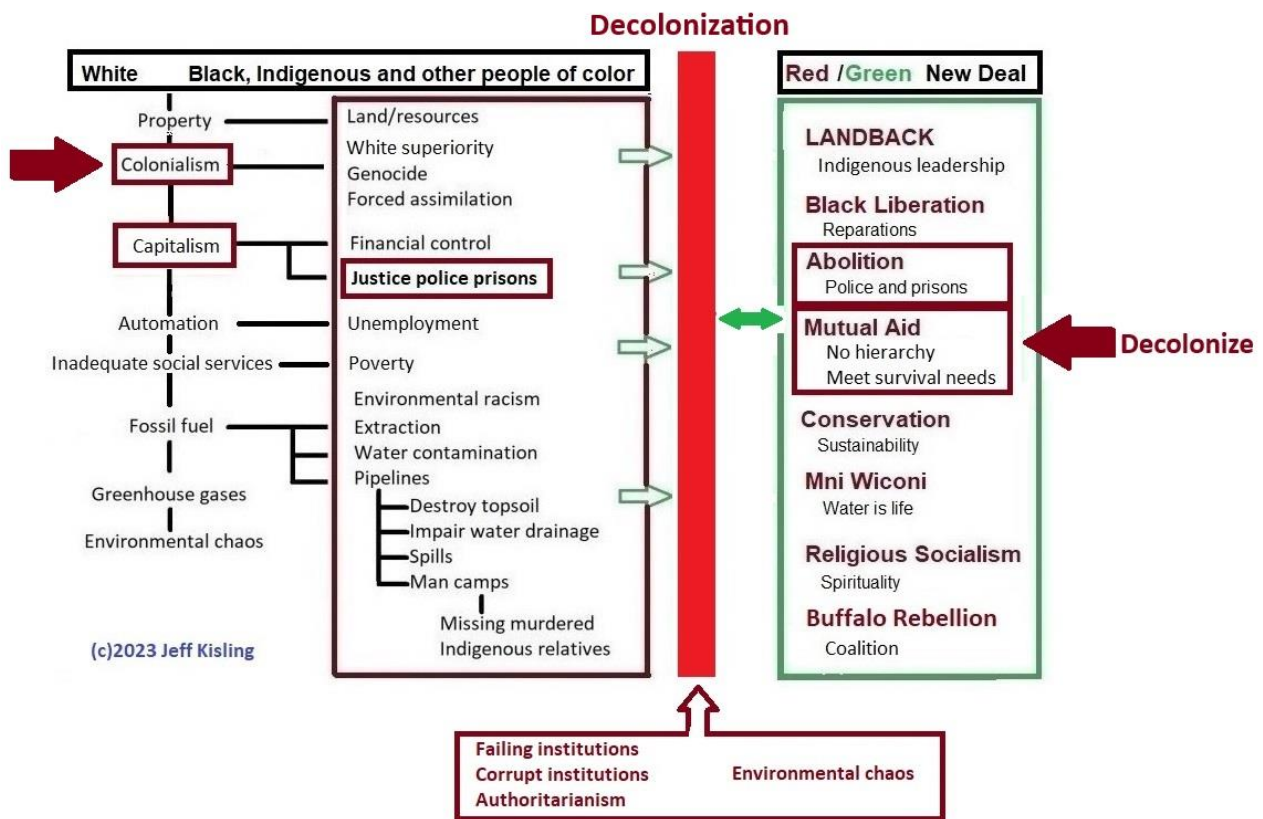
Here are some of the places and people I was led to.

At the Kheprw Institute, a Black youth mentoring community, I saw the terror parents felt the entire time their children were not at home. But I also saw the determination, resilience, and joy as that community found ways around the obstacles of the dominant society. And ways to embrace their own culture and each other.

At Des Moines Mutual Aid I learned how we can work together to meet survival needs and support each other in what is a paradigm shift away from colonial capitalism. And the joy of doing that work in such a diverse community.

And from my Indigenous friends I’ve experienced the ongoing injustices of the white dominant culture. The theft of native land, the horrors of forced assimilation of the Indian boarding schools, the ongoing racism and exclusion from decision making authority. The epidemic of deaths of missing and murdered Indigenous relatives.

This is the current version of a diagram I’ve been working on for several years, expanding as I learn more. White colonialism, and capitalism have resulted in the injustices listed under Black, Indigenous and other people of color. Mechanisms for decolonization are listed under Red/Green New Deal. Obstacles to decolonization include corrupt and failing institutions, authoritarianism, and environmental chaos.



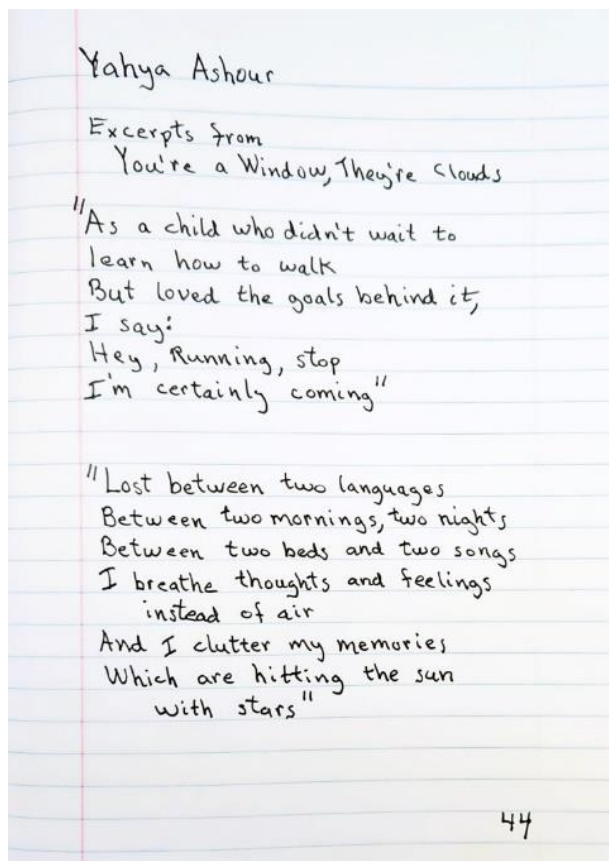
# Palestinian Solidarity

Since the beginning of this year, I've been led to find out as much as I can about the current devastation of Gaza. Because those experiences I just described sensitized me to the global aspects of colonialism and empire.

I share what I learn on the journeys on several of my blogs. This is a link to my [Linktree](#) that lists those links.

On the blog [unflinching](#), I've been writing about my experiences at the University of Wisconsin related to Palestinian solidarity.

Feb 9, 2024, I heard the (Palestinian) Yahya Ashour read some of his poems and speak of his experiences in Gaza during the bombings.



On several occasions I visited the Solidarity camp in front of the library on the University of Wisconsin, Madison campus.



In 2014, I was attending the annual meeting of Iowa Yearly Meeting (Conservative) Quakers, at another time of increased tensions in the Middle East. We participated in a demonstration in Iowa City in support of Gaza.



# Nakba

The Nakba has been receiving attention as we try to understand what happened when the British abruptly left the Middle East in 1948.

The Israeli influence in the US Congress and Biden administration is clear as the US continues to provide millions of dollars in weapons. It is a national disgrace that at the same time, the President talks about humanitarian efforts for Gaza.

It has been shocking to see universities calling in militarized police to disperse the peaceful protests of pro-Palestinians. Universities that are supposed to encourage the freedom to question authority are instead suppressing the rights to free speech and assembly. To the extent of punishing such expressions by not allowing protestors to graduate. Employers saying they won't hire pro-Palestinian supporters. All this continues to empower the dominant culture.

There is a pervasive sense of fear of speaking out, of supporting pro-Palestinians. Censorship is increasingly occurring. Authoritarianism is on the rise.

What follows is my interpretation of what I've been learning, from the perspective of the settler-colonization of Palestine. Based upon my experiences in those communities in this country that are not part of the dominant culture here.

# Al Nakba: The Palestinian Catastrophe 1948

Links to a four-part series video documentary from Al Jazeera, [“Al Nakba: The Palestinian Catastrophe 1948”](#), can be found at the end of this. The following description of the series provides historical context back to 1799.

*"The Nakba did not begin in 1948. Its origins lie over two centuries ago...."*

*So begins this four-part series on the 'nakba', meaning the 'catastrophe', about the history of the Palestinian exodus that led to the first Arab-Israeli war in 1948, and the establishment of the state of Israel.*

*This sweeping history starts back in 1799 with Napoleon's attempted advance into Palestine to check British expansion and his appeal to the Jews of the world to reclaim their land in league with France.*

*The narrative moves through the 19th century and into the 20th century with the British Mandate in Palestine and comes right up to date in the 21st century and the ongoing 'nakba' on the ground.*

*Arab, Israeli and Western intellectuals, historians and eye-witnesses provide the central narrative which is accompanied by archive material and documents, many only recently released for the first time.*

***For Palestinians, 1948 marks the 'nakba' or the 'catastrophe', when hundreds of thousands were forced out of their homes.***

***But for Israelis, the same year marks the creation of their own state.***

*This series attempts to present an understanding of the events of the past that are still shaping the present.*

*This story starts in 1799, outside the walls of Acre in Ottoman-controlled Palestine, when an army under Napoleon Bonaparte besieged the city. It was all part of a campaign to defeat the Ottomans and establish a French presence in the region.*

*In search of allies, Napoleon issued a letter offering Palestine as a homeland to the Jews under French protection. He called on the Jews to 'rise up' against what he called their oppressors.*

*Napoleon's appeal was widely publicised. But he was ultimately defeated. In Acre today, the only memory of him is a statue atop a hill overlooking the city.*

*Yet Napoleon's project for a Jewish homeland in the region under a colonial protectorate did not die, 40 years later, the plan was revived but by the British.*

# Settler-Colonialism

## Is Israel a settler-colonial state?

The Arabian people living on the land of Israel are indigenous. Nearly half of Palestine's predominantly Arab population, an estimated 750,000 Arabian people were forced to leave their land and homes during the Nakba in 1948.

*Colonialism is a system in which one people dominates another and uses the subjugated group's resources for its own benefit (the British Raj in India is a classic example). Colonial projects take many forms, but Israel is accused of being the result of a specific variety: settler colonialism.*

*According to the Cornell Law School Legal Information Institute, settler colonialism has "an additional criterion that is the complete destruction and replacement of indigenous people and their cultures by the settler's own in order to establish themselves as the rightful inhabitants."*

*Settler colonialism does not have a definition under international humanitarian law (unlike many other terms used during this latest war), although Article 49 of the Geneva Convention prohibits certain actions often associated with that term; it is instead a concept that historians use to describe the system of replacing an existing population with a new one through land theft and exploitation, which is enabled by occupation, apartheid, forced assimilation, or genocide.*

*Historians often apply the term to the projects that founded the United States, Canada, South Africa, and others.*

*Within that cohort, there are scholars who apply the term to Israel's founding, too. The argument begins with the 30-year period during which the British Empire controlled historic Palestine and facilitated the mass migration of Jews, particularly those persecuted in Europe before the Holocaust and in the wake of it. That migration, they argue, displaced the existing Arab population and launched a conflict that continues to this day.*

*But critics of the argument view accusing Israel of settler colonialism as a distortion of the term, in large part because of Judaism's deep historical ties to present-day Israel. Many Jewish people who migrated from around the world and became citizens of Israel use the word "return" to describe making their home there.*

*The debate has echoed from college campuses to the halls of Congress. In the United States, "colonialism" is, at times, viewed as a popular buzzword used to vilify the Jewish state and a means of casting Jewish refugees as agents of empire. Among pro-Palestinian activists and in many formerly colonized communities, the term is a historical prism linking much of the Global South and through which the Palestinian struggle can be understood.*

**[Is Israel a "settler-colonial" state? The debate, explained. The historical discussion at the heart of Israeli-Palestinian conflict by Haleema Shah, VOX, 4/17/2024](#)**

## Suppression of native sovereignty

*Of the 1.4 million-strong Palestinian population at the time (Nakba), 800,000 were displaced; the massacres of families and towns left enduring scars on the survivors. "The Nakba has two dimensions," Takriti says. "The humanitarian catastrophe entails loss of land, loss of property and expulsion of the people. The other dimension was the political catastrophe, which entailed **suppression of native sovereignty. Those two aspects of reality continue to this very day**"*

**[The Solemn History Behind Nakba Day](#) by Juwayriah Wright, TIME, updated May, 16, 2024**

## The Significance of Settler Colonialism

*The 1967 war demonstrated that Israel was a powerful force that could be used against any threats to American interests in the region. But there is a crucial dimension to this that often goes unremarked: Israel's special place in supporting American power is directly connected to its internal character as a settler colony, founded on the ongoing dispossession of the Palestinian population. Settler colonies must continually work to fortify structures of racial oppression, class exploitation, and dispossession. As a result, they are typically highly militarized and violent societies, which tend to be reliant upon external support, which allows them to maintain their material privileges in a hostile regional environment.*

*In such societies, a substantial proportion of the population benefits from the oppression of Indigenous peoples and understands their privileges in racialized and militaristic terms. For this reason, settler colonies are much more dependable partners of Western imperial interests than “normal” client states.[1] This is why British colonialism supported Zionism as a political movement in the early twentieth century — and why the U.S. embraced Israel in the post-1967 moment.*

...

