

Turning Blood into Money
The Pursuit of Joint Struggle Against the U.S. Carceral Security State and the Israeli Occupation

An Honors Thesis in American Studies

Leila Nashashibi

Tufts University, 2015

Abstract

In recent years, the Palestine movement in the U.S. has demonstrated increasing concern with joint struggle, a politics that seeks to highlight the interconnected nature of oppression and the subsequent need for cross-movement, joint action. This concern represents a shift from the movement's primary focus in the past, which was centered on exposing oppression in Israel/Palestine and addressing American complicity in the Israeli occupation. Given the large concentration of White and White-passing people within the movement, I argue this shift is particularly important in that it forces activists to address the many ways they are implicated in oppression far closer to home. I also argue that in the pursuit of joint struggle, the links between the U.S. carceral-security state and the Israeli occupation—which I identify in terms of *goals/impact* (i.e. the upholding of White supremacy) and *profit*—are especially important to highlight. Building solidarity and pursuing action around these connections in the face of power and privilege asymmetries is complicated and difficult but remains an extremely important project for the movement to continue to pursue.

Table of Contents

Introduction.....	1
Chapter 1: Joint Struggle.....	6
Chapter 2:	
I. Part 1: Upholding White Supremacy from the U.S. to Palestine.....	12
II. Part 2: Profiting from Oppression.....	25
Chapter 3: Addressing Complicity and Taking Action.....	38
Conclusion and Discussion.....	45

Introduction

In October 2014, over 500 students from across the country gathered on the Tufts University campus for the fourth annual Students for Justice in Palestine national conference.

This year's conference, entitled "Beyond Solidarity: Resisting Racism and Colonialism from the U.S. to Palestine," was the movement's largest and most diverse thus far. It also seemed to mark a turning point in the Palestine solidarity movement's political development, with an emphasis on "joint struggle" and a sophisticated, nuanced understanding of the ways various groups resisting oppression, both locally and transnationally, are interconnected and interdependent.¹

The above passage—taken from an article published on the alternative-news source *Muftah*—accurately captures, in many ways, the current status of the Palestine movement. Although the concern with “joint struggle” is not new as of this year, it represents a relatively recent shift in the focus of the movement. In this paper, I use the term the “Palestine movement” to refer primarily to the collection of university student groups, such as Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP),² that have endorsed the call for Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions.³

As an active member of Tufts Students for Justice in Palestine and as someone who has attended the last three SJP national conferences, I have seen the concern with joint struggle grow

¹ Moawad, Sarah. 2014. “Strength in Numbers, Power in People: US Student Movement for Justice in Palestine Moves ‘Beyond Solidarity.’” *Muftah*. October 31. <http://muftah.org/strength-numbers-power-people-us-student-movement-justice-palestine-moves-beyond-solidarity/>.

² There are also a number of non-student groups that have endorsed BDS and form an integral part of the movement nationally, but analysis in this paper is concerned primarily with the realm of student organizing, since this is the realm I am most familiar with.

³ The 2005 call for Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions aims to pressure Israel to 1) end the occupation of all Palestinian and Arab lands; 2) recognize fundamental rights of the Arab-Palestinian citizens of Israel to full equality; and 3) respect, protect and promote the rights of Palestinian refugees to return to their homes. See: “Palestinian Civil Society Call for BDS.” 2005. *BDSmovement.net*. July 9. <http://www.bdsmovement.net/call>.

stronger each year. The term “joint struggle” can roughly be defined as the collective, collaborative resistance waged by members of various movements and marginalized groups against oppression. The call for joint struggle stems primarily from an understanding of different structures of oppression as intimately connected and interdependent. Joint struggle emphasizes the notion that, just as oppressive systems are linked and reinforce one another, so to must our different struggles of resistance be linked and forged together.

