

SOLIDARITY FOREVER ALL THE WALLS WILL FALL

RESISTANCE

Uprisings in the Sahel

FRENCH EXIT. Popular coups in Mali, Burkina Faso, and Niger serve as the blueprints for resistance to colonial subjugation.

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Hindutva and Zionism

AN EVIL ALLIANCE. India's increasing support for Israel is inextricably tied to the rise of Hindu nationalism. Arms and tactics alike flow from one regime to the other.

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Harvard Management Company Reinvests in Apartheid

DEJA VU. The financial arm of the University reinvested \$150 million in Booking Holdings, which rents out stolen land in the West Bank; plus more campus updates from the start of the semester.

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UNDER THE SAME SUN



Organizers with the U.S. Campaign for Palestinian Rights, from Mexico, the U.S., and the Tohono O'odham Nation, stand in front of Israel's apartheid wall in the West Bank. USPCR

EDITOR'S NOTE

Why Solidarity? Why Now?

This year began with a glimmer of hope. Israel finally agreed to a temporary ceasefire — ostensible relief from its 16-month accelerated genocide in Gaza. Yet the “ceasefire” has proven to be as empty of a promise as the decades-long “peace process.” Just as the genocide did not begin on Oct. 7, it did not end on Jan. 19. Israel's deadly glare has only shifted from Rafah and Beit Lahia to Jenin and Tulkarm.

When, in February, President Trump vowed a U.S. takeover of Gaza and

the relocation of Palestinians to “countries of interest,” he laid bare the true intentions of Israel's supposed “war” on Gaza. Its ultimate goal is the total ethnic cleansing of all Palestinians from their homeland. Trump and Netanyahu construe Palestine as an “empty land” to which Palestinians have no legal claim, and on which they can build the next beachfront resort. The continued existence and endurance of the Palestinian people every single day unmasks their settler colonial projects for what

they are: illegitimate and crumbling.

Imperial violence always has a boomerang effect, enlisting the same tactics to target oppressed groups domestically. From ICE raids to the forced withdrawal of medical care, immigrants and trans Americans have been first in Trump's line of fire. The privilege we hold as Harvard students will not save us from these attacks. Many of us here are immigrants, trans, and Palestinian. The past two years have made it evident that neither this institution nor our elected officials will pro-

tect us. When the systems meant to protect us fail, only we can save ourselves.

Palestine lies at the intersection of liberation movements everywhere. From Africa's Sahel region to Kashmir, the oppressed peoples of the world stand with Palestine, and in turn, stand with each other. We have witnessed an explosion of international resistance alongside the people of Gaza, and the revitalization of a popular student movement in the tradition of anti-Vietnam War and anti-South African Apartheid protests.

In the summer of 2014, when the people of Ferguson stood up against the police occupation of their city, they were attacked with tear gas and rubber bullets. Palestinian activists in the West Bank drew from experiences with similar Israeli weapons to teach Ferguson residents how to keep themselves safe. It is this solidarity that will carry us all through today's apocalyptic violence; only collective action will save us. In the face of compounding repression, we stand at each other's side and teach one another how to fight back.



SURVIVAL FUND FOR PALESTINIANS

We urge material acts of solidarity with Palestinians. Scan this QR code to donate to grassroots organizations rebuilding Gaza, to support Palestinian individuals and families within occupied Palestine. Follow [@harvardmutualaidgaza](https://www.instagram.com/harvardmutualaidgaza) on Instagram for updates on our sustained campaign.



GLOBAL INTIFADA

Struggles for Liberation Across the Sahel

“A slave who cannot assume his own revolt does not deserve to be pitied. We do not feel sorry for ourselves, we do not ask anyone to feel sorry for us,” declared Ibrahim Traoré, military officer and current interim president of Burkina Faso, in a speech at the 2023 Russia-Africa Summit. His outfit — complete with a red beret and a military uniform — was an homage to Thomas Sankara, the mighty revolutionary who rose to power in the 1980s.

Traoré is the youngest head of state in Africa, a testament to the ethos embodied by the continent's youth. Traoré is also living proof of the challenge to global imperialism from Africa's Sahel region to Palestine. Oppressed people's struggles everywhere are intertwined against one globalized ruling class. As Malcolm X said in his speech “The Ballot or the Bullet,” “They attack all of us for the same reason; all of us catch hell from the same enemy.”

The Sahel region sits between the Sahara desert to the north and the Sudanian savannas to the south. It spans 10 countries: Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Chad, Gambia, Guinea, Mauritania, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, and Senegal. The region has been under Western domination, primarily from the French, making its inhabitants' lives insufferable. Due to the massive debts demanded by Western states, 80 percent of those in the Sahel live on less than \$1.90 a day. The irony is that the wealth of countries like France, the United States, and the United Kingdom was made off the backs of the people of this region. As Marx wrote, the original capital at the advent of capitalism “comes dripping from head to foot,

from every pore, with blood and dirt.”

As we see in Palestine, resistance to subjugation is inevitable. Four countries in the Sahel, Mali, Guinea, Burkina Faso, and Niger, have experienced military coups in the past four years. It is important to note that the tactics used in resistance can take various forms — the existence of a coup does not tell us its character. In a situation where military leaders have access to the best education and are equipped with important knowledge of the colonial powers, they represent a potential political force for the masses of oppressed people. This is akin to how Amílcar Cabral, a leading revolutionary in Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, described his conception of “class suicide” — when the petit-bourgeois class (in this case, the military officers) sacrifices its own class position in service of the masses of people. This is precisely what has happened.

Mainstream media would have us believe that the coups present “a threat to democracy.” What about the constant presence of a foreign military constitutes “democracy”? Is a country's wealth being siphoned off by a colonial power “democracy”? This condemnation is akin to the immediate denunciation of the Palestinian resistance after October 7.

The new administrations in Mali, Burkina Faso, and Niger have adopted clear anti-imperialist stances towards France. Do not conflate these dramatic policy shifts with the mere exploits of rogue military actors seeking power for themselves. In each of these countries, there has been mass resistance to French



Nigeriens march in support of coup leader Abdourahmane Tchiani on July 30, 2023. SAM MEDNICK / AP PHOTO

colonialism. After a coup in 2021, the people of Mali ousted the French military at the beginning of 2022. In Burkina Faso in September 2022 and Niger in July 2023, thousands took to the streets in support of the coups ousting their pro-French, Western-aligned leaders. In February 2023, Burkina Faso announced that they had driven the French military from their territory as well. In September 2023, Niger did the same.