*Nonetheless, despite the ongoing discussions around post-war scenarios, the last 76 years have repeatedly demonstrated that attempts to permanently erase Palestinian steadfastness and resistance will fail. Palestine now sits at the forefront of a global political awakening that exceeds anything seen since the 1960s.*

*Amidst this heightened awareness of the Palestinian condition, our analysis must go beyond immediate opposition to Israel's brutality in the Gaza Strip. The struggle for Palestinian liberation sits at the center of any effective challenge to imperial interests in the Middle East, and our movements need a better grounding in these wider regional dynamics — especially the pivotal role of the Gulf monarchies. We also need a deeper understanding of how the Middle East fits within the history of fossil capitalism and contemporary struggles for climate justice. The question of Palestine cannot be separated from these realities. In this sense, the extraordinary battle for survival waged by Palestinians today in the Gaza Strip represents the leading edge of the fight for the future of the planet.*

**[WHY THE FIGHT FOR PALESTINE IS THE FIGHT AGAINST US IMPERIALISM IN THE REGION](#) By Adam Hanieh, Mondoweiss, June 15, 2024**

## Israeli Settler Colonialism and Apartheid

Israel was formed in 1948 through the brutal displacement of nearly 800,000 Palestinians and the destruction of more than 530 towns and villages. This pre-meditated ethnic cleansing is known as al-Nakba, the catastrophe. Since then, Israel has implemented a regime of settler colonialism, apartheid and occupation. over the Palestinian people.

During and since its foundation in 1948, Israel has set out to control as much of the land of historic Palestine as possible and drive as many of the indigenous Palestinian population from the land as it can. Israel's oppression of Palestinians involves settler colonialism: Zionism seeks to establish a distinct new society, take over control of land and resources and forcibly remove Palestinians.

The majority of Palestinians are the 7.25m refugees who have been forced from their homes to make way for Jewish Israelis and are denied their right to return to their homes. The demand that Palestinian refugees be allowed their right to return to their homes is a key demand of the Palestinian struggle for freedom, justice and equality.

### Maximum land with minimum Palestinians

Land under full Zionist/Israeli control vs. land open to Palestinian development



**BDS** VISUALIZING PALESTINE

SOURCES [bit.ly/vp-land](https://bit.ly/vp-land) • JULY 2016



[Israeli Settler Colonialism and Apartheid by BDS Movement.](#)

## Parallels with the settler-colonialism of the United States

Middle East history parallels the settler-colonialism of this country. The difference being during the British Mandate, Jewish migration to Israel was encouraged and funded by Zionists with the help of the British government. Then with the abrupt departure of British troops, who left their weapons, including tanks, for the Israelis, 750,000 Palestinians, nearly half the population, were forced from their homes and land practically overnight.

The history of this country goes beyond land theft, also including the development of the international mechanisms of enslavement for cheap labor. And the horrors of the forced assimilation of native children and obliteration of Indigenous culture.

This country has suffered the consequences ever since. Black, Indigenous, and other people of color, and the LGBTQ community continue to be oppressed and killed by the white colonists. Continue to be subjected to all kinds of economic, social and political injustice, police violence and mass incarceration.

Colonialism has not gone away in this country. And will not until we confront these injustices.

In this country we are struggling with what LANDBACK, return of Indigenous stewardship of land, means. In Israel/Palestine, the questions are about the Palestinian Right of Return.

This intensifies how some of us are affected by what we continue to see in Gaza.

*“The way out... was to erase in the collective memory the unpleasant chapters of the past and leave intact the gratifying ones.” (Chomsky)*

# LANDBACK

*Plans to destroy Palestine were well under way 75 years ago with schemes to legalize land theft.*

*The LandBack movement began in 2018 with efforts in the US and Canada for Native Americans to regain their ancestral lands. The idea quickly spread to Mexico, Australia, New Zealand and even Fiji.*

*LandBack could easily encompass the 104 million Adivasi of India, Native cultures throughout Latin America, and peoples across Africa who have been driven off their land for huge corporate farms, fossil fuel extraction, and desecration of land for “green” energy minerals.*

***Today, there is no place more justified for LandBack than Palestine, where Israeli “settlers” (with military backing) have pushed them off their land and slaughtered them for generations.***

*According to LandBack “Our struggle is interconnected with the struggles of all oppressed Peoples. It is a future where Black reparations and Indigenous LANDBACK coexist. We are the land.”*

*Going far beyond economics, LandBack sees land as tied to culture – regaining land is central to efforts by the colonized to assert their existence. It advocates decolonization, dismantling white supremacy, and reclaiming stewardship to save their land,*

*Palestinian efforts to regain their land can become a spark to mobilize LandBack across the globe.*

*In 2024, the Green Party will field candidates advocating that “**Palestinian Lives Matter.**”*

**[What does the Green Party of St. Louis think about the war against Palestine? And why do we call for LandBack?](#)**

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## LANDBACK Friends

My website [LANDBACK Friends](#) has more information about LANDBACK in this country.

[This is my letter published in Western Friend](#), Feb 2, 2024, supporting returning land the (Quaker) John Woolman school sat on to the Nisenan tribe.

## From a Friend in Iowa:

Dear Friends,

I read with interest the recent “Letter of Dismay” objecting to the return of land to the Nisenan tribe. That was a detailed summary of how some Friends might view the return of the land. But I’m writing in support of the land return. I believe we are living on stolen land. It’s undeniable that this entire country was populated by Indigenous peoples when the colonists arrived. Indigenous peoples didn’t have the concept of land ownership. The European colonialists did and used that concept to take over more and more land. Killing many Native Americans in the process. Breaking their spirits by forcibly taking their children to institutions of forced assimilation. Bringing diseases that decimated Native populations. All of the treaties detailing Indigenous rights were eventually broken. That didn’t entail just the loss of the land, but the loss of language, ceremony, medicines, and kinship as well. I believe it is only just for Friends to support Native peoples’ efforts to reestablish stewardship of the land and support them in their efforts to recover their culture.

*from Jeff Kisling, Bear Creek Meeting, Iowa Yearly Meeting  
(Conservative) (2/1/2024)*

# State of denial: The Nakba in Israeli history and today

**State of denial** is the title of Chapter 4 in the book **Gaza in Crisis: Reflections on the U.S.-Israeli War on the Palestinians** by Chomsky, Noam; Pappé, Ilan. Haymarket Books.

*For Israelis, 1948 is a year in which two things happened that contradict each other. On one hand, Zionism, the Jewish national movement, claimed it fulfilled an ancient dream of returning to a homeland after two thousand years of exile. From this perspective, 1948 was “a miraculous event” in the collective Israeli Jewish memory. It constitutes a chapter in history that not only proclaims triumph and the realization of dreams but also carries associations with moral purity and absolute justice. This is why anything that happened in that year is wedded to the most basic values of present Israeli society.*

*On the other hand, 1948 also marked the worst chapter in Jewish history. In that year, Jews did in Palestine what Jews had not done anywhere else in the previous two thousand years. Even if one puts aside the historical debate about why what happened in 1948 in fact transpired, no one seems to question the enormity of the tragedy that befell the indigenous population of Palestine as a result of the emergence and success of the Zionist movement. **Jews expelled, massacred, destroyed, and raped in that year, and generally behaved like all the other colonialist movements operating in the Middle East and Africa since the beginning of the nineteenth century.***

*In normal circumstances, as Edward Said recommended in his seminal Culture and Imperialism, painful dialogue with the past should enable a given society to digest both the most evil and the most glorious moments of its nation’s history. **But this could not work in a case where a moral self-image is considered to be the principal asset in the battle for public opinion, and thus the best means of surviving in a hostile environment. The way out for the Jewish society in the newly founded state was to erase in the collective memory the unpleasant chapters of the past, and leave intact the gratifying ones. It was a conscious mechanism put in place and motion in order to solve the impossible tension arising from the two contradictory messages of the past.***

*Nevertheless, the Israeli authorities continue to succeed in eliminating these deeds totally from the society’s collective memory, while struggling vigorously against anyone trying to shed light on the repulsive chapters of the 1948 history, whether inside or outside Israel. When one examines Israeli textbooks, curricula, media, and political discourse one notices that this chapter in Jewish history—the chapter of expulsion, colonization, massacres, rape, and the burning of villages—is totally absent. In its stead one finds chapters of heroism, glorious campaigns, and amazing tales of moral courage and military competence, unheard of in any other history of a people’s liberation in the twentieth century.*

**Chomsky, Noam; Pappé, Ilan. Gaza in Crisis: Reflections on the U.S.-Israeli War on the Palestinians (p. 66). Haymarket Books. Kindle Edition.**

# Ethnic cleansing

*The 1948 war's diplomatic maneuvers and military campaigns are well engraved in Israeli Jewish historiography. What is missing is the chapter on the ethnic cleansing carried out by the Jews in 1948. As a result of that campaign, five hundred Palestinian villages and eleven urban neighborhoods were destroyed, seven hundred thousand Palestinians were expelled, and several thousand were massacred. Even today, it is hard to find a succinct summary of the planning, execution, and repercussions of these tragic results.*

*The ethnic cleansing operation, beginning in December 1947, continued well into the 1950s. Villages were surrounded on three flanks, and the fourth one was left open for flight and evacuation. In some cases the tactic did not work, and many villagers remained in their houses—it was then that the massacres took place. This was the principal strategy of the Judaization of Palestine. Ethnic cleansing took place in three stages. The first one was from December 1947 until the end of the summer of 1948, when the coastal and inner plains were destroyed and their population evicted by force. The second one took place in the autumn and winter of 1948–49 and included the Galilee and the Naqab (Negev). By the winter of 1949, the guns in the land of Palestine were silent. The second phase of the war had ended, and with it the second stage of the cleansing had terminated. Nevertheless, the expulsion continued long after the noise of war had subsided. The third phase of the ethnic cleansing would extend beyond the war, until 1954 in fact, when dozens of additional villages were destroyed and their inhabitants expelled. Of the approximately nine hundred thousand Palestinians living in the territories designated by the UN as a Jewish state, only one hundred thousand remained on or near their lands and homes. Those who remained became the Palestinian minority in Israel. The rest were expelled, or fled under the threat of expulsion, and a few thousand died in massacres.*

**Chomsky, Noam; Pappé, Ilan. *Gaza in Crisis: Reflections on the U.S.-Israeli War on the Palestinians* (pp. 67-68). Haymarket Books. Kindle Edition.**

*Portraying a conflict as a “war” entails also the presumption of parity in questions of moral responsibility for the unfolding events on the ground, including in our case the **massive expulsion of an indigenous population**. In such a fashion, the paradigm of balancing between the two sides was deemed to be “academic” and “objective,” while any Palestinian narrative claiming that there were in 1948 not two equally equipped armies, but rather an expeller and an expelled, an offender and its victims, was dismissed as sheer propaganda. I suggest, however, that the events that unfolded after May 1948 in Israel and Palestine should be reviewed from within the **paradigm of ethnic cleansing**, rather than as part of military history. Historiographically, this would mean then that the deeds perpetrated were part of the domestic policies implemented by a regime vis-à-vis civilians—in many cases, given the fact that the ethnic cleansing took place within the designated UN Jewish state, these were operations conducted by a regime against its own citizens. A Palestinian resident of the village of Tantura has described this new reality better than any historian. His village, situated thirty kilometers south of Haifa, on the coast, became, on May 15, 1948, part of the Jewish state, by virtue of UN partition resolution 181 (November 29, 1947). On May 23 this person, like many others, found himself in a prison camp in Um Khaled (thirty kilometers to the south of his village), and after being there for a year and a half, was expelled to the West Bank. “A few days after my new state occupied my village, I became a prisoner of war rather than a citizen.” He was a young boy—not an “enemy soldier”—at the time. He was, however, luckier than others of his age who were massacred in his village. Indeed his village Tantura was not a battlefield between two armies, but rather a civilian space invaded by military troops. Ethnic ideology, settlement policy, and demographic strategy were the decisive factors here, not military plans. Massacres, whether premeditated or not, were an integral, not exceptional, part of the ethnic cleansing, even though history has taught us that, in most cases, expulsion was preferred to killing.*

**Chomsky, Noam; Pappé, Ilan. *Gaza in Crisis: Reflections on the U.S.-Israeli War on the Palestinians* (pp. 72-73). Haymarket Books. Kindle Edition.**

# Worse than War

I was raised as a Quaker, a pacifist, who resisted the draft during the Vietnam War. I didn't think there could be anything worse than war.