The movement’s concern with joint struggle thus far has been accompanied by significant discussion of different forms of oppression, not just in Israel/Palestine but all over the world. Among the issues discussed—discussions that happen primarily at the national conferences—are the links between the histories and ongoing realities of settler colonialism affecting Native Americans and Palestinians, the shared experiences of labor exploitation in immigrant and undocumented U.S. communities and in Palestinian communities of the West Bank, the links between the systems of mass incarceration in both the U.S. and Palestine, the connections between the military occupation of Kashmir and that of Palestine, among many others.

My argument in this thesis is two-fold. Firstly, I argue that of all these connections, the links between the U.S. carceral-security state—a system characterized by mass incarceration, policing, and surveillance—and the system of the Israeli occupation are particularly important to focus on. Not only do these systems have similar impacts and goals — namely, the upholding of White supremacy⁴ and White control over racialized populations — but they are also linked

⁴ In this paper, I define White supremacy as a racial and social order that is particularly salient in the U.S. but also exists at a global level. White supremacy, although an “internally complex, historically dynamic logic of social organization,” functions to position Whites—usually of Western European origin—above all others in terms of their privilege and power. The system of racism is key to the upholding of White supremacy. Reference: Jung, Moon-Kie, João Costa Vargas, and Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, eds. 2011. *State of White Supremacy: Racism, Governance, and the United States*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. p 49.

materially, in terms of profit. These links provide the basis for joint struggle, both in terms of promoting shared understanding and solidarity between different groups as well as in terms of creating possibilities for joint action and organizing.

Secondly, I argue that the movement's emerging concern with joint struggle is extremely important in that it forces activists to consider their complicity, not only in the occupation of Palestine, but also in the oppression that exists in their backyards. This is especially important in a movement like the Palestine movement, which consists largely of White and White-passing people who have systematically benefited from White supremacy and systems of racism in the United States.

Exposing the ways in which the U.S. carceral-security state and the Israeli occupation are intimately linked further supports the notion that the Palestine movement in the U.S. can no longer remain silent on realities of White supremacy and institutionalized oppression—realities that shape every aspect of our lives in the United States. Not only is it contradictory for activists to advocate against systems of racism and apartheid in Israel while simultaneously benefiting from those systems in the U.S., it is also counterproductive in terms of the struggle to end the Israeli occupation. Given the strong, mutually-reinforcing nature of the connections between the oppressive structures in place in both contexts, justice simply cannot be achieved for the Palestinians while injustice is ignored and remains pervasive in the U.S. (and in other countries around the world).

The movement is already doing an amazing job of highlighting the connections between the carceral-security state in the U.S. and the Israeli occupation. As already mentioned, much of the groundwork is laid through discussions at the national conferences, which address mass

incarceration and policing in both contexts as racialized systems of control. The movement has also successfully crafted divestment campaigns aimed at security-prison corporations like G4S that profit from the oppressive systems in both locations.

Despite these achievements, however, forging solidarity and taking action around these connections remains complicated. The two contexts in question — that of the U.S. and that of Palestine/Israel — are complicated, heterogenous contexts, characterized by power asymmetries and divisions. The movement must do more to explicitly address these asymmetries and their implications for organizing. The frameworks of White Supremacy and anti-Blackness are especially important to highlight within the realm of student organizing on American college campuses, as they force participants to be aware—constantly—of their positions of power and privilege.⁵ Additionally, the space must be provided for critical discussions on how to “take action” and on the giving up power and privilege through action. Taking action remains the most difficult but most necessary aspect of joint struggle, and it is an aspect that the movement must do more to address.