French troops are only in the Sahel because of NATO's 2011 bombing of Libya, which completely destabilized what once was one of Africa's most prosperous countries. The bombing led to a massive resurgence of terrorist groups in Libya that spilled over into the Sahel. Under the guise of “counterterrorism,” France launched Operations Serval

and Barkhane, stationing troops across the Sahel.

Since then, France has achieved none of its goals; all the while, civilians have been killed en masse by the French forces. The French seek to justify their presence in the Sahel by using a situation that they manufactured — a classic imperialist tactic. The Sahel states have since reaffirmed their right to self-determination by removing the French, a foreign power that does nothing for the good of the people of their countries.

Without boots on the ground, France — and the West writ large — have scrambled for the other imperial instruments at their disposal. These include ECOWAS, the Economic Community of West African States, an empire-aligned political and economic union of countries. ECOWAS

sanctioned Mali after their coup as punishment for the state's anti-imperialism. In July 2023, ECOWAS threatened Niger with military intervention if Mohamed Bazoum, the deposed president, was not reinstated. Burkina Faso and Mali quickly issued a joint statement saying that any French or U.S. intervention in Niger would be “tantamount to a declaration of war” against their own countries.

Recognizing ECOWAS — and their own shared anti-imperialist aims — Burkina Faso, Mali, and Niger formed a defense bloc against neo-colonialism, the Alliance of Sahel States, on September 16, 2023. Four months later, all three countries also left ECOWAS.

The future of the Sahel is uncertain. While these developments do not constitute a total revolution, the

anti-imperialist posture of new administrations paves the way for these countries to develop themselves on a more independent basis and spur revolutionary consciousness. These are massive blows against the neo-colonial regime of France and the West in Africa. The uprisings in Mali, Burkina Faso, and Niger have had broad influence: Chad, Senegal, and Ivory Coast are actively working to expel the French.

We are in a time of global intifada. Certainly a turning point, this moment is potentially the beginning of a new decolonial era. The footsteps of those on the march to liberation in Gaza are felt and heard in the Sahel and the freedom cries of the Sahel carry forth toward Gaza. Our histories — and futures — are interconnected. This is where our solidarity lies.

CLIMATE

To Fight Fossil Imperialism, We Must Fight for the People of Gaza

The climate crisis is one of the largest existential and moral crises facing humankind. The destruction of the planet is a natural product of the destruction of the Global South. As extractionist companies and governments plunder and pillage countries in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East for natural resources, one thing has become clear: the colonial and imperial powers of our past haven't slunk away in obscurity. Rather, these powers transformed, upholding their agendas through military pressure and forcing the international order to submit to their whims, at the expense of this planet's wellbeing.

As it pertains to climate, the international community has let Western imperialist militaries off the hook.

Nowhere is this clearer than in international climate agreements, which, while legally binding, bear no consequences for countries that fail to live up to their demands. The 1997 Kyoto Protocol — which aimed to set greenhouse gas (GHG) emission targets for industrialized countries — made exceptions for emissions caused by military activity. Internally, Pentagon officials argued that “the protocol would harm ‘military readiness’ with serious implications for military training, operations, and fuel use.” When it came time for the U.S. to ratify the Protocol, it died in the chambers of Congress. The U.S. revoked its signature in 2001. While the 2015 Paris Agreement, with its more stringent demands, stipulated voluntary report-

ing of military emissions, many countries, including the United States, refused and continue to refuse to do so. As a result, assessing the military industrial complex's impact on climate change is difficult. However, the Conflict and Environment Observatory and the Scientists for Global Responsibility concur that military activity accounts for 5.5 percent of GHG emissions globally. While it may appear but a drop in the global bucket, emissions of this magnitude mean that if the world's militaries were a country, they would have the fourth largest carbon footprint in the world, only after India, the U.S., and China.

The damning environmental dimension of the genocide in Gaza particularly commands our atten-

tion as a generation seeking the end of the climate crisis and the goal of collective liberation. The IOF's armed siege was responsible for an astounding 99% of emissions generated during the first 60 days post-October 7, according to the Guardian. Since then, researchers at Queen Mary, University of London have found that emissions generated during the first 120 days of the genocide “were greater than the annual emissions of 26 individual countries and territories.” Moreover, it's evident that the environmental damage posed by Israel's destructive military campaign won't end with a ceasefire agreement. According to a 2024 UN Environmental Program report, unceasing Israeli bombardment has destroyed sewage, wastewater, and solid waste

facilities in Gaza and likely contaminating agricultural land, in turn rupturing Palestinian's access to consistent and nutritious food. Debris has contaminated areas with asbestos and other noxious chemicals. But even environmental analysis to understand the true scope of destruction relies on a permanent ceasefire, the withdrawal of troops, and the dismantling of Israeli apartheid.

For those of us in the imperial core, our complicity and the ways we have failed Gaza appear just as innumerable. This sobering reality, however, shouldn't deter us from recognizing the role we play as organizers within the heart of the empire. If anything, it should inform the work we need to do. The mainstream climate movement has spent far too

much time imploring governments to do something, *anything*, about the climate crisis. Those pleas have fallen on deaf ears. We're fighting a crisis caused by people and institutions who would rather compromise the state of the Earth than give up their hegemonic grip. In spite of natural disasters, they would rather let people drown in Appalachia and homes burn in L.A. in favor of collaborating with war-mongering corporations and funding the U.S. and Israeli war machine. What is apparent is this: it is only through the destruction of existing colonial systems that we will be able to fight fossil imperialism; it is through fighting for the people of Gaza and their land that we will be able to effectively fight for the future of the Earth.

COLLECTIVE LIBERATION

An Interview With Peter Beinart

Peter Beinart is a professor of journalism and political science at The Newmark School of Journalism at the City University of New York. He is also editor-at-large of Jewish Currents, a contributing opinion writer at The New York Times, an MSNBC political commentator, and a non-resident fellow at the Foundation for Middle East Peace. His newest book, Being Jewish After the Destruction of Gaza, was published on Jan. 28. This interview has been edited for length and clarity.

In *Being Jewish After the Destruction of Gaza*, you recount your move away from the Zionism steeped into your childhood. You write of experiences speaking with Palestinians in the West Bank and sharing Shabbat dinners in South Africa. What parallels do you see between Apartheid South Africa and Israel today?