What the Israeli government has been doing in Gaza is not a war. It is continued ethnic cleansing as Chomsky details above.

The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) maintains a list of companies that support Israeli human rights violations, war crimes, and crimes against humanity, so people know which companies to divest from.

<https://afsc.org/divest>

Who in Gaza is fighting against Israel? There are indications of the presence of Hamas fighters. There don't seem to be large numbers of them. And yet, there is relentless bombing of Gaza. The relentless deaths and terror of civilian children, women and men. The intentional pulverization of infrastructure.

**What is different, what is abhorrent, is the Israeli justification of the deaths of any number of civilians who happen to be in the area when Hamas fighters are targeted.**

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# Principle of Proportionality

*Eyewitnesses said they were shocked at the scale and intensity of the Israeli assault, even after eight months of punishing war, and the carnage overwhelmed Gaza's broken hospital system.*

*The Israeli captives were held by Hamas under armed guard in the densely populated refugee camp, apparently in family homes, consistent with testimonies from former hostages released during a short-lived cease-fire in November. In this instance, and throughout the war, Israel has said militants are responsible for the deaths of innocents, a consequence of hiding prisoners and military infrastructure in civilian areas.*

*"Every civilian life lost in this war is a result of how Hamas has operated," Israel Defense Forces spokesman Peter Lerner told ABC on Sunday.*

*But Hamas's tactics do not excuse Israel from legal culpability, according to experts in international law, which requires militaries to take all possible precautions to prevent civilian harm. **The principle of proportionality prohibits armies from inflicting civilian casualties that are excessive in relation to the direct military advantage anticipated at the time of the strike.***

***"The fact that your adversary is breaking international humanitarian law does not change your obligations," said Adil Haque, a law professor at Rutgers Law School. "The foreseeable harm to civilians was disproportionate to the legitimate aim of rescuing the four hostages."***

*The full extent of the destruction in Nuseirat is still emerging, as Palestinian eyewitnesses share more details about the chaos of that day.*

*Omar Mutwawa, 22, was at home on Saturday when he heard the first strikes, his brother, Nasrallah, 30, told The Post by phone Monday. Omar, a mechanic, rushed out to help the injured, Nasrallah said.*

*"We did not know that the security situation was so dangerous," Nasrallah said.*

*Tanks, jets and drones raged outside, part of what a former Israeli commander described as a "wall of fire" — meant to provide cover to the military unit trying to ferry three male hostages to safety.*

*"Aircraft struck dozens of military targets for the success of the operation," the IDF said in a statement.*

*About an hour later, during a relative lull, Nasrallah said he went to look for his brother and found his flip-flops first. Omar had been blown to pieces, he said, about 300 yards from his home.*

*Abdel Hamid Ghorab, a 33-year-old paramedic, was working his Saturday shift at al-Awda, a maternity clinic that staff have converted to a makeshift hospital, home to both patients and displaced families.*

*He described "random and continuous bombing in the vicinity of the hospital with unprecedented intensity."*

*In furtive busts, he said, people hurried out to retrieve the injured.*

*Ghorab said he helped move more than 100 seriously wounded patients — including children with missing and damaged limbs — to the larger al-Aqsa Martyrs Hospital, where amputations could take place.*

*"All they cared about was carrying out the operation, even if it was at the expense of all these lives," he said.*

*IDF officials said they only resorted to immense firepower when one of the rescue teams came under fire from Hamas, and after an Israeli officer had been injured in a gun battle with militants. He later died of his wounds.*

[\*\*Death toll from Israeli hostage rescue adds to legal scrutiny of Gaza war\*\*](#) by Miriam Berger, Hajar Harb, Loveday Morris, The Washington Post, 6/10/2024

# 274 Palestinian Deaths, 64 Children, During Rescue of 4 Hostages

Just two days ago, yet another horrific attack occurred, with reports of 270 Palestinian deaths during Israeli rescue of four hostages.

*EU foreign minister Josep Borrell has slammed the 'massacre' of Palestinian civilians following an Israeli hostage rescue operation on Saturday that freed Noa Argamani and left dozens of Gazans dead.*

*In a post on X, formerly Twitter, Borrell called Israel's operation 'appalling' following reports of 270 Palestinian deaths, according to Gaza's health ministry, which if confirmed, would make it one of the deadliest days of the ongoing conflict so far.*

*'Reports from Gaza of another massacre of civilians are appalling. We condemn this in the strongest terms', he commented, adding that 'this bloodbath must end immediately'.*

*Reports from Gaza of another massacre of civilians are appalling. We condemn this in the strongest terms. The bloodbath must end immediately. @POTUS 3-stage plan is the way forward for an enduring ceasefire and to end the killing.*

[\*\*EU's top diplomat Josep Borrell slams 'another massacre of civilians' in Gaza\*\*](#) amid Israeli rescue operation that freed Noa Argamani and three other hostages and saw dozens of Palestinians killed by Sabrina Penty, Daily Mail, June 10, 2024

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*Taking to X, formerly Twitter, (Mark) Ruffalo described the rescue of the hostages as a "release," while saying that a ceasefire would likely have achieved an even better result with fewer Palestinian casualties.*

*"It's so good to see the hostages returned," the screen star wrote. **"A ceasefire would have gotten many more hostages back and no civilians and children killed. This siege is cruel and senseless. Grinding innocent human beings and their culture into blood soaked rubble and dust, to be buried and forgotten. 4 for 274 including kids. It's a sinful equation that keeps repeating."***

*As of press time, the post has garnered more than 3.5 million views. Newsweek has contacted a representative of Ruffalo via email for comment.*

*The Gaza Health Ministry says that at least 274 Palestinians, including 64 children, were killed during the Israeli operation to rescue the hostages.*

[\*\*Mark Ruffalo's Israel-Hamas War Remark Takes Internet by Storm\*\*](#) by Ryan Smith, Newsweek, 6/11/2024

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*We are profoundly shocked at the impact on civilians of the Israeli forces' operation in An Nuseirat at the weekend to secure the release of four hostages. Hundreds of Palestinians, many of them civilians, were reportedly killed and injured. The manner in which the raid was conducted in such a densely populated area seriously calls into question whether the principles of distinction, proportionality and precaution - as set out under the laws of war - were respected by the Israeli forces.*

*Our Office is also deeply distressed that Palestinian armed groups continue to hold many hostages, most of them civilians, which is prohibited by international humanitarian law. Furthermore, by holding hostages in such densely populated areas, the armed groups doing so are putting the lives of Palestinian civilians, as well as the hostages themselves, at added risk from the hostilities.*

*All these actions, by both parties, may amount to war crimes.*

[\*\*Shock at impact on civilians of Israeli raid in Gaza to free hostages\*\*](#). By Spokesperson for the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Jeremy Laurence, June 11, 2024

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# History

## The Zionist Movement

Theodor Herzl was the founder of the modern Zionist movement. In his 1896 pamphlet [Der Judenstaat](#), he envisioned the founding of a future [independent Jewish state](#). The goal of the movement was to establish a Jewish homeland in Palestine.

The Ottoman Empire conquered Palestine in 1516 and ruled the country until 1917, at the end of World War I. This map shows the Territories of the Ottoman Empire in 1683.

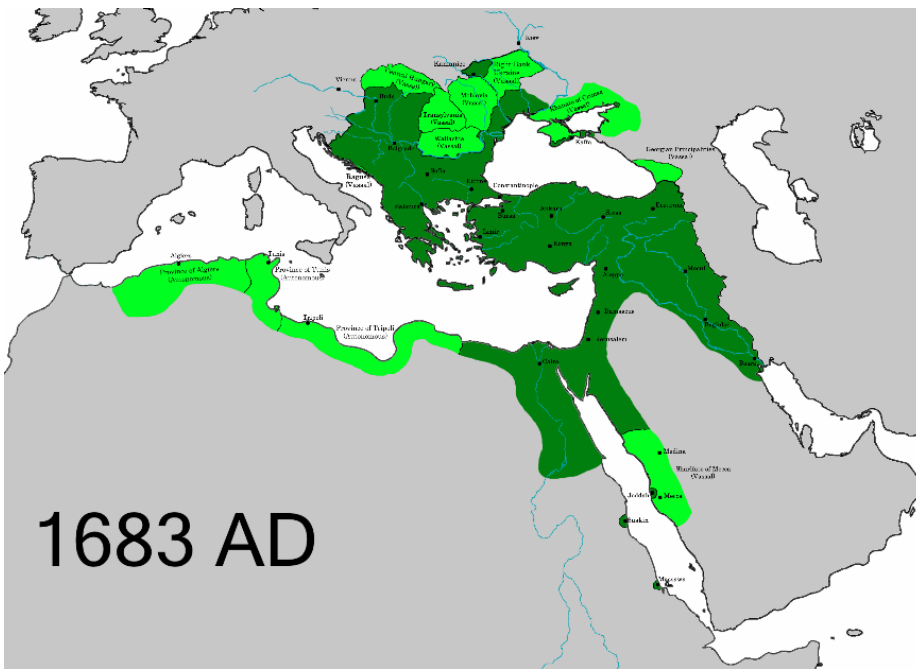


Figure 1 Territories of the Ottoman Empire in 1683 In Wikipedia. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Palestine](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Palestine)

## Zionism

The following explanation in Wikipedia delineates important concepts in the differing views of **Zionism**.