Locating Myself

As a Palestinian American who has been very involved in the Palestine movement at my university, the subject matter of this thesis is very personal and relevant to me. The Israeli occupation has impacted my life in a number of serious ways— both directly, during the years I lived in Palestine, and less directly, in terms of the ways I have had to fight to reclaim a heritage

⁵ I recognize that these frameworks are not appropriate or useful in all contexts or in all attempts to build joint struggle. For example, to impose the frameworks of White supremacy and anti-Blackness on Palestinians living under occupation would be extremely problematic, given that these frameworks may have little relevance to their political organizing or their understandings of life under occupation.

that was stolen from me. As a person who is also White-privileged, class-privileged, and cisgendered, however, it is extremely important for me to grapple with the implications of my privileged position within the fight for justice, both in Palestine and here in the U.S. This thesis, in many ways, forms part of that effort. It has represented an opportunity for me to think critically about a movement that is very important to me, to think about the structures of racism and sexism and colonialism that I am complicit in, and the ways in which these structures shape the movement as well as my involvement in it. Ultimately I have viewed this paper as a way for me to do some very necessary thinking about myself as a person and as an activist, but also as a way to contribute to the on-going discussions on the dynamics of race and power shaping and inspiring the work of the Palestine movement in the U.S.

Structure

In the next section of this paper, I begin with a discussion of joint struggle. I map the movement's demonstrated concern with joint struggle and present some of my own thoughts about why this concern is important. In the following section, I discuss the ways in which the U.S.-carceral security state and the Israeli occupation both work to uphold White Supremacy—a discussion that is of special importance within a largely White movement like the Palestine movement. I follow this with a section on the material links between the two systems, and I conclude with a discussion on integrating the analysis of the previous sections into the movement through discussion and action.

CHAPTER 1: Joint Struggle

In this section, I will firstly highlight the movement's commitment to joint struggle, which has emerged steadily in recent years.⁶ I will then speak to the importance of pursuing joint struggle, especially within the context of the Palestine movement.

Joint struggle has been addressed by the movement as both a politics and practice. The fundamental idea behind the need for joint struggle is that one struggle against oppression cannot be separated from another; that the liberation of some cannot be complete without the liberation of all because of the interlocking nature of systems of oppression. This notion is one that resists the White supremacist hegemonic narrative “that insists our continued oppression, co-option and mortality are isolated incidents.”⁷

The commitment to joint struggle has been expressed in a number of different ways by the movement. In his book, *Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions: The Global Struggle for Palestinian Rights*, one of the major architects of the BDS movement, Omar Barghouti, asserts that:

BDS is categorically opposed to all forms of racism and racist ideologies, including anti-Semitism. Individuals who believe that some are more human or deserve more rights than others based on differences in ethnic, religious, gender, sexual or any other human identity attributes cannot belong to this consistently antiracist struggle for universal rights.⁸

⁶ Although the question of *why* this commitment has emerged over the last few years is very important, it has not been the main focus of my research. A few of the Palestinian Americans I have spoken to believe the concern has emanated primarily from Arab Americans within the movement, in reaction to their experiences of racialization and heightened forms of state violence in the post 9/11 U.S. context. There is likely quite a bit of truth in this idea, but the issue warrants far more systematic investigation.

⁷ Moore, Jonathan Jacob. 2015. “Teaching Life: Black Freedom, Palestinian Liberation.” *The Tufts Daily*. March 2. <http://tuftsdaily.com/opinion/2015/03/02/teaching-life-black-freedom-palestinian-liberation/>.

⁸ Barghouti, Omar. 2011. *Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions: The Global Struggle for Palestinian Rights*. Chicago, Illinois: Haymarket. p 33.

He also argues BDS is “effective, flexible, and inclusive enough to welcome all those committed to the irreducible entitlement of humans to equal rights.”⁹ Barghouti considers the movement “inclusive” and welcoming to anyone who is interested in resisting these forms of oppression and fighting for human rights.

Just as groups within the Palestine movement in the U.S. have endorsed BDS, these groups have also centralized principles of anti-racist, anti-colonial, anti-sexist struggle and presented the concern with these struggles as integral to their work and goals.