There are important differences between Israel and Apartheid South Africa. In some ways, the Apartheid regime in South Africa was more vulnerable because it relied much more on Black labor than Israel does Palestinian labor; Black labor unions were able to play a powerful role in the anti-Apartheid struggle in South Africa in a way that doesn't have an analog in Israel. At the most fundamental level, though, these were both systems of legal supremacy of one group over another. In South Africa, supremacy based on race; in Israel, supremacy based on ethnicity and religion.

Mainstream Jewish discussion tends to hold that if this system of Jewish supremacy goes away, Jews would be in grave peril. We often think of this fear as the product of traumatic history, which does contribute to it. But if you look at other supremacist political systems, it's very common for people who become accustomed to a form of legal supremacy to equate the prospect of equality with their own death, or at least their own oppression.

I tell the story of South Africa to help Jews think about how similar fears were generally not realized in other places, and to make the case that systems which provide equality under the law actually lead to less violence for everybody.

You write about how Zionism doesn't just endanger Palestinians, but also Jews. There's a significant distinction between how Zionism impacts Jews and the far greater ways it impacts Palestinians. How can we discuss the many ways Zionism is harmful without centering Jewish identity?

The movement necessary to bring about collective liberation, equality, and historical justice for Palestinians — and the liberation of Jews in Israel from being oppressors — will require a shift in Jewish communities around the world. This movement will require people of all different backgrounds; of course, Palestinians will be at its center.

What do you mean by "liberation from being oppressors"? In what ways does Zionism oppress?



Jewish Voice for Peace protesters occupy the Cannon House Office Building on Capitol Hill on July 23, 2024 to protest Benjamin Netanyahu's speech before Congress. MICHAEL A. MCCOY / REUTERS

Support for a state that gives Jews superior rights to Palestinians is almost always framed as a necessity for Jewish safety. And yet, in reality, Israel is a less safe place for Jews than other large diaspora communities. A big reason for this is that Israel is just a more violent place for everybody, because systems of oppression impose tremendous violence.

The brunt of this violence is borne by Palestinians, but these systems of violence also produce retaliatory violence that threatens Israeli Jews, and never more so than on October 7.

One of the points I try to make in my book is that transitions to systems of greater legal equality tend to bring greater peace, even in very divided societies. I think Israeli Jews will be safer under conditions of legal equality, just like I think white South Africans are safer than they would have been had Apartheid continued. But I also think that there is a less tangible burden — the sense of fear one always carries around, fear of a group one has dehumanized into faceless mass that wants to destroy and kill. If you read white Southerners writing after the civil rights movement, or Protestants in Northern Ireland, or even some white South Africans, they all talk about a sense of laying down a burden they were always carrying.

It's hard to recognize as you're carrying it — it's all around you, it's the air that you breathe. But often, in retrospect, people can actually recognize shedding this fear as a kind of liberation.

Over the past 16 months, we've seen near-weekly strikes and protests against the Netanyahu administration. Do you see the anti-war movement in Israel — and the Israeli left

more broadly — as being in true solidarity with Palestinians and their struggle for liberation? How do you distinguish from solidarity built on self-interest and that built on radical, expansive empathy? How do we get from the former to the latter?

There are many Jews in Israel who have real, profound hostility towards Benjamin Netanyahu, but in many cases, it doesn't necessarily translate into support for Palestinian freedom.

Since October 7, you have protesters who want a ceasefire agreement because they want to bring the hostages home, very legitimately. But generally, that has not translated into arguing also that the war is wrong because of what it's done to Palestinians. There have been groups that bring Palestinians and Israeli Jews together that have made that connection and have focused on the impact of the destruction of Gaza on Palestinians. But unfortunately, given the reality of Israeli politics, those voices have been pretty marginal in Israeli politics. And I think they will remain marginal in Israeli politics as long as Palestinian citizens, who are 20 percent of the population, remain politically marginal.

I read a great interview with Rashid Khalidi where he was asked what he would tell Israeli Jews — what are they not understanding? How do you tell a group of people that the way to be safer, the way to be Jewish, even, is to advocate for the dismantling of the state you live in?

Systems of oppression don't end simply because people wake up one morning and change their mind. What happens is that these systems of oppression stop being effective; they run into resistance that means that the cost of maintaining

them becomes higher. And then you have certain people in elite positions who realize they may have to look for a Plan B. We're nowhere near that point when it comes to Israel.

Persuasion, unfortunately, is generally not enough. There also has to be pressure — not violent pressure, but pressure that raises the costs of oppressive systems. You want to challenge people morally, in a way that combines pressure with the possibility of imagining a different future.

Iconic figures like Martin Luther King or Nelson Mandela paired this pressure with a kind of vision. Most white Southerners and most white South Africans did not embrace it, but it remained there for people when the cost became higher, and some people were then able to think about it. King and Mandela were both, in their way, very deep students of the political culture of the societies they were trying to change. Mandela spent a lot of time trying to understand Afrikaans and their particular story and narrative.

I think all of us need to think about how we can try to tell stories that will respond to the fears that Israeli Jews have, but also try to help them imagine that those fears don't need to be answered through a system of brutal violence. Because that violence ultimately makes one more afraid.

What role can American Jews play in the movement for Palestinian liberation? How can we disrupt the narrative that Israel is one of our greatest allies and the only safe place for Jews in the world?

American Jews can begin by interacting with Palestinians in conditions of relative equality. If Jewish institutions regularly invited Palestinian speakers, screened Palestinian

films, or assigned Palestinian books, that in and of itself would have a pretty significant effect. There's so much Palestinian dehumanization that exists, kind of unconsciously — it's the air people breathe — that it's almost the norm to hear Palestinians talked about but not listened to.

In the Republican Party, there is a strong base of white evangelical Christians who, irrespective of Jews, want to support Israel unconditionally for ideological reasons. But in the Democratic Party, we now have a really clear divide between the party base, which doesn't support unconditional aid to Israel, and Democratic politicians, most of whom still do. The American Jewish community and organized Jewish institutions like AIPAC play an important role in allowing this divide to continue in the Democratic Party. Challenging those institutions and creating alternatives gives more opportunity for public opinion to actually influence Democratic politicians.

Given that this issue is about solidarity, is there a question you think I should have asked or a particular answer you want to give?