*Zionism has never been a uniform movement. Its leaders, parties, and ideologies frequently diverged from one another. Compromises and concessions were made in order to achieve a shared cultural and political objective as a result of the growing antisemitism and yearning to return to the historical homeland. A variety of types of Zionism have emerged, including political, liberal, labor, Revisionist, cultural and religious Zionism. Advocates of Zionism view it as a national liberation movement for the repatriation of an indigenous people (which were subject to persecution and share a national identity through national consciousness), to the homeland of their ancestors as noted in ancient history. Similarly, anti-Zionism has many aspects, which include criticism of Zionism as a colonialist, racist, or exceptionalist ideology or through settler colonialist movement. Proponents of Zionism do not necessarily reject the characterization of Zionism as settler-colonial or exceptionalist.*

**Wikipedia.** <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zionism>

## Jewish people fleeing antisemitism and Nazi persecution

*Zionists wanted to reestablish a Jewish homeland in Palestine. Massive numbers of Jews immigrated to the ancient holy land and built settlements. Between 1882 and 1903, about 35,000 Jews relocated to Palestine. Another 40,000 settled in the area between 1904 and 1914.*

*Many Jews living in Europe and elsewhere, fearing persecution during the Nazi reign, found refuge in Palestine and embraced Zionism. After the Holocaust and World War II ended, members of the Zionist movement primarily focused on creating an independent Jewish state.*

**[Israel by History.com Editors](#), updated Oct 10, 2023**

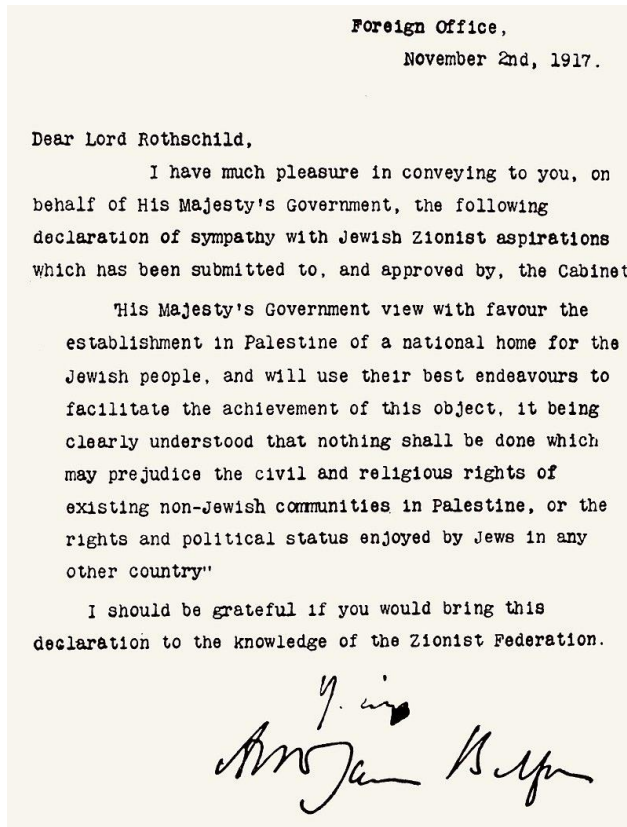
## Jewish texts about the land of Israel

*Though it is never called by that name, the land where the modern state of Israel now sits is mentioned repeatedly throughout the Torah and later Jewish sacred texts. Indeed, it's fair to say that the entire narrative arc of the Torah is built around it, from God's promise early in Genesis that the land will be inherited by Abraham's descendants, to the death of Moses in the closing chapters of Deuteronomy on the edge of the land he will never personally enter.*

**[What Does the Torah Say About the Land of Israel?](#) By My Jewish Learning**

## The Balfour Declaration

At the end of World War I, and the defeat of the Ottoman Empire, on November 2, 1917, Foreign Secretary Arthur James Balfour wrote this letter to Baron Lionel Walter Rothschild, expressing the British government's support for a Jewish homeland in Palestine.



**Figure 2** By United Kingdom Government signed by Arthur Balfour - British Library. Originally published 9 November 1917, Public Domain, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=3940876>

The letter (Balfour) was a powerful endorsement of the establishment of a Jewish home where the biblical kingdoms of David and Solomon once were. Priya Satia, a historian of the British Empire and professor at Stanford University, said it also marked **another British foray into colonial enterprise**.

“You’ve got to remember, this is against the backdrop of ongoing British settler movement into Rhodesia, into Kenya, into South Africa,” she said. “That is what the architects thought they were doing when they started this process.”

Historians argue that the British Empire backed the Zionist movement for myriad reasons, including anxieties about Jewish migration to Britain, the search for new allies in World War I, and to maintain control of the nearby Suez Canal.

“The British, before they decided to take Zionism under their wing with the Balfour Declaration in 1917, for more than a decade had decided for strategic reasons that they must control Palestine,” Rashid Khalidi, a professor at Columbia University and author of *The Hundred Years’ War on Palestine*, told Vox. “They needed it to defend the eastern frontiers of Egypt. They needed it because it constituted the Mediterranean terminus of the shortest land route between the Mediterranean and the Gulf.”

**Is Israel a “settler-colonial” state?** The debate, explained. The historical discussion at the heart of Israeli-Palestinian conflict by Haleema Shah, VOX, 4/17/2024

The Balfour Declaration and the British mandate over Palestine were approved by the League of Nations in 1922. Arabs vehemently opposed the Balfour Declaration, concerned that a Jewish homeland would mean the subjugation of Arab Palestinians.

*The influence of the Balfour Declaration on the course of post-war events was immediate: According to the “mandate” system created by the Treaty of Versailles of 1919, Britain was entrusted with the temporary administration of Palestine, with the understanding that it would work on behalf of both its Jewish and Arab inhabitants.*

*Many Arabs, in Palestine and elsewhere, were outraged by their failure to receive the nationhood and self-government they had been led to expect in return for their participation in the war against Turkey. In the years after World War I, the Jewish population in Palestine increased dramatically, along with the instances of Jewish-Arab violence.*

*The area’s instability led Britain to delay making a decision on Palestine’s future. But in the aftermath of World War II and the terrors of the Holocaust, growing international support for Zionism led to the official declaration in 1948 of the nation of Israel.*

**Balfour Declaration, <https://www.history.com/topics/middle-east/balfour-declaration>**

# UN Partition Plan (1947)

Palestine had been under British control since 1917. That British Mandate was from the League of Nations. At the end of World War II, on 18 April 1946, was the final session of the League. That work was then passed to the newly formed United Nations, which had been established on October 24, 1945.

*Following World War II and the Holocaust, in February 1947, the British declared they would end the Mandate and submit the future of Palestine to the newly-created United Nations for resolution. The United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) was created, and in September, submitted a report to the UN General Assembly recommending partition. Palestinians and most of the Arab League were opposed to the partition. Zionists accepted the partition but planned to expand Israel's borders beyond what was allocated to it by the UN. In the fall of 1947, Israel and Jordan, with British approval, secretly agreed to divide the land allocated to Palestine between them after the end of the British Mandate.*

*On 29 November 1947, the General Assembly passed Resolution 181 (II) – the United Nations Partition Plan for Palestine. At the time, Arabs made up about two-thirds of the population and owned about 90% of the land, while Jews made up between a quarter and a third of the population and owned about 7% of the land. The UN partition plan allocated to Israel about 55% of the land, where the population was about 500,000 Jews and 407,000-438,000 Arabs. Palestine was allocated the remaining 45% of the land, where the population was about 725,000-818,000 Arabs and 10,000 Jews. Jerusalem and Bethlehem were to be an internationally-governed corpus separatum with a population of about 100,000 Arabs and 100,000 Jews.*

*The partition plan was considered by detractors to be pro-Zionist, with 56% of the land allocated to the Jewish state although the Palestinian Arab population numbered twice the Jewish population.*

[Nakba, Wikipedia](#)

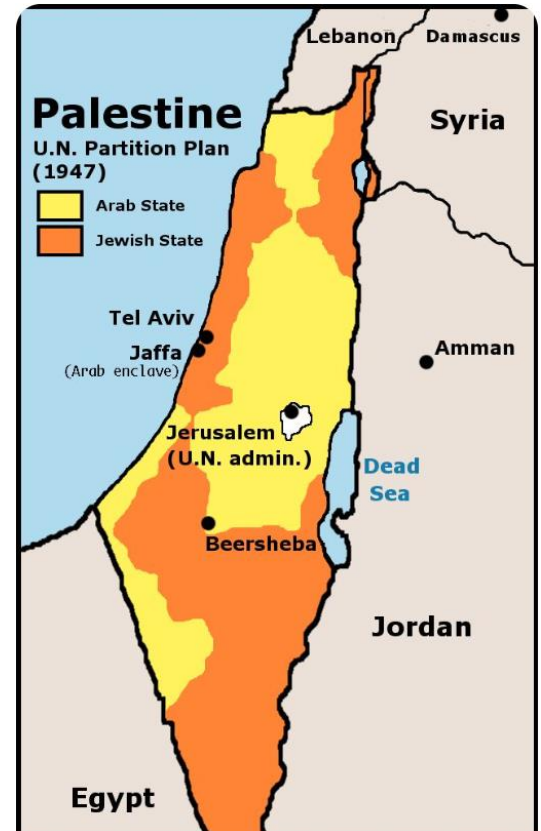


Figure 3 UN Partition Plan, Wikipedia

*The General Assembly voted, 33-13, in favor of partition, with 10 members, including Britain, abstaining. The six Arab nations in the General Assembly staged a walkout in protest. [The New York Times](#) reported: “The walkout of the Arab delegates was taken as a clear indication that the Palestinian Arabs would have nothing to do with the Assembly’s decision. The British have emphasized repeatedly that British troops could not be used to impose a settlement not acceptable to both Jews and Arabs, and the partition plan does not provide outside military force to keep order. Instead, it provides for the establishment of armed militia by the two nascent states to keep internal order.”*

*Six months later, on **May 14, 1948**, Jewish leaders in the region formed the state of Israel. British troops left, thousands of Palestinian Arabs [fled](#) and Arab armies invaded Israel. In the Arab-Israeli War, Israel defeated its enemies. It was the first of several wars fought between Israel and its neighbors.*

[Nov. 29, 1947 U.N. Partitions Palestine, Allowing for Creation of Israel](#) by The Learning Network, November 29, 2011

# Nakba, 1948

*In the years prior to and during the (Arab-Israeli) war that followed, as Israel pushed back the forces of its neighbors, over half the Palestinian population was displaced. From 1947 to 1949, 531 towns were destroyed by Israeli militias, according to the West Bank-based Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, homes were shelled, and 15,000 people were killed, including women and children. “They witnessed rapes, imprisonment of men and boys, and almost all of them witnessed the destruction of major cultural sites,” says professor Abdel Razzaq Takriti, who teaches modern Palestinian and Arabic History at Rice University. (By the end of the Arab-Israeli war, over 6,000 Israelis lost their lives, including some in mass killings.)*

*“There were attacks on water sources; Akka [also known as Acre], for example, was subjected to biological warfare. Their water was poisoned to try to force the populations out,” Takriti says. “The idea was to have as much land appropriated with the fewest Palestinian population remaining as possible.” Further attempts to poison water supplies in Gaza were thwarted when Egyptian officials found out, says Takriti.*

[\*\*The Solemn History Behind Nakba Day\*\*](#) by Juwayriah Wright, TIME, updated May, 16, 2024

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*Rashid Khalidi’s account of Jewish settlers’ conquest of Palestine is informed and passionate. It pulls no punches in its critique of Jewish-Israeli policies (policies that have had wholehearted US support after 1967), but it also lays out the failings of the Palestinian leadership. Khalidi participated in this history as an activist scion of a leading Palestinian family: in Beirut during the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon, and as part of the Palestinian negotiating team prior to the 1995 Israeli-Palestinian peace accords. He slams Israel but his is also an elegy for the Palestinians, for their dispossession, for their failure to resist conquest. It is a relentless story of Jewish-Israeli bad faith, alongside one of Palestinian corruption and political short-sightedness.*

*Khalidi sets out his stall early on: the Palestine-Israel war was never one between two national movements contesting equally over the same land but was always a **“settler colonial conquest”** by Europe-based Zionists whose founding father, [Theodor Herzl](#), laid bare the project to Khalidi’s great-great-great uncle in 1899: Palestine’s indigenous population did not matter and would anyway benefit from the modernising effects of Jewish “pioneers”, such as America with its westward Manifest Destiny. For Khalidi, Jewish settlers, aided by Britain from 1917, and by the US later on, colonised Palestine, creating and securing Israel through six “wars”: [the Balfour declaration](#) of 1917; the [1947 UN partition plan](#); the [1967 UN security council resolution 242](#); the 1982 [Israeli invasion of Lebanon](#); the [1993 Oslo peace accords](#); and Israeli leader [Ariel Sharon’s Temple Mount visit](#) in 2000.*

[\*\*The Hundred Years’ War on Palestine\*\*](#) by Rashid Khalidi review – conquest and resistance by Matthew Hughes, *The Guardian*, May 7, 2020

## Right of Return

The number of Palestinian refugees of the 1948 war is estimated at between 700,000 and 800,000, and another 280,000 to 350,000 people were refugees of the 1967 war. Approximately 120,000–170,000 among the 1967 refugees are believed to have also been refugees from the 1948 war, fleeing a second time. Today, the estimated number of Palestinian refugees and their descendants exceeds four million. The right of return has been of great importance to Palestinians since then.