The SJP national conferences in particular have been very focused on making connections across movements and struggles. The titles of the last three conferences speak to this focus: “Beyond Solidarity: Resisting Racism and Colonialism from the U.S. to Palestine” (2014), “From Margin to Center: Connecting Struggles, Forging a National Movement” (2013), and “From Local Roots to Nationwide Branches: Bridging Student Movements” (2012).

At the 2013 national conference, the closing plenary, titled “Beyond Solidarity with Palestine: The Case for Joint Struggle,” explicitly dealt with the concept of joint struggle. It included four speakers from three different groups: the Palestinian Youth Movement, the International Jewish anti-Zionist Network, and the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement. The first paragraph of the plenary description reads:

This panel will argue for the need to go beyond a limited understanding of solidarity with Palestine and to embrace a politics and practice of joint struggle. We define joint struggle as the ways and the specific roles and work that different parts of movements for justice play in a shared challenge to exploitation, repression and oppression.¹⁰

⁹ Barghouti, Omar. 2011. p 33.

¹⁰ “2013 Program.” 2015. *SJP National*. Accessed April 22. <http://sjpnational.org/2013-program/>.

This description helps highlight the commitment of SJPs not only to incorporate a language and politics of joint struggle, but also to *practice* joint struggle, through BDS campaigns and other actions.

On the SJP East website,¹¹ joint struggle is mentioned in a description of the fourth National Conference:

“Beyond Solidarity: Resisting Racism and Colonialism from the U.S. to Palestine” challenges us to move towards thinking in terms of joint struggle- how our work in solidarity with the Palestinian struggle is part and parcel of the struggles to dismantle racism, militarism, and colonialism in the U.S. and other parts of the world/ And to move towards creating meaningful changes in our communities and beyond.

In this passage, the Israeli occupation is explicitly linked with racism, militarism and colonialism worldwide. The prevalence of these systems in Israel/Palestine and globally is also linked explicitly to the local, more immediate contexts of our lives in the United States.

Ali Abunimah—an important Palestinian figure within the movement—further emphasizes the notion of the Palestine movement as “inseparable from the global struggle for racial equality, economic democracy and decolonization.” In an interview with Rania Khalek of *Truthout*,¹² Abunimah discusses “the new Jim Crow and Obama’s mass deportations” as the result of the ongoing reality of White supremacy, asserting that people of Color continue to be treated “essentially as a demographic threat in the United States.”¹³ His message at the end of the

¹¹ “Home.” 2015. *SJP EAST*. Accessed April 22. <http://sjpeast.weebly.com/>.

¹² Khalek, Rania. 2014. “Abunimah: Justice in Palestine Is Fundamental to Global Struggle Against Racial, Economic Domination.” *Truthout*. April 13. <http://www.truth-out.org/progressivepicks/item/22848-abunimah-justice-in-palestine-is-fundamental-to-global-struggle-against-racial-economic-domination>.

¹³ Khalek, Rania. 2014.

interview is that, as participants in the Palestine movement, we must continue to make these kinds of connections and “to broaden and deepen our understanding of shared and joint struggle.”¹⁴

The Importance of Joint Struggle

The concept of joint struggle has forced me, personally, to think in a number of new and important ways. Initially I did not view myself as “in need” of joint struggle given my White privilege. I saw myself as contributing and supporting joint struggle, not for myself, but for the sake of others. In this way, I was slipping into the position of the “White Savior”— someone fighting for the “salvation of oppressed people,” while simultaneously reinforcing his or her position as “superior.”

In the past, Palestine activism in the U.S. has sometimes portrayed Palestinians as an Oriental, victimized group in need of saving. All sorts of judgements are linked to this view, including the commentary that presents certain types of Palestinian resistance as “moral” or “correct” but others as “terrorism” (i.e. “I only support Palestinian nonviolent resistance because any other kind of resistance is immoral”). This kind of framing reinforces the power asymmetry that already exists between Palestinians and the Western world in that it grants Westerners the power to define the terms of the conflict and of the Palestinian struggle to end the occupation.