If there's a group of people suffering or being oppressed and one wants to be in solidarity with them, one needs to listen to them. In the case of Palestinians, who still significantly lack what Edward Said called the "permission to narrate," listening is crucial because Palestinian voices are so often marginalized and even silenced.

Questions of solidarity become more complicated when one realizes that members of an oppressed group don't always all agree. Palestinians do generally agree that the State of Israel is oppressing them, but how they want to fight against that oppression can differ. Different people have different strategies. Every individual still has the obligation to listen, but also retains the right to come to their own conclusions.

To me, part of the challenge of being a Jew who wants to be in solidarity with the Palestinian struggle is the challenge of listening carefully to Palestinians, but also recognizing that listening to Palestinians doesn't answer all of the questions that one might need to answer, because different Palestinians have different perspectives. And because Jews have a right to think for ourselves about what we believe. I think it's in that conversation that effective bonds of solidarity can be built.

Why We Must Organize

This year Harvard removed its mask of empathy. The administration has adopted the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance's definition of antisemitism, which conflates criticisms of Israel with antisemitism. They have reinvested \$150 million in Booking Holdings, a company with material ties to illegal Israeli settlements in the West Bank, and partnered with an unnamed Israeli university. They have fired the Slavery Remembrance Program staff en masse.

All of this comes mere weeks into the Trump presidency, which has issued an onslaught of dangerous legislation: deploying ICE into immigrant neighborhoods, rolling back protections for trans people and the environment, censoring discussions of race and gender, pardoning the fascists behind the January 6 Capitol attack. Harvard has repressed speech on campus, all while remaining silent on federal threats against the student safety. Neither the government nor our own school will protect us: only we will keep each other safe. As repressive federal and administrative policies are announced each day, we must organize.

All student movements require collective effort. We are only as strong as the number of people who lend their hands. Criticisms of campus organizing have not gone unheard. But they are most effectively leveled from the inside, and anyone can — and should — steer us toward more strategic interventions; our movements are malleable in nature. We need a broad base of organizers to lead communications, fundraise for mutual aid, table, flyer, protest, plan, and build community. Much of this work happens behind the scenes and allows for any level of involvement, and many more roles can be imagined.

You need not identify as an activist to join, nor is there an intensity threshold that participation demands. Above all else, we don't assume any knowledge, and we embrace every commitment.

We have a duty to one another. We are all witnesses to small and seismic catastrophes compounding each day. Yet we also follow in the footsteps of organizers who spent their college days reshaping this institution. We are indebted to those who pushed Harvard to establish an Afro-American Studies department, divest from South African apartheid; increase the wages of custodial, guard, and dining hall workers; and end its investments in the fossil fuel industry. Our moral responsibility as undergraduates must extend beyond ourselves: this is the time to act on our values. Join the student movement.

OPPRESSIVE REGIMES

Bulldozers and Brotherhood

India's rising tide of Hindu nationalism bears a striking resemblance to Zionism



Crowds celebrate the dedication of a Hindu temple in Hyderabad. AP

In 1983, Prime Minister of India Indira Gandhi discovered she had a new Palestinian sibling, as Yasser Arafat, leader of the PLO, declared her his sister during a diplomatic visit to New Delhi. In 2021, by contrast, the current Prime Minister of India Narendra Modi found he had Israeli relatives, as Israeli leader Benjamin Netanyahu described his friendship with Modi as a “marriage made in heaven.” The shifting familiar relationships of Indian premiers mirrors a broader transformation in India’s overall outlook

towards Palestine. While India was once the first non-Arab nation to recognize a State of Palestine in 1988, its government now states that it “[stands] in solidarity with Israel” during the Israeli genocide in Gaza and is exporting missiles and killer drones for the IDF’s use there. This change is not confined to the state: Indian actors, journalists, religious leaders, and countless others have lined up to cheer the mass slaughter. Thousands of Indian workers volunteered to replace Palestinian guest workers in Israel, ensuring that the

Israeli economy continues running smoothly during the war. Why has a nation with a history of anti-colonial struggle and solidarity with Palestine chosen to fall so far from the days when it stood up for the rights of the oppressed?

India’s support for Israel is inextricably bound up with the rise of Hindu nationalism, or Hindutva, to dominance in the past thirty years. In many ways, the core tenets of Hindutva and Zionism mirror each other. Succinctly stated, Hindutva holds that the Hindus of India form a coherent eth-

nic “nation,” and that the land of India deserves to be “for” the Hindus. Hindutva has always seen itself as following in the footsteps of Zionist conceptions of ethno-religious nationalism; V. D. Savarkar, Hindutva’s most notable theorist, said, “No people in the world can more justly claim to get recognized as a racial unit than the Hindus and perhaps the Jews.” Further, Savarkar believed that the establishment of Israel would be a boon for the Hindu nationalist project, saying that “if Palestine becomes a Jewish state – it will gladden us...”

But in reality, India and Palestine are kaleidoscopes of religious diversity; India has never been a Hindu nation alone, and neither has Palestine ever been a nation only for Jews. India contains the world’s third-largest Muslim population, including the occupied Muslim-majority region of Kashmir, and sizable groups of adherents to every other major religion. Meanwhile, even excluding those forced to flee to refugee camps elsewhere, historic Palestine contains millions of Palestinians who contradict Zionism’s vision for the land by their very existence. As long as these people con-

tinue to exist, Hindutva and Zionism’s visions — of India for Hindus and Palestine for Jews — cannot ever come to fruition. Thus, Hindutva and Zionism are not descriptions of India and Palestine as they are, but rather visions of cleansed nations in which minorities are no longer present.

While Hindutva dates back to the waning days of British colonialism in India, it has rapidly catapulted to power since the 1990s. The current prime minister Narendra Modi’s election in 2014 marked the ideology’s dominance in the Indian political landscape, and he has begun to transform India’s foreign policy to match. The country’s commitment to the Third World solidarity of colonized peoples has gradually shifted to become a union of genocidaires that seek to eliminate those that do not fit into the national project. India is now the largest purchaser of Israeli weapons in the world, and even collaborates with Israel on the production of Elbit drones and AI targeting systems.