The first formal recognition of a right of return was in **UN General Assembly Resolution 194** passed on 11 December 1948 which provided (Article 11):

*Resolves that the refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbors should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date, and that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for loss of or damage to property which, under principles of international law or in equity, should be made good by the Governments or authorities responsible.*

The UN General Assembly Resolution 3236, passed on 22 November 1974, declared the right of return to be an "inalienable right".

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# World Refugee Day 20

June 2023

GENEVA (21 June 2023) - *The world cannot overlook the **enduring legacy of colonialism and racism** that persists in the treatment of refugees, internally displaced persons and migrants, particularly in the countries of the Global North, UN experts\* said today. They issued the following statement on the occasion of World Refugee Day:*

“As we observed World Refugee Day and honour the 75th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights this year, it is imperative to recognise the enduring challenges that continue to impact the treatment of forcibly displaced persons. Within this context, it is particularly important to address the role of countries in the Global North, as the shade of racism, supremacism, patriarchy and the historical legacy of colonial endeavours still heavily influence the approach toward situations of forcibly displaced persons.

2022 marked the largest ever increase in the number of forcibly displaced persons worldwide, with over 108 million people across the globe uprooted from their homes, more than half are women and girls. In 2023, ongoing and emerging conflicts and violence continued to force more and more people to flee, showing little prospects of durable solutions. Pushed to resort to desperate measures, over 1,200 migrants died or went missing in the Mediterranean since January 2023 to date.

This reality is all too familiar for the Palestinian people, 75 years since the Nakba - the event that shattered Palestinian lives and severed their ancestral connection to their land during the establishment of the State of Israel. Since then, they have endured forced displacement, dispossession, and disenfranchisement, with their rights to self-determination, restitution, and compensation repeatedly denied. For 75 years, their cry for justice, embodied in the demand for the right to return, has resounded with unwavering determination.

For Palestinians, forced displacement has become part of their life for generations, tracing back to 1947-1949 when over 750,000 Palestinians were forced to flee massacres and mass expulsions and forcible transfers during the birth of the State of Israel. The majority, along with their descendants, are still in neighbouring Jordan, Lebanon and Syria, while 40 per cent of them remain under occupation in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, since 1967. Progressively, Palestinian exile has scattered them across various nations globally.

Since 1948, both the General Assembly and the Security Council have consistently called upon Israel to facilitate the return of Palestinian refugees and provide reparations. Despite these repeated appeals, Palestinian refugees have been systematically denied of their right to return and forced to live in exile under precarious and vulnerable conditions outside the borders of Palestine. The right of return constitutes a fundamental pillar of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination. The fragmentation of the Palestinian people, both geographically and politically, through administrative methods of control based on residency and race, tantamount to apartheid, has obstructed the realisation of the right to return and self-determination. These practices serve the settler-colonial project pursued by Israel.

We urgently call upon the international community to adopt a rights-based approach that addresses the root causes of violence and prioritises the individual and collective right of return for refugees and internally displaced persons, over political considerations. As the largest and most protracted displaced population since World War II, the Palestinian experience should serve as a poignant reminder to the international community of the suffering and vulnerability endured by refugees and internally displaced persons, urging immediate action to recognise and uphold their rights.”

[\*\*Right of return of Palestinian refugees must be prioritised over political considerations: UN experts.\*\*](#) United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, June 21, 2023

# Revolution

*That's what I want to end with today. The word for comrade in Korean is tongji. Broken into its parts, it means to have the same will, or the same purpose. To share a purpose in our sense is something far more profound, far more sacred than to say we are working together on a temporary basis.*

*And that is because the purpose that unites us as comrades is revolution. Revolution is not a one time thing, revolution is not a short term goal. Revolution is a lifetime of dedication and action to transform our worlds. Revolution is an entire historical era that will span generations. Look at Palestine. Look at Korea. Look at the Philippines. Look at Turtle Island. Look at Africa. You will know this is true.*

*So to be comrades, to share the purpose of revolution, is to commit to sharing our lives together. If we are comrades, it means we share common principles and a common soul, because we have a common future.*

*It means what we give to each other is the first place in our hearts, the place that we reserve for revolution and revolution alone. That is the deepest love that can exist between human beings, and that is what will carry us forward in this struggle, across fronts, across national liberation struggles, until imperialism is vanquished, and we are all free.*

**[Resistance is What Liberates Us: Palestine and Internationalism by People's Dispatch, June 7, 2024](#)**

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## Mutual Aid

The principles above are also the points of unity of my mutual aid community.

### Des Moines Mutual Aid Points Of Unity

**0. We believe in working shoulder to shoulder and standing in solidarity with all oppressed communities.**

We ourselves are oppressed, and our mutual aid work is a fight for our collective liberation. We do not believe in a top-down model of charity. Instead, we contrast our efforts at horizontal mutual aid, the fostering of mutually beneficial relationships and communities, to dehumanizing and colonizing charity.

**1. We believe in community autonomy.**

We believe that the communities we live and organize in have been largely excluded from state social services, but intensely surveilled and policed by the state repressive apparatus. Capitalism is fundamentally unable to meet people's needs. We want to build self-sustaining communities that are independent of the capitalist state, both materially and ideologically, and can resist its repression.

**2. We are police and prison abolitionists.**

Abolition and the mutual aid that we practice are inextricably linked. We don't rely on capitalist institutions or the police to do our work. We believe in building strong and resilient communities which make police obsolete, including community systems of accountability and crisis intervention.

**3. We work to raise the political consciousness of our communities.**

Part of political education is connecting people's lived experiences to a broader political perspective. Another component is working to ensure that people can meet their basic needs. It is difficult to organize for future liberation when someone is entrenched in day-to-day struggle.

**4. We have open disagreements with each other about ideas and practices.**

We believe there is no formula for resolving our ideological differences other than working towards our common aims, engaging with each other in a comradely manner, and respecting one another, whether or not we can hash out disagreements in the process.

# Protests

*Just four years ago, at the peak of the Black Lives Matters movement, calls to decolonize rang through the streets. Youth activists demonstrated at museums and oil pipelines and pulled down colonial era and Confederate statues. Names on buildings, highways and even pancake boxes were changed.*

*Pull the lens back. Today's protests are the next wave in an anti-colonial struggle waged for centuries. Activists fight the legacy of European settler colonialism from Standing Rock, mass incarceration of Black people and Israeli apartheid of Palestine. They fight as if their lives depend on it — because they do. The future is not livable until we get rid of the legacy of colonialism.*

...

*The new vision crystallizes. Behind the official history is a disturbing truth. Capitalism is like the face hugger from Alien. Rolling Stone journalist Matt Taibbi described finance capitalism as "...a great vampire squid wrapped around the face of humanity, relentlessly jamming its blood funnel into anything that smells like money." Not just banks. Many institutions founded during colonization — like the corporation, colleges, real estate firms and prisons — have violently vacuumed wealth and labor out of our bodies for centuries.*

*You can imagine after all this, a youth blinking as if they just walked into bright sunlight. **Why are innocent Black people being shot over and over? Why are criminal bankers being protected? Why am I in debt just to get a college degree? Why does my job not pay enough? Why do we glorify slaveholders and mass murderers in our public art?***

***You can imagine a college student, working and going to school, carrying a heavy backpack and heavy debts, watching a new police-perpetrated killing on their phone, seeing Israel bomb civilians and passing by a statue of Columbus. You can feel the rage rising in the throat. You can see where the protests began.***

*Two generations are coming of age at a time when the violence of the past caught up to the present. They are in a tragic solidarity with those who lived and died at the start of the 20th century, eulogized by Albert Camus in his 1946 speech, "The Human Crisis," in which he said, "The best I can do is sketch, as clearly as I can, the moral experience of my generation. Because we have seen the world crisis unfold ... whose intelligence and hearts were formed during the terrible years when, like their country, they were nourished on shame and lived by rebellion. Yes, this is an interesting generation."*

**[Campus Protests Are New Wave in an Anti-Colonial Struggle Waged for Centuries.](#) Fighting to destroy the legacy of colonialism, youth are on the front lines in the battle for a livable future by Nicholas Powers, TRUTHOUT, June 8, 2024**

## Surround the White House

On 6/8/2024, an estimated 75,000 protestors encircled the White House, in response to the Biden administration failing to act when Israeli Defense Forces entered and bombed Rafah, which had been called a "red line."

## Universities Attempt to Stop Palestinian Solidarity

*What efforts contributed to ending the war in Vietnam and South African apartheid? What brought successes in the civil rights, gay liberation and women's rights movements? Alongside decades of organizing, protest and global resistance movements, the student movement on college campuses has been, and continues to be, a vital ingredient. Students taking action today ensure that history is on the side of justice; they've put their hands on that long arc of history and are bending it themselves.*

*As we pass the 54th anniversary of the Kent State Massacre while watching the current mobilization of Israeli-trained U.S. police forces against students in the United States, we are once again witnessing the return of Aimé Césaire's "terrific boomerang" as the imperial and colonial violence the U.S. government exports globally comes back with full force upon its own citizens. Colleges and universities across the nation have cracked down with tactical, militarized force on students protesting Israel's genocidal onslaught on the people of Gaza, a move so familiar in U.S. history that the 2024 playbook seems almost identical to that from 1970. As students gather across the country to protest their government's involvement in unethical wars abroad, the state works with the administration of their universities to violently suppress the resistance movement.*

*While many of these colleges claim to encourage students to become leaders of social action and change, those same institutions turn around and try to quell the very voices they've educated. Consider the University of Southern California's 2024 valedictorian, Asna Tabassum, who, after receiving a minor from the university in resistance to genocide, was then banned from delivering the graduation speech after she made an anti-Zionist post to Instagram. The hypocrisies are so numerous, they are difficult to tabulate. For instance, the disturbing irony of Columbia University's news site boasting a page titled "A New Perspective on 1968," where they claim to be a "far different place today than ... in the spring of 1968 when protesters took over university buildings amid discontent about the Vietnam War" seems lost on administration, not least on President Minouche Shafik, who authorized the NYPD's violent assault on protesters, which included police indiscriminately firing rubber bullets at students. Meanwhile, a banner runs across the top of the Columbia University homepage directing visitors to a page detailing the closures and new security measures in place amid the violent arrest of students, faculty, and other community members. Similarly, the University of Virginia held a symposium commemorating and honoring the struggle for civil rights which ran in tandem with administration's decision to deploy police with riot shields and chemical weapons to remove students that were peacefully assembled.*

**[Future Generations Will See Students Backed Palestine as Admins Attacked Protest](#)**. These moments determine how history will remember each of us, as well as how we remember history in the future. By Anthony Ballas and Donalyn White, TRUTHOUT, June 11, 2024

## What Next?

It seems likely the Gaza solidarity camps will spring up again when classes resume this fall. If so, we'll probably see even further escalation of the attacks by police (physical) and university boards and administrators (repression and censorship).

Will a ceasefire be in place by then? We can hope and pray.

But that is just one of the pro-Palestinian demands. Even if there is a ceasefire, Palestinian supporters demand that the universities divest from companies that support Israeli human rights violations, war crimes, and crimes against humanity. And especially that the US government stop sending billions of dollars to Israel for the same reasons. That the US government stops its complicity in these crimes.

Will there be a repeat of the violence against antiwar protestors at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago in 1968? The Democratic Convention will again be in Chicago this year. At the Republican National Convention?

There are many possible scenarios around the national elections in November. Will there be interference at the polling places? How many times will recounting votes happen?

Will Republicans refuse to accept the election results if a Democrat wins?

If a Republican wins, how will their continued attacks on our democratic values and institutions evolve?

## Environmental Chaos

In the past there was a disconnect between people's awareness what is happening with our environment and how that effects all dimensions of our social, political and economic lives. Escalating environmental chaos will overshadow all the above. What has been a slow moving, global disaster is now accelerating dramatically.