The idea of joint struggle emerges in direct opposition to this trend. It provides an alternative framing of solidarity with the Palestinians, emphasizing the not in that the liberation

¹⁴ Khalek, Rania. 2014.

of an oppressed group in one context is intimately connected and to and dependent on our liberation and the liberation of all people everywhere.

Realizing the many issues implicit in my past thinking, I have since centered myself and my own need for liberation within the greater struggle for an end to the Israeli occupation and other forms of oppression. Some of the systems of oppression that most directly affect me as a woman—those of sexism and patriarchy, for example—are part and parcel to the Israeli occupation and other oppressive structures, and therefore my resistance to the occupation is inextricably tied to my pursuit of liberation from those structures.

Not only does joint struggle force me and others like me within the movement to center our own need for liberation in the activism we pursue (which in turn helps to combat the White Savior Complex), but it also forces us to be accountable to our role in perpetuating oppression here in the United States. This is especially important in a movement made up of a large portion of White and White-passing people—people whose privilege have been built on this oppression.

In the past, American activists within the movement have been very vocal about the need to resist oppression in Israel/Palestine, highlighting Israeli practices of racism and colonialism and apartheid. However, for activists to raise these critiques without acknowledging their participation in oppression here in the U.S. is to fall into the imperialist American trend of looking thousands of miles away for realities of oppression as a way of distracting from the existence of these realities here at home. This is especially problematic when we consider the very linked nature of oppression in Israel/Palestine and in the U.S., as well as across the world. In the next few sections, I hope to show that the failure to address and resist oppressive structures in one context can help reinforce them in another.

In the following section I will focus on explicating the links between the systems of oppression that systematically benefit certain groups in the U.S. and in Israel/Palestine. In doing so, I hope to emphasize the need for Whites and other beneficiaries to actively combat their roles within these oppressive U.S. systems if they hope to also effect change in the context of Israel/Palestine.

CHAPTER 2

Part 1: Upholding White Supremacy from the U.S. to Palestine

Overview

My aim in this chapter is to explore the connections between the increasingly militarized, carceral U.S. state and the Israeli occupation. I argue that this set of connections is very important to make within the larger context of pursuing joint struggle for two primary reasons. The first is that both the carceral-security state apparatus in the U.S. and the Israeli occupation can be viewed as systems that seek to uphold, preserve and maintain White supremacy. The second is that both systems thrive and perpetuate themselves through weapons/prison/security/surveillance industries and corporate profit; often the same corporations are involved in both contexts. The two systems are therefore linked not only in terms of their goals and impacts, but also in terms of profit.

In the first part of this chapter I will discuss the ways in which White supremacy is upheld through both systems. In the second part, I will detail the links regarding profit. In subsequent chapters, I will address the implications of both of these links — that of the goals/impacts and that of profit — for the actions and focus of a movement that is largely White or White-passing.

The U.S. Carceral-Security State and White Supremacy

I use the term “carceral-security state” to refer to the state-sponsored policies, practices and institutions aimed at terrorizing, controlling, and disappearing racialized populations in the United States. These practices, policies and systems include mass incarceration, the prison-industrial complex, the policing and surveillance of communities of color, police brutality, the increasingly militarized nature of police forces, the militarization of the U.S.-Mexico border, the proliferation of immigrant detention centers, and spying, among others.

For decades, one of the major pillars of the carceral-security state in the U.S. has been the system of mass incarceration and the prison industrial complex. Most experts trace the beginnings of the U.S. prison build-up to the years of the Black Power movement and the economic restructuring of the 70s and 80s. During this time, the government was searching for ways to repress the radical and revolutionary political organizing by groups like the Black Panthers, and incarceration offered a convenient answer.¹⁵ In the following years, it also represented the solution to increasing numbers of unemployed and working class Black men who had become “surplus” to the U.S. economy as a result of neoliberal economic restructuring.¹⁶ As the government pulled funding away from the social safety net and poured it into the construction of prisons, processes of crime racialization, together with the “drug epidemic,” the

¹⁵ Murakawa, Naomi. 2014. *The First Civil Right: How Liberals Built Prison America*. New York: Oxford University Press.