Nor is their cooperation limited to simply arms — tactics also flow freely between New Delhi and Tel Aviv. Both regularly demol-

ish houses and entire villages with the flimsy justification that they are “illegal” as part of their longer-term plan of displacement, even using the same brand of bulldozer. In June 2024, an Indian far-right commentator called for the Indian state to enact what he described as the “Israel Model” upon the Indian-occupied Muslim-majority region of Kashmir. In this “Israel Model”, India would construct settlements patterned on those in the West Bank throughout the Kashmir Valley in an attempt to ultimately ethnically cleanse the region and suppress dissent.

The connections are clear: India and Israel work hand in hand to oppress and commit genocide. While their conjunction is powerful, it also means that a blow struck against Hindutva is a blow against Zionism, and vice versa. When we resist tendrils of the Israeli war machine like Elbit, that resistance means that those drones will never surveil people in Kashmir. Likewise, defeating Hindutva politics in India means that a major pillar of foreign support to Israel falls. The fight for justice in both South Asia and Palestine will not be over until both are free.

All These Walls Have Got to Go

Border militarization connects settler colonial states, from the U.S. to Israel

In the first weeks of the new administration, Trump has revoked the temporary protected status of over 350,000 Venezuelan immigrants, attempted to end birthright citizenship, and sent ICE into elementary schools. This blatant nativism may strike some as a part of the American right’s resurgence; in actuality, Trump’s anticipated policies are simply an overt continuation of political and technological cooperation between the U.S. and Israel, highlighting the ways in which border regimes criminalize and exploit Latine migrants and Palestinian refugees.

Whether through restrictive interventionist policy, military presence, and the destruction of native ecologies in Latin America, or through the mass unemployment and economic collapse engendered by Israeli apartheid, Israel and the U.S. create the conditions for displacement, generating a disposable workforce subject to the exploitative whims of bigoted employers, corporations, and governments. It is precisely this workforce, mainly in the agriculture and construction industries, that has built up the U.S. and Israel to where they are today, extracting their ill-gotten gains at the expense of the Global South.



Israel’s separation wall in Abu Dis. LIOR MIZRAHI / GETTY IMAGES

While crossing the border is neither the beginning of many migrants’ stories — many people, especially from Venezuela and Haiti, first cross the dangerous Darién Gap straddling Panama and Colombia — nor the end of them, it’s an experience marked by a cruel irony. The borders demarcating Israel from Palestine and the U.S. from Mexico restrict entry to those who have a legitimate claim to that land, stolen from them through the violence of forced displacement. For Palestinian or Indigenous Latine people, work permits, quotas, barriers, walls, and checkpoints enforce these communities’

submission to colonial powers.

With this in mind, it’s no surprise that the same companies who construct humiliating checkpoints in the West Bank have moved their operations to the U.S. Trump may talk all he wants about constructing a physical border wall along the Rio Grande, but he and his predecessors don’t always need cement and bricks to achieve their ethno-nationalist goals, especially not when Israeli companies come to their aid. The same “border security” technology employed by the American government is developed in part by Elbit Systems, one of the Israeli government’s most notorious

contractors; its American subsidiary was chosen by the Department of Homeland Security for over ten years of experience “securing the world’s most challenging borders.” Elbit was given the green light in 2014 to construct 52 border surveillance towers in Arizona. Those towers were constructed on the federally recognized land of the Tohono O’odham people, an Indigenous nation with its own history of abuse at the hands of border patrols. Just last year, under the Biden administration, the DHS gave Elbit another contract to develop parts of a physical border wall.

The idea of “opportunity” — the purported reason that migrant workers endure such horrible conditions — remains a rhetorical veil that obscures the violence of border regimes. One of the consequences of the colonial extraction of wealth is that jobs in the U.S. and Israel pay more than they ever would in countries in Latin America and Palestine. It goes without saying that this doesn’t justify the indignities Palestinian and Latine migrant workers face, including dangerous working conditions, low wages, and the constant threat of deportation. People working in construction are rarely afforded the measures needed in order to do the job safely; many of the agricultural workers in the Jordan

Valley and California are children.

Conservatives in the U.S. lament the death of the “American Dream” and question why migrants keep crossing the border in spite of it. What these people fail to realize is migrants are more than the naive, hopeful caricatures portrayed in mainstream media. Many are aware of the injustices they face and that they don’t hold the cards in this game — colonial powers do. The same goes in Palestine. As Ibrahim Slaieh, a Gazan who obtained a work permit to enter Israel, told the Associated Press in 2022: “I work lengthy hours and get paid overtime, that’s why I do it. In

Gaza, we would work these hours for only 30 shekels (about \$10) a day.” Even so, permits like Slaieh’s only last for six months before they have to be renewed, a tool of labor control that keeps workers in financial precarity.

As immigration advocates and the U.S. left steel ourselves for four more years of Trump, we must be clear-eyed about the nature of the systems we combat. Fighting immigration injustice necessitates the dismantling of colonial and capitalist systems, whether in the U.S. or in Israel. In this sense, the struggle for a free Palestine is in turn the struggle of migrant workers in the U.S. as well.



U.S.-Mexico border near Nogales, AZ. YUKO SMITH / GETTY IMAGES

SETTLER STATES

Recursive Genocide and the Enduring Violence of the Settler

In the shadow of the Holocaust, the United Nations formally defined genocide and officially adopted the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. Fueled by the “intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group,” genocide, by the UN’s definition, includes “killing,” “causing serious bodily or mental harm,” “deliberately inflicting ... conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction,” “imposing measures ... to prevent births,” and “forcibly transferring the children of [one] group to another group.”

Though the UN definition of genocide *should* provide world leaders, humanitarians, and academics with a common framework to identify and prosecute crimes against humanity, its narrow scope strangles its application. The UN fails to acknowledge, prevent, and command reparations for the many crimes against humanity committed across the world today, including those by Israel against Palestinians and by the U.S. against Indigenous peoples. The definition’s rigidity prevents international organizations from appropriately labeling these waves of violence and fails the affected communities — who most intimately bear the consequences of defining genocide.

The injustices faced by Indigenous communities worldwide underscore the urgency for a universally recognized definition of the specific form of violence they experience under settler colonial rule. For example, “cultural genocide” — the violent and non-violent repression of cultural groups — is still not internationally recognized as a crime, fuelling the operations of oppressive settler regimes.

Today, acts of cultural genocide particularly rav-

age Native populations living in settler states like Canada, the U.S., and Australia. Cultural genocides have restricted the use of Native languages, criminalized ritual practices, and destroyed educational institutions and heritage sites. Indigenous children have been forced from their homes into boarding and mission schools. Others have been adopted by white families to uproot them from their

settler. To understand how settler colonialism transcends the scope and definitions of genocide, cultural and physical alike, we must understand how these settlers *legally* stole Indigenous land.