# How to Heal the Wound of Gaza

By Charles Eisenstein

*The world is bleeding. Life force is leaking from a thousand wounds, and maybe the most serious hemorrhage is that issuing forth from Gaza.*

*The wound of Gaza festers with hate, despair, and cruelty, leaching those poisons through the body of the world. Hate infects nearly every conversation about what is happening there; hate, and the dehumanization of the Other, whether that “other” is the Palestinians or the Jews or simply the people who hold a different opinion. The savagery one sees in online comments mirrors the savagery that Hamas dealt on October 7<sup>th</sup>, the savagery against the Palestinians that preceded it, and the enormously greater savagery that Israel has unleashed since.*

*Last week Israel’s IDF rescued four hostages from Nuseirat in Gaza, sparking effusive celebration throughout Israel. At least 270 Gazans were killed in the rescue, nearly all civilians, a majority women and children. **Celebration of this latest war crime is possible only if one does not value all human life equally; it is possible only if partisan prejudice is stronger than humanitarian ethics. Such is the festering spiritual wound that saps the global body politic of hope, life, and faith in humanity.***

*Concurrent with the Gaza bloodbath is another of comparable magnitude unfolding in Sudan, along with millions of other horrors on smaller scale, down to the household. Each mirrors the others. What makes Gaza special is that all the world’s eyes are on it. If there can be peace in the Holy Land, there can be peace everywhere else too. No one on earth, in any situation, could ever again say that peace is impossible.*

*Yet peace indeed seems impossible in Palestine, more distant and more hopeless than ever before.*

*After spending several months educating myself on the history of the conflict, I have come back to my initial instinct that peace does not depend on establishing a correct view of history. It lies outside the justifications that each side has. And so I would like to propose a practical peace plan that allows each side to keep the history they tell themselves. Each side gets to continue believing they are right. They get to keep that. Something else, though, will need to be surrendered.*

*To those who say this proposal is unrealistic, I answer that peace itself is unrealistic. It requires a break from the normal course of events, a disruption in the age-old drama of strike and counterstrike, crime, punishment, and revenge, in which the occupants of the roles of victim and oppressor may change, but never the roles themselves. What is “realistic” is that the story plays out as usual. There is an element of miracle when warring parties choose peace. Peace fundamentally requires choice, requires will, to alter the otherwise automatic cycle of bloodshed, hate, and dehumanization.*

*Continues...*

[How to Heal the Wound of Gaza](#) by Charles Eisenstein

# Israel's Legal Reckoning

*If the past few weeks have been devastating for the people of Gaza, they have also marked a historic turning point in efforts to hold the Israeli government and its leaders accountable for their crimes.*

*The announcements in The Hague, four days apart, by International Criminal Court Prosecutor Karim A.A. Khan seeking arrest warrants for Israeli and Hamas leaders and by the International Court of Justice ordering Israel under the Genocide Convention to halt its military offensive in Rafah, were a powerful one-two punch to Israel's decades-long impunity.*

*The unprecedented actions by the world's two top international courts had hardly sunk in when The Guardian and the Israel-based magazines +972 and Local Call revealed on May 28 that the Israeli government, over the course of nine years, had shamelessly "deployed its intelligence agencies to surveil, hack, pressure, smear and allegedly threaten senior ICC staff in an effort to derail the [ICC's] inquiries" as they inched along. In a campaign run by Netanyahu's close ally Mossad director Yossi Cohen, with which the prime minister was "obsessed, obsessed, obsessed," Israel routinely spied on the phone calls made by former prosecutor Bensouda and her staff with Palestinians.*

*The Guardian's revelations thus undermine the American attack on the prosecutor's requests. The long-standing US position that the ICC simply had no jurisdiction to investigate Israeli nationals because Israel is not a state party to the ICC—a claim that runs contrary to the ICC's governing Rome Statute—had already been crippled by the bipartisan enthusiasm at last year's indictment of Vladimir Putin of Russia, which is also not a state party. The US objection that Palestine is not a state at all, and therefore not entitled to invoke ICC jurisdiction, had previously been rejected by a panel of ICC judges and further weakened by the growing international recognition of Palestine. That left the argument of "complimentary," which was highlighted by Secretary of State Antony Blinken in his response to the warrant requests. Blinken complained that Khan, in his "rush" to seek the warrants, had not "allow[ed] the Israeli legal system a full and timely opportunity to proceed," and that Israel "has ongoing investigations into allegations against its personnel." But ICC judges have ruled that to satisfy the complementarity principle, "the national investigation must cover the same individual and substantially the same conduct as alleged in the proceedings before the Court."*

*In other words, Israel would have to be investigating Netanyahu and Gallant for crimes such as starvation, extermination, and persecution as state policy. Whitewashed probes of rogue personnel will no longer suffice to forestall a true reckoning for Israel's conduct.*

**[Israel's Legal Reckoning and the Historical Shift in Justice for Palestinians](#)**. Global courts challenge Israeli action in Gaza by REED BRODY, *The Nation*, June 6, 2024

## Countries and Groups that Harm Children in War Zones

*The United Nations will add Israel, Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad to a list of countries and armed groups that harm children when it releases its annual report on children and armed conflict, citing the heavy toll the war in Gaza has taken on minors, including killing, maiming and starvation, U.N. officials said.*

**[U.N. Adding Israel, Hamas and Islamic Jihad to List of Countries and Groups That Harm Children in War Zones](#)**. The report will be presented to members of the Security Council next week and released publicly on June 18, the U.N. said. By Farnaz Fassihi and Aaron Boxerman, *The New York Times*, June 7, 2024.

# Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict



## Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for **CHILDREN AND ARMED CONFLICT**

The Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict serves as the leading UN advocate for the protection and well-being of children affected by armed conflict.

The mandate of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict was created by the General Assembly (Resolution A/RES/51/77) following the publication, in 1996, of a report by Graça Machel titled the “Impact of Armed Conflict on Children”. Her report highlighted the disproportionate impact of war on children and identified them as the primary victims of armed conflict.

The role of the Special Representative for Children and Armed Conflict is to strengthen the protection of children affected by armed conflict, raise awareness, promote the collection of information about the plight of children affected by war and foster international cooperation to improve their protection. She reports yearly to the General Assembly and the Human Rights Council and raises challenges faced by children in war to political bodies, such as the UN Security Council, as well as relevant Governments to maintain a sense of urgency amongst key decision makers as well as to secure political and diplomatic engagement.

Since 1999, the systematic engagement of the UN Security Council has firmly placed the situation of children affected by armed conflict as an issue affecting peace and security.

The Security Council has created a strong framework and provided the Office of the Special Representative tools to respond to violations against children.

Six grave violations affecting children in times of conflict were identified:

- recruitment and use of children
- killing and maiming of children
- sexual violence against children
- attacks on schools and hospitals
- abduction of children and
- denial of humanitarian access.

The Security Council adopted resolutions to request the UN:

- to gather and verify information detailing where and how children are affected by armed conflict;
- to use this information in the annual report of the Secretary-General on children and armed conflict presented to the Security Council;
- to name parties to conflict who commit violations that are triggers for listing;
- to engage in dialogue with listed Governments and armed groups to develop Action Plans to halt and prevent violations against children.

<https://childrenandarmedconflict.un.org/about/the-mandate/mandate/>

# Genocide

## **Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide**

### **Article II**

*In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:*

- *Killing members of the group;*
- *Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;*
- *Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;*
- *Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;*
- *Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.*

### **Elements of the crime**

*The Genocide Convention establishes in Article I that the crime of genocide may take place in the context of an armed conflict, international or non-international, but also in the context of a peaceful situation. The latter is less common but still possible. The same article establishes the obligation of the contracting parties to prevent and to punish the crime of genocide.*

*The popular understanding of what constitutes genocide tends to be broader than the content of the norm under international law. Article II of the Genocide Convention contains a narrow definition of the crime of genocide, which includes two main elements:*

- *A mental element: the "intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such"; and*
- *A physical element, which includes the following five acts, enumerated exhaustively:*
  - *Killing members of the group*
  - *Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group*
  - *Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part*
  - *Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group*
  - *Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group*

*The intent is the most difficult element to determine. To constitute genocide, there must be a proven intent on the part of perpetrators to physically destroy a national, ethnical, racial or religious group. Cultural destruction does not suffice, nor does an intention to simply disperse a group. It is this special intent, or *dolus specialis*, that makes the crime of genocide so unique. In addition, case law has associated intent with the existence of a State or organizational plan or policy, even if the definition of genocide in international law does not include that element.*

*Importantly, the victims of genocide are deliberately targeted - not randomly – because of their real or perceived membership of one of the four groups protected under the Convention (which excludes political groups, for example). This means that the target of destruction must be the group, as such, and not its members as individuals. Genocide can also be committed against only a part of the group, as long as that part is identifiable (including within a geographically limited area) and “substantial.”*

### **[United Nations Office on Genocide Prevention and the Responsibility to Protect](#)**

# Friends Committee on National Legislation (FCNL)

This week marks the 76th anniversary of the [1948 Nakba](#), or catastrophe in Arabic. Over 700,000 Palestinians were expelled from their homes, thousands were killed, over 400 villages destroyed, several dozen massacres occurred, and Palestinian society was almost destroyed.

The Nakba is not just history. For many Palestinians, it continues.

Since the attacks on Oct. 7, 2023, over [35,000 Palestinians have been killed in Gaza](#) and [almost 2 million displaced](#). In the West Bank, settler violence [continues unchecked](#). In Naqab, Bedouins endure [house demolitions and displacement](#). The list goes on.


This week, FCNL's Hassan El-Tayyab spoke with [Al Jazeera](#) about how the U.S. is complicit in the ongoing war in Gaza. "We've got a situation where the rhetoric is not matching the action," he noted about the Biden administration's comments pressuring Israel to pause its offensive into Rafah and then supplying it with more weapons.

Last year, FCNL [co-sponsored an event](#) led by Rep. Rashida Tlaib (MI-12) to commemorate the Nakba. At this event, Palestinians shared their stories of pain, trauma, resistance, and joy. They highlighted the ongoing Nakba and U.S. complicity in sustaining the violent status quo. Rep Tlaib has also introduced [H.Res.388](#), recognizing the ongoing Nakba and Palestinian refugees' rights. This bill aims to educate on the Nakba and end US complicity in the displacement of Palestinians. Only by acknowledging the past can we move towards justice and reconciliation.

The United States continues to fund this cycle of violence in Israel and Palestine. We know that more weapons have never and will never help. [Today, it is more crucial than ever to push our representative to stop sending weapons to Israel and act for peace.](#)

As El-Tayyab put it to Al Jazeera, "What we need is a permanent ceasefire now to end this mass killing, and we need to move towards a resolution of the deeper issues of this horrible conflict."

**This Week in the World. 5/17/2024 Friends Committee on National Legislation (FCNL)**

 Friends Committee on National Legislation

اوقفوا إطلاق النار الآن  
**CEASEFIRE NOW!**  
הפסקת אש עכשיו

[FCNL.org/Ceasefire](https://act.fcnl.org/sign/download-ceasefire/)

Figure 4 <https://act.fcnl.org/sign/download-ceasefire/>

# The U.S. Must Call for a Ceasefire, De-escalation, and Humanitarian Access in Gaza

Friends Committee on National Legislation (FCNL)

We are heartbroken by the ongoing violence in Israel and Gaza. As Quakers, we deeply mourn the loss of all lives and pray for those who have lost loved ones in this war. We unequivocally condemn Hamas' attacks and inhumane treatment of civilians and call for the release of all hostages. We also condemn the indiscriminate and violent Israeli response that has claimed the life of tens of thousands of civilians.

Since the escalation began, the Israeli government has restricted food, fuel, and humanitarian assistance to the Gaza Strip. The U.N. is warning of a looming famine if urgent action is not taken. More than a million people have been internally displaced due to the fighting. There is currently no safe place in Gaza. As the bombardment and blockade persist, the humanitarian toll continues to mount.