¹⁶ Gilmore, Ruth Wilson. 1999. “Globalisation and US Prison Growth: From Military Keynesianism to Post-Keynesian Militarism.” *Race & Class* 40 (2-3): 171–88.

War on Drugs, and a series of laws aimed at criminalizing drug use, including the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986, then ensured a steady in-flow of Black inmates.¹⁷

Moving into the 1990s and 2000s, a number of factors and forces led the carceral-security state to develop from the stages of the prison build-up in the 70s and 80s to what it is today: a matrix of control characterized by incarceration, the militarization of the U.S. borders, the detention of immigrants, surveillance, police brutality, and the militarization of the police, among other things.

Of these factors, the most important were the events of September 11th and the ensuing “War on Terror.” 9/11 was absolutely vital to providing the justification for the “sealing” of the U.S.-Mexico Border and the crackdown on immigrant communities in the United States.¹⁸ This in turn ensured a steady supply of people to newly constructed immigrant detention centers—institutions that now form an absolutely central part of the carceral-security state. The War on Terror also helped justify an increase in surveillance, spying, and information sharing between police departments, federal agencies, and the military in an effort to prevent Muslim terrorist attacks within the country. Finally, the War on Terror has led to the flow of military-style weapons to police departments, further blurring the lines between the police (forces that are supposed to protect) and the military (forces that are supposed to attack). All of these processes and practices could not have occurred without the racialization of both Latinos and Arab/Muslim Americans as “threats” to U.S. national security.

¹⁷ Murakawa, Naomi. 2014.

¹⁸ Gonzalez, Juan. 2011. *Harvest of Empire: A History of Latinos in America*. Revised edition. New York: Penguin Books.

I argue that the different processes and practices described above—processes and practices that constitute the carceral-security state—represent major vehicles for White supremacy in that they systematically eroded and inhibited the possibility for wealth, safety, privacy and general welfare in communities of Color, while simultaneously ensuring their possibility in White communities.

Mass incarceration, for example, has had devastating and disproportionate impacts for Black and Latino communities. The Sentencing Project reports that 1 in 3 Black men and 1 in 6 Latino men are likely to be imprisoned during their lifetimes, as compared to 1 in 17 White men.¹⁹ Similarly, 1 in 18 Black women are likely to be imprisoned during their lifetime, while only 1 in 111 White women are likely to be imprisoned.²⁰ It is estimated that 5.85 million Americans—the majority of them Black and Brown—are denied the right to participate in elections because of state laws barring people with felony convictions from voting.²¹ Criminal convictions can also exclude people completely from certain career opportunities. In many states, one of the first questions on an employment application is whether the applicant has been convicted or arrested.²² A recent report on the use of criminal history records in college admissions reveals that two-thirds of surveyed colleges and universities ask applicants about their conviction history, despite the lack of empirical evidence that indicates any positive impact

¹⁹ “Racial Disparity.” 2015. *The Sentencing Project News*. Accessed April 22. <http://www.sentencingproject.org/template/page.cfm?id=122>.

²⁰ “Racial Disparity.” 2015.

²¹ “Felony Disenfranchisement.” 2015. *The Sentencing Project*. Accessed April 29. <http://www.sentencingproject.org/template/page.cfm?id=133>.