In “Theft is property! Dispossession & critical theory,” Dr. Robert Nichols, a professor of political science at the University of Minnesota, argues that Indigenous dispossession is

and expansion of settler colonial states. From the start, settlers violently dispossessed Indigenous people from their land. Settlers then created rules and legal systems, wielding deceptive tribal contracts as a weapon to justify their claims of ownership over Native lands. Nichols coins the term “recursive dispossession” to describe how settlers’ legal systems work to continuously legitimize the

as massacres or mass removal. The foundational act of the State of Israel, for example, was the 1948 Nakba, in which Zionist forces expelled 750,000 Palestinians from their homes and ethnically cleansed 15,000 more in brutal massacres. The Nakba must be understood as an ongoing phenomenon, which threatens Palestinians to this day. Yet even before 1948, Jewish settlers, backed by colonial

and impounded by Israel. In effect, this law meant that Israel could legally seize the land and assets of the same Palestinians it forcibly — and illegally — expelled in years prior.

After some time, physical acts of genocide may appear to lessen in severity. In reality, settler states perpetuate systemic violence as long as they exist. This is laid bare by Israel’s campaign of destruction in Gaza and unchecked settler violence in the West Bank. In the background, Israel continuously wages cultural genocide against Palestinians, such as its looting and destruction of Palestinian Christian and Muslim archaeological sites, museums, and archives in the 1950s. For decades, Israel has used a combination of military orders and force to crack down on Palestinians for organizing vigils and processions, distributing materials deemed “political,” and even for holding Palestinian flags.

The settler state does not stray from its foundational violence but instead adapts, strengthening its ability to hide this violence. By destroying culturally significant sites, restricting or banning rituals, and erasing the history of a people, the settler state seeks to make their very existence *illegal*, stripping them of rights-based protections from physical violence. Similar tactics were used against Jews in Nazi Germany, who were stripped of their citizenship, ritual books, and synagogues — the latter two which were destroyed en masse.

The enduring existence of Indigenous peoples always threatens the settler state’s legitimacy and “right” to nationhood. The settler state fears Indigenous populations, whose presence alone holds the potential to unravel all oppressive, colonial structures that exist.



Members of the Palestinian Youth Movement at the Standing Rock protests in 2016. AWAD YASIN

language, land, and culture.

Still, neither the term genocide nor cultural genocide encapsulates the systemic, time-enduring nature of settler colonialism.

Settlers do not merely inhabit Native lands but transform them. In the U.S., settlers violently dispossess Indigenous people of their land, lives, and personhood while erecting social, political, legal, and economic orders which

wholly work to serve the

settler colonialism. Nichols responds to criticisms that the Land Back movement is contradictory because many Indigenous tribes do not believe in the concept of land ownership. As this argument goes, how can Native land be “returned” if Native people never “owned” it in the first place?

The concept of land ownership in modern capitalist societies must be understood as the very tool that enabled the development

foundational atrocities they committed and normalize their ongoing violence.

The recursive nature of settler colonialism maintains the existence of the settler reality, twists historical memory and cultural consciousness, and inflicts unending violence on Indigenous peoples.

Recursive genocide begins with acts of physical genocide intended to dispossess and eliminate a group. This often manifests

administrations, were restructuring the nature of land ownership and legal systems in Palestine.

Israel, then, constructed a legal system intended to recursively reproduce violent acts of Zionism. For example, the Absentee Property Law of 1950 stated that any property or asset whose previous owner was not present between Nov. 29, 1947 and the day of its adoption in 1950 could be confiscated

UNIVERSITY FINANCES

Why Should Harvard Divest from Israel?

The vast majority of Harvard’s \$53.2 billion endowment — 70 percent — is siphoned into private equity and hedge funds. By design, this \$37 billion in investments is concealed from the public view. If we want to understand the material impacts of Harvard’s endowment, we are left to rely on the comparatively tiny amount that is publicly traded and directly invested.

This amount — three percent of the endowment, \$1.5 billion in its own right — is already disclosed on Harvard’s filings, providing a privileged glimpse into its financial abyss. As of 2023, 98 percent of these investments are in technology, a sector widely responsible for arming the Israeli military in its genocide of Palestinians.

For example, Harvard has \$379 million directly invested in Alphabet, the parent

company of Google. Internal documents recently revealed that as Israel intensified its genocide against Palestinians in October 2023, Google rushed to directly assist the Israeli Occupation Forces by expanding their access to the AI.

Google holds a \$1.2 billion contract called Project Nimbus, which arms the Israeli military with cloud computing, artificial intelligence, and other services that they

use to track and kill Palestinians. The IOF uses Google Images to identify and kidnap Palestinians en masse in the West Bank, where they are taken to prisons that rife with torture and abuse.

Harvard also has nearly \$105 million in direct public investments in NVIDIA, a tech company that developed the “Israel-1” supercomputer. After more than a year of ceaseless slaughters of Palestinians, NVIDIA dou-

bled down on its commitment to a state built on genocide, announcing a new \$500 million investment in AI and research centers built on stolen Palestinian land.

Modern technology is not a neutral tool in the hands of the IOF. As the last year and a half has revealed, Israel possesses AI systems like “The Gospel,” which targets civilian infrastructure like apartments and schools, and “Where’s Daddy?”

which tracks Palestinians by body heat and bombs them when they are home with their families.

AI has all but automated Israel’s campaign to destroy Gaza, and the companies that develop these systems — and the powerful investors like Harvard that profit from their use — are deeply complicit. Harvard must divest entirely from the corporations that provide the tools of modern warfare.

PRIDE

In The Name of Love

To achieve real solidarity, we need a new kind of queer politics entirely



IOF soldier Yoav Atzmoni holds a pride flag amidst the rubble in Gaza. YOAV ATZMONI

The photograph damns itself. Israeli Occupation Forces soldier Yoav Atzmoni is standing in the ruins of al-Atatra, Gaza, grinning and brandishing a rainbow flag. He has scrawled the declaration “In The Name of Love” across its surface in English, Arabic, and Hebrew. Atzmoni tells reporters that he views Israel, unlike its neighboring countries, as a defender of LGBTQ+ rights; his mission in Gaza is a liberatory one. In a speech before the U.S. Congress in July of 2024, Benjamin Netanyahu said as much directly. “Some of these protesters hold up signs proclaiming ‘Gays for Gaza,’” the war criminal told his audience, ripping off a right-wing meme. “They might as well hold up signs saying ‘Chickens for KFC.’”