**More war and weapons won't bring peace. In the face of growing violence, lawmakers must:**

- Publicly call for an immediate end to Israel's Rafah offensive and a permanent ceasefire to prevent further loss of life;
- Prioritize the protection of all civilians by urgently permitting humanitarian aid into Gaza, fully funding UNRWA (the U.N. agency supporting Palestinian refugees) and other aid operations, and working to secure the release of hostages;
- Prohibit the transfer of more weapons and military assistance to Israel;
- Work diplomatically to support regional de-escalation across the Middle East; and
- Urge all parties to fully respect international humanitarian law.

**[Urge Congress to call for an immediate ceasefire](https://fcnl.quorum.us/campaign/51886/), de-escalation, and humanitarian access to prevent further civilian harm in Israel and the occupied Palestinian territories. <https://fcnl.quorum.us/campaign/51886/>**

# American Friends Service Committee (AFSC)

The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), an international Quaker organization, has had a long-time presence in the Middle East. The most common demand from the Gaza Solidarity Camps on university campuses has been that the universities divest from companies that support Israeli human rights violations, war crimes, and crimes against humanity.

**A humanitarian crisis is unfolding in Gaza. Following Hamas's October attacks, Israel's military has killed tens of thousands of people. Nearly 2 million have been displaced. Restrictions on aid are causing starvation. The International Court of Justice says Israel's actions may constitute genocide.**

**AFSC is responding to this crisis both through humanitarian aid and advocacy for peace. We mourn all who have been killed and call for the peaceful release of all civilians held captive.**

**As a Quaker organization, AFSC firmly opposes violence in all its forms while working to address its root causes. We have been working in Gaza, Israel, and the occupied Palestinian territory since 1948. We have earned a trusted reputation in the region for honest aid work and our principled position for peace based on respecting the dignity of all people and their human rights.**

**Our team in Gaza is delivering life-saving humanitarian aid as conditions allow. In the U.S., our advocacy team has mobilized people across the country for a cease-fire and for changes to realize just, sustainable peace. Please join us in supporting these efforts.**

[Crisis in Gaza](#)

## [Divesting for Palestinian Rights](#)

AFSC is well known for its work on identifying companies that are supporting Israeli war efforts.

**Universities and all institutions should withdraw their support of Israeli human rights violations, war crimes, and crimes against humanity.**

**As part of their public commitment, universities should:**

- 1. Adopt an Investment Policy Statement with a commitment to divest from companies that consistently, knowingly, and directly enable or facilitate human rights violations or violations of international law as part of prolonged military occupations, apartheid, and genocide.**
- 2. Commit to a process with a reasonable timeline for implementing the new policy.**
- 3. Report on the implementation periodically to a committee with student, faculty, and community representation.**

**An ethical Investment Policy Statement is an aspirational document, but it has an immediate impact on public opinion, decision makers, and the corporations highlighted. To implement it, universities should:**

- 1. Sell direct investments in stocks or bonds of companies highlighted for divestment for their ongoing complicity in Israeli human rights violations.**
- 2. Engage with investment managers to identify or create pooled funds that comply with the new policy.**
- 3. Create a process to periodically review investments and better align them with the policy.**

## [Divestment List](#)

**This list included publicly traded companies that consistently, knowingly, and directly enable or facilitate human rights violations or violations of international law as part of prolonged military occupations, apartheid, and genocide.**

[Divest](#)

# UN Commemorates Palestinian Nakba

*For the first time ever, the U.N. will commemorate the Nakba, or “catastrophe” in Arabic, in which at least 700,000 Palestinians fled or were forcibly expelled from their homes during the creation of Israel in 1948.*

*On May 15, (2023), Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas will deliver a keynote speech at the U.N. General Assembly in New York, as part of a high-level special meeting to mark Nakba Day. In [a statement](#) outlining the event, the U.N. said the occasion aims to “highlight that the noble goals of justice and peace require recognizing the reality and history of the Palestinian people’s plight and ensuring the fulfillment of their inalienable rights.”*

*As the 75th anniversary of the Nakba approached, the 193-member General Assembly voted in November on whether to host a commemoration event; [the plan was approved](#) by a vote of 90-30 with 47 abstentions. The U.S., a longtime military and financial [supporter of Israel](#), voted against the event and confirmed that no American diplomats would be present.*

*For many others, the U.N.’s decision is an acknowledgement of the central role played by the intergovernmental organization in the [partition of the Mandate for Palestine](#).*

*“It’s acknowledging the responsibility of the U.N. of not being able to resolve this catastrophe for the Palestinian people for 75 years,” said Riyadh Mansour, the Palestinian U.N. ambassador, according to the [Associated Press](#).*

**[Why the U.N. Is Commemorating Palestinian Displacement This Year](#) by Armani Syed, TIME, May 15, 2023**

## H.Res.388 - Recognizing the ongoing Nakba and Palestine refugees' rights

This resolution expresses the sense of Congress that it is the policy of the United States to recognize the Palestinian Nakba and support Palestinian refugees' rights. It also states that it is the policy of the United States to denounce threats and condemn certain actions by Israel against the Palestinian people. Introduced by Rep. Rep Rashida Tlaib, 5/10/2023

# UN: The Question of Palestine



**UNITED  
NATIONS**

**THE QUESTION OF PALESTINE**

The United Nations has a website on The Question of Palestine. That website has an extensive library of documents related to the question of Palestine. <https://www.un.org/unispal/documents/>

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## Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People (CEIRPP)

In 1975, by its resolution 3376, the UN General Assembly established the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People (CEIRPP), and requested it to recommend a programme of implementation to enable the Palestinian people to exercise their inalienable rights to self-determination without external interference, national independence and sovereignty; and to return to their homes and property from which they had been displaced. The Committee is a subsidiary body of, and reports to the General Assembly. The Committee is the only body within the United Nations exclusively devoted to the question of Palestine.



Just yesterday (6/5/2024), there were news reports about the Columbia Law Review Website put offline to censor a Palestinian Scholar who wrote about Nakba:

## COLUMBIA LAW REVIEW

VOL. 124

MAY 2024

NO. 4

### ARTICLES

#### TOWARD NAKBA AS A LEGAL CONCEPT

*Rabea Eghbariah\**

*The law does not possess the language that we desperately need to accurately capture the totality of the Palestinian condition. From occupation to apartheid and genocide, the most commonly applied legal concepts rely on abstraction and analogy to reveal particular facets of subordination. This Article introduces Nakba as a legal concept to resolve this tension. Meaning “Catastrophe” in Arabic, the term “al-Nakba” (النكبة) is often used to refer to the ruinous process of establishing the State of Israel in Palestine. But the Nakba has undergone a metamorphosis; it has evolved from a historical calamity into a brutally sophisticated structure of oppression. This ongoing Nakba includes episodes of genocide and variants of apartheid but remains rooted in a historically and analytically distinct foundation, structure, and purpose.*

*This Article therefore proposes to distinguish apartheid, genocide, and Nakba as different, yet overlapping, modalities of crimes against humanity. It first identifies Zionism as Nakba’s ideological counterpart and insists on understanding these concepts as mutually constitutive. Considering the limits of existing legal frameworks, this Article goes on to analyze the legal anatomy of the ongoing Nakba. It positions displacement as the Nakba’s foundational violence, fragmentation as its structure, and the denial of self-determination as its purpose. Taken together, these elements give substance to a concept in the making that may prove useful in other contexts as well.*

Since the beginning of the war on Gaza, pro-Israel lobby groups and business elites in the US have sought to suppress the speech of Palestinians and those opposing Israel’s war on Gaza, including through police suppression of protests at universities, limiting the scope and reach of pro-Palestinian social media posts on Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram, and by banning Tik Tok.

Despite this, the horrific images of Israeli bombs killing Palestinian women and children over the past seven months have made it difficult for pro-Israel interests to control the perception of events. Israel’s war on Gaza is now widely viewed as genocide.

The Intercept adds that both Eghbariah and numerous editors at the CLR remain committed to the importance of the legal scholarship concerning the Nakba.

“What we need to do is to acknowledge the Nakba as its own independent framework that intersects and overlaps with genocide and apartheid,” Eghbariah told The Intercept while adding that the Nakba also “stands as a distinct framework that can be understood as its own crime with a distinctive historical analytical foundation structure and purpose.”

The same thing happened last November, when the Harvard Law Review asked the same scholar, Rabea Eghbariah, to write a similar article.

## Harvard Law Review Editors Vote to Kill Article about Genocide in Gaza

*A WEEK AFTER* Hamas's October 7 massacre, by which time Israel's all-out assault on Palestinians in the Gaza Strip had killed thousands of civilians, the online editors of the prestigious Harvard Law Review reached out to Rabea Eghbariah.

The two online chairs, as they are called, had decided to solicit an essay from a Palestinian scholar for the journal's website. Eghbariah was an obvious choice: A Palestinian doctoral candidate at Harvard Law School and human rights lawyer, he has tried landmark Palestinian civil rights cases before the Israeli Supreme Court.

Eghbariah submitted a draft of a 2,000-word essay by early November. He argued that Israel's assault on Gaza should be evaluated within and beyond the "legal framework" of "genocide."

In line with the Law Review's standard procedures, the piece was solicited, commissioned, contracted, submitted, edited, fact checked, copy edited, and approved by the relevant editors. Yet it will never be published with the Harvard Law Review.

Following an intervention to delay the publication of Eghbariah's article by the Harvard Law Review president, the piece went through several committee processes before it was finally killed by an emergency meeting of editors. The essay, "The Ongoing Nakba," would have been the first from a Palestinian scholar published by the journal.

In an email to Eghbariah and Harvard Law Review President Apsara Iyer, shared with *The Intercept*, online chair Tascha Shahriari-Parsa, one of the editors who commissioned the essay, called the move an "unprecedented decision."

"Let's not dance around it — this is also outright censorship. It is dangerous and alarming."

"As Online Chairs, we have always had full discretion to solicit pieces for publication," Shahriari-Parsa wrote, informing Eghbariah that his piece would not be published despite following the agreed upon procedure for blog essays. Shahriari-Parsa wrote that concerns had arisen about staffers being offended or harassed, but "a deliberate decision to censor your voice out of fear of backlash would be contrary to the values of academic freedom and uplifting marginalized voices in legal academia that our institution stands for."

[\*\*HARVARD LAW REVIEW EDITORS VOTE TO KILL ARTICLE ABOUT GENOCIDE IN GAZA\*\*](#). The article on the Gaza war and the Nakba was commissioned, edited, fact-checked, and prepared for publication - but was then blocked amid a climate of fear by Natash Lennart, *The Intercept*, Nov. 21, 2023

# Visualizing Palestine

Visualizing Palestine is a website that provides Infographics, that uses data and graphics to summarize complex concepts and data. They have licensed their Infographics under Creative Commons, so they can be freely shared (with reference).

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## ABOUT US

We use data and research to visually communicate Palestinian experiences to provoke narrative change. We envision a liberated future for Palestinians in a world free from oppression.

VISUALIZING **PALESTINE**



**MAKING NARRATIVE WAVES TO  
TURN THE TIDE OF OPPRESSION  
TOWARD JUSTICE.**

SEE OUR VISUALS

## WHY NARRATIVE CHANGE?

Palestine is the subject of more than a century of colonial narratives upheld by imperial empires, which sustain the brutal system of Israeli settler colonialism and apartheid we see today. Although the basic facts and root causes of the Palestinian struggle are well-documented, they are frequently denied or obscured by those shielding Israel from accountability. Narrative work is about building spaces to uplift aspirations for liberation, and reach people who want to deepen their understanding and action in partnership with the Palestinian people.

Visualizing Palestine creates narrative interventions that convey the urgent and the actionable. We strive to capture not just stories of struggle, but of solidarity, sumud (steadfastness), and inspiration. Our visual tools ensure that factual, liberatory narratives about Palestine are visible, accessible, and interconnected with those of other movements working for collective liberation.