²² “Vermont Becomes the 16th State to Ban the Box!” 2015. *Collateral Consequences Resource Center*. April 27. <http://ccresourcecenter.org/2015/04/27/vermont-becomes-the-16th-state-to-ban-the-box/>.

of criminal history screening on campus safety.²³ Instead, it is clear that colleges are using this question to “create barriers to higher education for otherwise qualified applicants.”²⁴

The result of policies that restrict access to political participation, employment and education can be read in the disproportionately high levels of unemployment and poverty among African Americans. The unemployment rate for Black Americans — the highest of all other racial groups, according to Bureau of Labor statistics — was 13.1% in 2013.²⁵ The lowest unemployment rate was that of Asian Americans — 5.2%, and the second lowest was that of Whites, at 6.5%. Although African Americans make up only 13.2% of the U.S. population,²⁶ at least 25.8% of people living under the poverty level in the U.S. are African American. Whites make up 77.7% of the entire US population, but only 11.6% of the population living under the poverty level are White.²⁷

Meanwhile, the flow of military weapons to police departments and the over-policing of communities of Color, together with the racialization of crime, has led to disproportionate numbers of fatal shootings by police in those communities. The journalists at *ProPublica* estimate that young Black men are 21 times more likely to be fatally shot by the police than

²³ Center for Community Alternatives. 2015. *Boxed Out: Criminal History Screening and College Application Attrition*. Center for Community Alternatives. http://communityalternatives.org/pdf/publications/BoxedOut_FullReport.pdf.

²⁴ Center for Community Alternatives. 2015: ii.

²⁵ *Labor Force Characteristics by Race and Ethnicity, 2013*. 2014. 1050. U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. http://www.bls.gov/opub/reports/cps/race_ethnicity_2013.pdf.

²⁶ “USA QuickFacts.” 2015. *United States Census Bureau*. Accessed April 22. <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/00000.html>.

²⁷ Macartney, Suzanne, Alemayehu Bishaw, and Kalya Fontenot. 2013. *Poverty Rates for Selected Detailed Race and Hispanic Groups by State and Place: 2007–2011*. American Community Survey Briefs. United States Census Bureau. <http://www.census.gov/prod/2013pubs/acsbr11-17.pdf>.

young White men.²⁸ An investigation in 2007 by *ColorLines* and *The Chicago Reporter* resulted in similar findings:

African Americans were overrepresented among police shooting victims in every city the publications investigated. The contrast was particularly noticeable in New York, San Diego and Las Vegas. In each of these cities, the percentage of black people killed by police was at least double that of their share of the city's total population.²⁹

In considering the ways in which the incidence of fatal police shootings in communities of Color contributes to the privilege and power of White communities, the equation is quite simple: it comes down to the question of life or death, of who “gets to live” and who does not. If fewer Black Americans or other people of Color “get to live” than do Whites, the result is the reduced threat to White power, privilege, and access to opportunity.

The disproportionate impacts of the carceral-security state on people of Color extend far beyond the realms of “criminal justice” and police brutality. The militarization of the U.S. Mexico border, in combination with the strengthening of anti-immigration laws and the establishment of immigration enforcement initiatives such as Operation Community Shield (initiated in 2005)³⁰ and the National Fugitive Operations Program (initiated in 2003),³¹ has helped exacerbate the vulnerable and insecure positions of many Latinos within the country. This in turn serves to benefit Whites in important ways.

²⁸ Gabrielson, Ryan, Ryann Grochowski Jones, and Eric Sagara. 2014. “Deadly Force, in Black and White.” *ProPublica*. October 10. <http://www.propublica.org/article/deadly-force-in-black-and-white>.

²⁹ Lowenstein, Jeff Kelly. 2007. “Killed by the Cops.” *Colorlines*. November 4. <http://www.colorlines.com/articles/killed-cops>.

³⁰ ICE Fugitive Operations Program Billed as Having Explicit National Security Focus Is Missing Its Enforcement Mark. n.d. Migration Policy Institute. <http://oppenheimer.mcgill.ca/Report-ICE-Fugitive-Operations?lang=fr>.

³¹ Gonzalez, Juan. 2011: 213.