This is a distraction, not

an argument, and it should be treated as such: If Israeli politicians cared about gay people, they would not be bombing them. Queer Palestinians have said repeatedly, as if they needed to, that the primary threat to their existence is not other Palestinians but the Zionist state. “My family in Palestine actually loves my drag. Palestinians are very chill. But people in Gaza are under a lot of stress, they live under apartheid,” drag artist Mama Ganuush said last May. “I have queer cousins in Gaza. Their priority is not to go to gay pride, their priority is literally to survive.”

Why does Israel continue to declare its support for the gays, even as its depravity renders the declaration farcical? The IOF soldiers who plant rainbow flags in the rubble of Palestine are

not revealing anything new about IOF soldiers, whose genocidal intentions have, after all, been obvious for decades. But these photos may be able to tell us something important about the rainbow flag. In a literal sense, the liberal view of pride is of a wasteland: a queer Palestine without any queer Palestinians, a parasite that has killed its host. And if genocide can be excused in the name of love, then the queer liberation movement must be built on something stronger.

The term pinkwashing has long been used to describe how Israel presents itself as a defender of LGBTQ+ rights to justify its occupation of Palestine. The logic of pinkwashing, as advanced by Western pundits and politicians, conflates queer freedom with a

branding of Pride specific to the United States, watered down and commodified into rainbow-embossed goods. Atzmoni said that he wanted to bring rainbow flags to Palestinians; last fall, a far-right group offered \$1 million to any advocacy organization willing to hold a pride parade in Gaza. To hear the imperialists tell it, any gay person anywhere in the world must have the parading gene inside them, and being unable to parade can only indicate cultural repression. Then again, pride parades are a distinctly American tradition, born from the Stonewall riots of 1969, their radical potential defanged by American corporations and their profits reinvested in American police. Why should *anyone’s* sexuality express itself this way?

Although queer Palestinians, like queer Americans, face persecution, discrimination, and violence, there are no legal prohibitions on homosexuality in Palestine. The closest thing to anti-gay legislation is the unenforced British Mandate Criminal Code of 1936, which was introduced in Gaza by British colonial officials. Indeed, the British and French imperialists who colonized the Arab world justified their conquest with the promise of civilization, deploying the region’s acceptance of homosexuality as evidence of its barbaric nature.

But it wasn’t just that Europeans imported Western homophobia into their colonies. The policing strategies Europeans developed to suppress queer people abroad formed the blueprint for anti-queer policies back home. For instance, as the historian Jules Gill-Peterson argues in her recent book *A Short History of Trans Misogyny*, some of the first anti-trans laws were invented in colonial India. There, British officers saw hijras — a population of ascetics who performed a diversity of spiritual roles — as a threat to colonial ideas about sexuality and instituted policies to violently strip them of their rights. Colonizers around the world encountered astonishingly different groups of people, from Crow badés to Filipino babaylan; interpreted them, regardless of how they might

view themselves, as men pretending to be women; and forced them to cut their hair and wear masculine clothes. By doing so, the West marked these people not just as transgressive, but transgressive *in the same way*. Armed for the first time with a unified vision of what people with non-normative genders and sexualities looked like, colonizers returned to their home countries and created laws restricting them.

In other words, the idea of *any* universal queer identity was itself the result of colonization, blending countless people, cultures, and spiritualities into alphabet soup. Both activists and settlers have used this consolidation to their advantage: Today, the West presents LGBTQ+ rights as desirable, and Israel is free to portray its occupation as defending Palestinian sexuality rather than policing it. And yet Zionism’s interest in queerness is brutal and utilitarian, the same kind of interest you might take in a hammer. In their routine surveillance of Palestinians, IOF officers use evidence of homosexuality to blackmail gay men into working as informants, rendering gay Palestinians as potential traitors. Palestinians who move to Israel in search of a supposedly gay-friendly society are met with police brutality, prevented from accessing employment and basic health-care, and given permits that allow them to stay no longer than a few months. “I would have rather died in the West Bank than live here like this,” one such Palestinian told +972 Magazine.

Like the global networks of colonial violence that Gill-Peterson traces, the strategies that Israel has invented to target gay Palestinians are coming back home. In America, queer people — particularly trans women — now face the worst systemic assault on our rights and safety many of us have ever experienced. This assault is occurring not because our governing party are transphobes, although they are, but because they are fascists. Trans people are a vulnerable group who politicians and journalists of both parties have been unwilling to defend, a population to experiment on

with repressive tactics before expanding their scope; it would be a mistake to believe that we are exceptional, rather than just near the front of the line. Banning trans women from public bathrooms incites violence against all women, cis and trans, who are judged to be insufficiently feminine. Outlawing medical transition endangers the lives of anyone who uses or needs medicine. The narrative that trans women are inherently deceitful and violent, and that they should be imprisoned to prevent them from committing rape, reprises the claims that have been made about Palestinians and Black people since the advent of colonialism. How can we hope to respond?

To achieve real solidarity, we might first rid ourselves of the notion that there should be *any* particular rules dictating what someone’s queerness — whatever that is — can look like. Queerness must be expansive, and to permit this expansion, it cannot rely on the protection of the state. We could look to the improvised networks of care that have allowed Palestinians to access HIV medication even after Gaza’s hospitals were destroyed, or to the people who have taken up arms to defend their loved ones. “Religious people, and even people from Hamas ... some of them are gay, and in the new generations it’s way more common than what you would think,” one Gazan told journalist Afeef Nessouli. “One of them was trying to link up with me ... I didn’t know he was a fighter until he got martyred.”

Appealing to Americans’ capacity to hold pride parades and score brand deals with beer companies will not get us out of this one. Love is no longer enough. It has never been enough for most queer and trans people, who have led breathtaking lives thanks not to representation but survival tactics. Nor for the colonized people whose dissident sexualities have been warped and weaponized by empire: first as something to be stamped out, then as something to be protected. That kind of protection is stained in blood. What we need instead is to learn how to fight.

HARVARD’S CONTINUED COMPLICITY IN GENOCIDE, OCCUPATION, AND APARTHEID

News updates from the start of the semester.