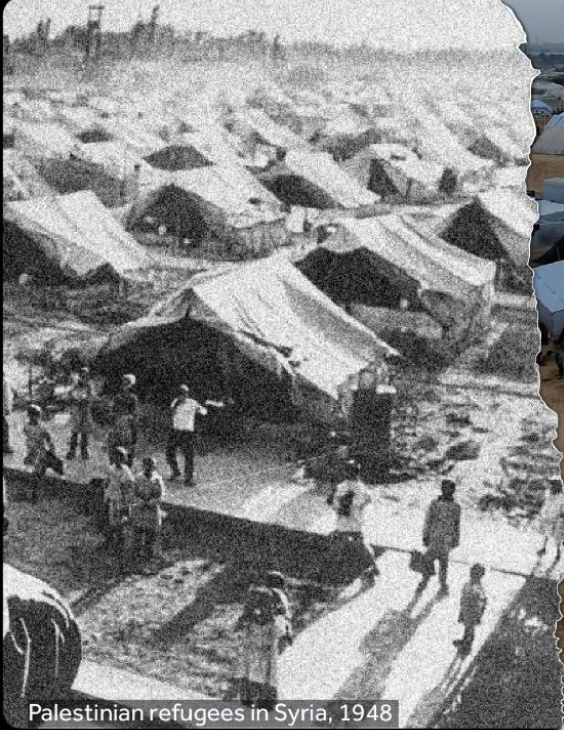
## Ongoing Expulsion

On May 15, 2024, we will commemorate the 76th anniversary of the Nakba amid another catastrophe. Since 1948, Palestinians have suffered a profound and enduring trauma, as families were forcibly uprooted from their ancestral lands by Zionist militias, villages were destroyed, and communities were torn apart to create the settler colonial state of Israel. The Nakba represents not only a historical event but an ongoing reality, as it laid the foundation for the continued colonization and occupation of Palestinian land and violent dispossession of the Palestinian people. This series captures how the genocide and mass displacement of Palestinians in Gaza is an extension of the 1948 Nakba.

# ONGOING EXPULSION

## 1947–1949

Palestinian Nakba (catastrophe)




Palestinian refugees in Syria, 1948

## 750,000+

Palestinians, or 80% of the Palestinian population in the lands taken by Israel, were **ethnically cleansed from their homes.**

## 2023–2024

Ongoing Nakba in Gaza



Displaced Palestinians in Rafah, Gaza, 2023

## 1,900,000+

Palestinians, or 85% of Gaza residents, were **expelled from their homes and are at risk of being ethnically cleansed from Gaza.**

Photo by Active Stills, Mohammed Zaanoun  
SOURCES [bit.ly/vp-Nakba2024](https://bit.ly/vp-Nakba2024)

MAY 2024  
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VISUALIZING PALESTINE

مركز البزاق لحقوق الإنسان  
AL BAZAQ CENTER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

## Original Villages of Gaza's Refugees

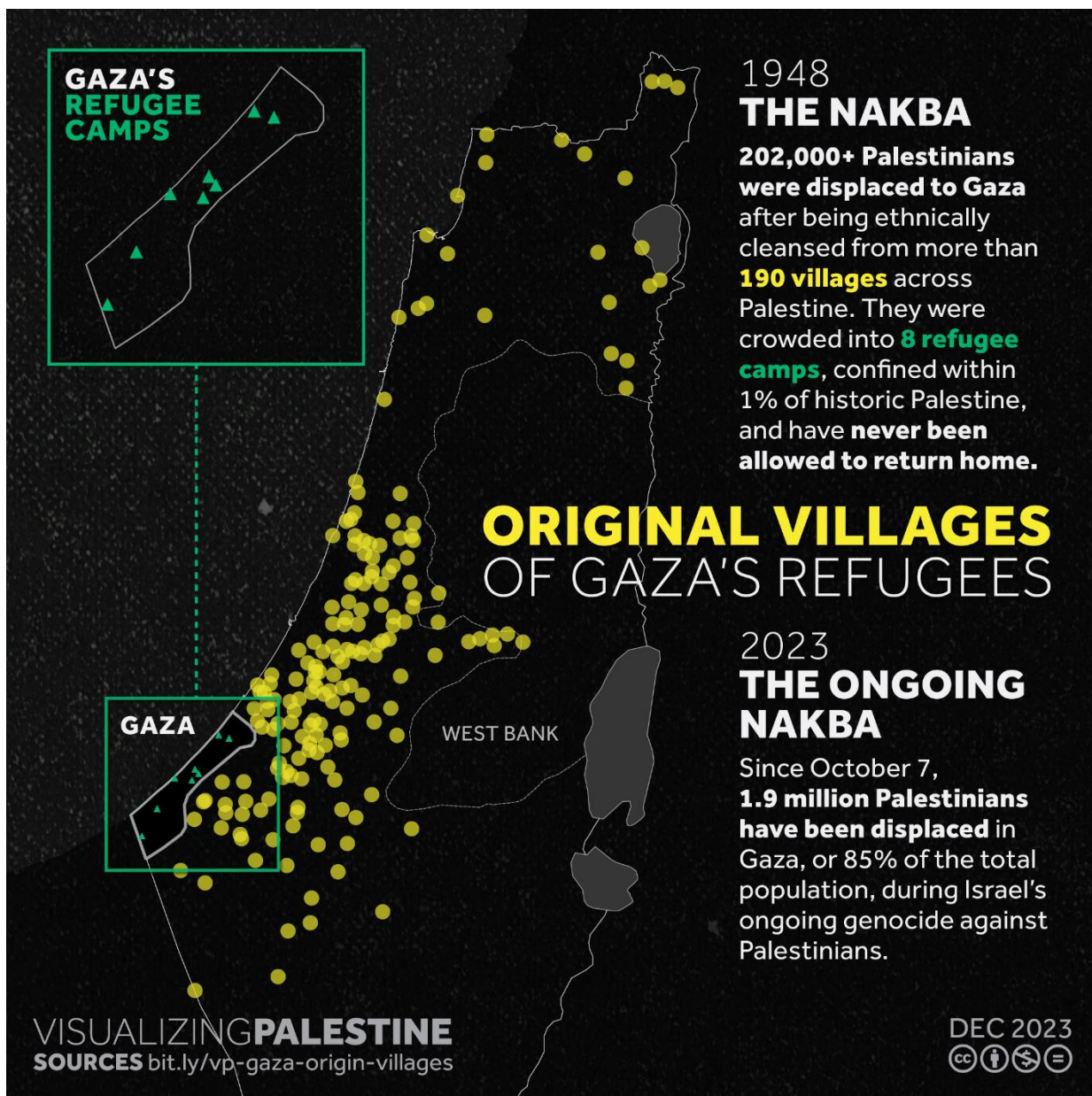
In Gaza, 1.7 million Palestinian refugees from more than 190 villages across historic Palestine have been confined to only 1% of their homeland for 75 years. [Since October 2023].

This map shows the villages of origin of Palestinian refugees in Gaza. The majority of their home villages are within 30–40 kilometers of where this genocide is unfolding.

During the ethnic cleansing of Palestine in 1948, known as the Nakba, about 27% of the 750,000 Palestinians who were forcibly displaced sought refuge in Gaza, tripling its population overnight.

Most were peasant farmers who thought they would soon return to their land and livelihood. Instead, their futures are still held hostage by Israel.

Today, these survivors and their descendants make up 70% of the population in Gaza. They are once again experiencing a catastrophe, or Nakba, with 1.9 million people displaced in Gaza, 18,787 killed, half starving, and more than 300,000 housing units destroyed or damaged.





## ORIGINAL VILLAGES OF GAZA'S REFUGEES

Abu Abdoun • Abu Al-Fadl • Abu Al Hussain • Abu Amrah • Abu Athera • Abu Bakra • Abu Ghalion • Abu Jaber • Abu Jraiban • Abu Jraiban-Saadneh • Abu Jugaim • Abu Kaff • Abu Khatleh • Abu Libbeh • Abu Middain • Abu Muailiq • Abu Rawwaa • Abu Rqayiq • Abu Shalhoub • Abu Shunnar • Abu Shusha • Abu Sitteh • Abu Sousain • Abu Suhaiban • Acre • Ajjur • Al Jiyya • Al Jurah • Al Maghar • Al Na'ani • Al Soufi • Al-Abbasiyya • Al-Atawneh • Al-Bassa • Al-Burj • Al Buraiqi/Hkuk • Al-Dawayima • Al-Diqs • Al-Faluja • Al-Fukra' • Al-Ghawali • Al-Hamra • Al Haram (Sayyidna 'Ali) • Al-Huzaiyil • Al-Jaladiyya • Al-Jammama • Al-Jimasin Al-Gharbi • Al-Khalisah • Al-Khayma • Al-Khayriyya • Al-Ksar • Al-Kunayyisa • Al-Majdal • Al-Mansura • Al-Mas'udiyya • Al-Masmiyya Al-Kabirah • Al-Masmiyya Al-Saghirah • Al-Masoudiyeen • Al-Muharraqa • Al-Muzayri'a • Al-Nahr • Nseirat • Al-Omour • Galazin Tayaha • Gatatweh • Al-Qubab • Al-Qubayba • Al-Ramle • Rawashdeh • Rummamneh • Al-Safriyya • Al-Sakhinah • Al Sani • Al-Sawafir Al-Gharbiya • Al-Sawafir Al-Shamaliya • Al-Sawafir Al-Sharqiya • Al-Sawakhneh • Al-Sheikh Muwannis • Subaihat • Al-Subhiyeen • Al-Tantura • Al-Tina • Al-Tira • Al-Ubaydiyya • al Umour • Wulaydeh • Zarabeh • Al-Zraiye • Al-Zuq Al-Tahtani • Aqir • Arab Abu Kishk • Arab al Ghazawiyya • Arab al Sawalima • Awja Al-Hafir • Ayn Ghazal • Ayn Karim • Balad Al-Sheikh • Barbara • Barqa • Bash-sheet • Bayt 'Affa • Batani Al-Gharbi • Batani Al-Sharqi • Bayt Dajan • Bayt Daras • Bayt Jibrin • Bayt Jirja • Bayt Tima • Bdinat • Beersheba • Beisan • Beni Okbeh • Bin Rifee • Bin Sabah • Bir Salim • Biyar 'Adas • Burayr • Dayr 'Amr • Dayr Aban • Dayr Ayyub • Dayr Muhaysin • Dayr Nakh-khas • Dayr Suneid • Dayr Tarif • Dimra • Fajja • Haifa • Hamama • Hatta • Hiribya • Huj • Huleiqat • Ibdis • Idnibba • Ijlil Al-Shamaliyya • Ijzim • Iraq Al-Manshiyya • Iraq Suwaydan • Isdud • Jaffa • Jerusalem • Jilya • Jimzu • Jindas • Julis • Juseir • Kafr 'Ana • Karatiyya • Kawfakha • Kawkaba • Khirbet Al-Khisas • Khulda • Lifta • Lubiya • Lydda • Majdal Yaba • Mohamediyeen • Nabaat • Najd • Ni'ilya • Qaluniya • Qastina • Qatra • Qazaza • Qula • Rantiya • Sa'sa • Safad • Sajad • Salama • Samakh • Saqiya • Sarafand Al-Amar • Sarafand Al-Kharab • Saydun • Shahma • Simsim • Suba • Summayl • Tal Al-Safi • Tal Al-Turmus • Thabet • Tiberias • Urour • Wadi Al-Hawarith • Wadi Hunayn • Wuhaidat Tarabin • Yasur • Yazur • Yibna • Zarnuqa • Zayta

VISUALIZINGPALESTINE  
SOURCES [bit.ly/vp-gaza-origin-villages](https://bit.ly/vp-gaza-origin-villages)

DEC 2023

## Treating Trauma Under Israeli Fire-July Update

[Aug 2024] This is the 6th time we have updated this visual in over 10 months of Israeli genocide of Palestinians in Gaza. In this visual, we honor the heroic health workers who are risking their lives and paying an unbearable price to save as many people as possible.



# References

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This is the [Linktree](#) to my blogs and other websites.



## Video: How did the Nakba happen?



Figure 5video: How did the Nakba happen?

## Video: Al-Nakba: The Palestinian Catastrophe 1948

“The Nakba did not begin in 1948. Its origins lie over two centuries ago....”

So begins this four-part series on the ‘nakba’, meaning the ‘catastrophe’, about the history of the Palestinian exodus that led to the first Arab-Israeli war in 1948, and the establishment of the state of Israel. This documentary series is essential viewing for anyone who want to understand the Palestinian predicament.





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