HARVARD NOW PROHIBITS SPEECH CRITICAL OF ISRAEL

Fifteen months into Israel’s accelerated genocide in Gaza, Harvard settled two antisemitism lawsuits in an affirmation of its longstanding narrative commitment to Zionism and material investment in the occupation of Palestine. Per the settlements, Harvard adopted the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance’s definition of antisemitism, established a new tie with an unspecified Israeli university, and designated Zionists as a protected category.

HARVARD REINVESTS \$150 MILLION IN ISRAELI APARTHEID

Amidst growing calls for Harvard to divest from Israeli occupation, apartheid, and genocide, the Harvard Management Company chose to reinvest \$150 million in Booking Holdings, a company condemned by the UN for its ties to illegal Israeli settlements in the West Bank. Booking Holdings is the parent company of Booking.com, which offers rental properties in occupied Palestine to tourists.



Asians 4 Palestine NYC joins the 2024 Chinatown Lunar New Year parade. CINDY TRINH

ONWARD

Palestine is Our Future

Asian American solidarity in times like these

The Asian America of today is not the “Asian America” Yuji Ichoka and Emma Gee coined in 1968, more than 50 years ago. Nor is it the “Asian America” struggling for recognition in the 1980s, organized against the acquittal of Vincent Chin’s murderers. Today, the significance of “Asian America” itself has been plundered by neoliberalism and evacuated of political coherence, as its Pan-Asianist legacy of anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism becomes increasingly unrecognizable. We might look back to the era of radical Asian American solidarity with demoralized nostalgia.

When we look into the past of Asia America, we must come to terms with the fact that we live today in a fundamentally different political reality. Our defining characteristic is our integration into the infrastructure that enables genocide and occupation in Palestine — into the financial, military,

technological, and ideological engines that drive American empire in West Asia. Indeed, many of us recognize the anti-Blackness inherent to the “model minority myth” while simultaneously reaffirming it, pursuing elite educations, high incomes, and entrenched ties to global capital. Our fights, from affirmative action (for and against) to representation within executive boards, are fights for inclusion within this system. Indeed, the term “model minority” has become social reality; as Helen Heran Jun writes, Asian Americans “embodied the ideal subject of neoliberal ideologies under global capitalism.” We produce, earn, and never fight back.

After the murder of Vincent Chin in 1982, which was motivated by white Detroiters’ fears of the Japanese automobile industry, “Asian America” transformed from a radical student movement to a liberalizing, ethnonationalist project that sought inclusion within American

standards, propelled by our desire for safety. Chin’s death galvanized support across Pan-Asian diasporic communities, led by the Asian American civil rights group American Citizens for Justice (ACJ), fomenting pride in their collective Asian American identity. Chin deserved fair treatment, they argued, just like any other American. Thus, at the same time as American imperialist ambitions expanded in Central Asia (Afghanistan) and West Asia (Kuwait, Iraq, Iran, Jordan, Syria, Palestine), these newly self-identified “Asian Americans” — largely East Asians, Southeast Asians, and South Asians, armed with the goals of education and prestige — found inclusion in the American dream of fair treatment under the law.

Yet decades later, anti-Asian violence has still continued. Even with our acceptance into an inclusive American empire, have we really found safety for us

and our communities? Viet Thanh Nguyen writes, “If Asian Americans decline expansive solidarity, we signal that we are not going to take over, that we know our place — that is, until we reach some unknown point when there are too many of us, as once upon a time there were also too many Jews in the Ivy League schools.” Instead, if we understand racist violence against Asian people to be a product of Orientalist anxieties and Western imperial legacies within Asia — the same ideologies that have and continue to motivate American and Israeli colonization of “the Middle East” — we can move past liberal identity politics and look to build solidarity across movements. The corporations, foundations, and nonprofits do not represent us: Dylan Rodriguez describes how the Stop Asian Hate Movement and The Asian American Foundation have colluded with police and the Anti-Defamation League to pass hate crime

and to lump anti-Asian violence and pro-Palestinian protest together into the empty signifier of “hate.” Under this framework, the only solution to anti-Asian violence is increased discipline through the state’s carceral infrastructure, tying our future to its further violence.

Conditional acceptance cannot save us; Palestine is in Asia, too. Asian America’s betrayal of Arabs, Muslims, and Palestinians at the hands of national Asian American leaders, nonprofits, and foundations, especially during periods of Islamophobic surveillance, reveals their continued investment in the politics of respectability — respectability that requires other Asian Americans (Arabs, Muslims, and Palestinians) to be killed or maimed by the state.

We need new futures. From Chinatown youth and elders organizing against displacement, to South Asian Dalit organizers fighting against caste apartheid,

to the mobilization and activation of Arab and Muslim communities against the genocide in Gaza, we know “Asian America,” while currently subsumed in neoliberal identity politics, is not stuck there. Nor is the present inevitable. To move forward from nostalgia — to let it energize us as we create new, expansive solidarities — we need the imagination to move away from safety, and to risk something, risk ourselves. Viet continues: “An expansive solidarity, wherein kinship grows between unlikely others in an ever-widening circle, is much more dangerous, both to the dominant society and to ourselves.” The radical potential of solidarity comes from its threat to expand, to forge unlikely connections, and to claim mutual stakes in each other’s struggles. The students of the 1960s and ’70s understood this. We will too, if we risk ourselves for Palestine and forge our own Asian America in the process.

HARVARD MEDICAL SCHOOL SILENCES PALESTINIAN VOICES

On Jan. 21, Harvard Medical School Dean George Daley unilaterally decided to cancel a student-organized patient clinic meant to highlight the experiences of two Palestinian families whose children are currently receiving medical care for profound injuries inflicted by Israel’s genocidal campaign in Gaza. The cancellation of the panel mere hours before it was set to occur reveals a cruel silencing of the very patient perspectives most invaluable to future doctors. Harvard’s move is yet another example of a longstanding and well-documented Palestine exception to free speech.

Silencing families looking to share their experiences with health inequity, simply because they are from Palestine, is racist. The University’s message is clear. In order to silence the voices of Palestinian patients, Harvard is willing to betray its commitment to all patients. To sabotage one session on the public health crisis that is genocide, Harvard is willing to reject the values upon which it is ostensibly built.



**Total
liberation
everywhere**



Abdel Kareem Hana/AP