In the operations mentioned above, ICE (Immigration and Customs Enforcement) agents arrested hundreds of Latino immigrants *without criminal convictions* under the pretext of searching for convicted felons, fugitives, gangs members, and sex offenders.³² As more Latinos are locked up or deported as a result of these practices, more wealth and privilege is retained within the hands of Whites. For many who evade arrest or deportation, their vulnerable and insecure position in the U.S. lends itself to severe forms of economic exploitation, often consisting of 80 hour workweeks, wages below the minimum, and a denial of overtime pay.³³ Wealthy consumers—the majority of them White—bear some responsibility in creating the demand for products and services that ensure the pervasiveness of this exploitation. Conditions of economic exploitation—in addition to all of the barriers to opportunity that result from a lack of “proper documentation”—are not likely to help the overall economic situation of many Latinos. The Pew Research Center reports, for example, that “among adults who are unauthorized immigrants, one-in-five (21%) is poor. In contrast, the poverty rate is 13% for legal immigrant adults and 10% for U.S.-born adults.”³⁴

Regarding Arab American and Muslim American communities, the implications of the expansion of the carceral-security state in the post 9/11 context have been dire. A 2011 report titled *Under the Radar*³⁵ summarizes the ways in which U.S. immigration laws and immigration

³² Gonzalez, Juan. 2011: 213.

³³ Abelson, Jenn. 2010. “The Fault Lines Under the Crust.” *Boston Globe*, December 5, sec. Metro.

³⁴ Passel, Jeffrey S., and D’Vera Cohn. 2009. “Social and Economic Characteristics.” *Pew Research Center’s Hispanic Trends*. April 14. <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2009/04/14/iv-social-and-economic-characteristics/>.

³⁵ Center for Human Rights and Global Justice, Asian, and American Legal Defense and Education Fund. 2011. *Under the Radar: Muslims Deported, Detained, and Denied on Unsubstantiated Terrorism Allegations*. New York: NYU School of Law. <http://aaldef.org/UndertheRadar.pdf>.

enforcement practices have been blended with counterterrorism initiatives to systematically target, detain, imprison, and deport thousands of Arab and Muslim immigrants, some of them U.S. citizens.³⁶ In many of these cases, people were imprisoned or deported not on the basis of a convicted crime, but because they were deemed likely to “engage in terrorist activity at some point in the future.”³⁷

It goes without saying that the systematic siphoning off of well-paying employment opportunities and wealth from communities of Color in the U.S. directly contributes to the augmentation of these resources within White communities. As barriers are created — both literally and figuratively — to prevent people of Color from accessing jobs, education, and good housing, more and more of these resources are retained for Whites. While Muslims and Arabs and Latinos and African Americans face systematic state violence, other communities—mainly White communities—continue to enjoy their status as fully protected citizens. In these ways, the carceral-security state operates as a primary vehicle for preserving White power and supremacy in American society.

³⁶ “New ACLU Report Documents Devastating Effects of Post-9/11 Deportations on Immigrant Communities and Families.” 2004. *American Civil Liberties Union*. December 8. <https://www.aclu.org/news/new-aclu-report-documents-devastating-effects-post-911-deportations-immigrant-communities-and>.

³⁷ Ahmed, Sameer, and Amna Akbar. 2011. “Abusing Immigration Law to Target Muslims.” *The Huffington Post*, June 18, sec. Politics. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/sameer-ahmed/abusing-immigration-law-t_b_863494.html.

The Israeli Occupation and White Supremacy

I was even more shocked at how viscerally I noticed similarities between Stand Your Ground laws at home and Israel's justification for its treatment of Palestinians. I had heard story after story about how the Israeli military had used the "security threat" argument to justify the closing of Shuhada Street, shooting tear gas into a house full of women and children, barring my Palestinian-American friend from re-entering the country to continue her study abroad. Palestinians, Blacks and other groups in colonialist countries are "security threats" by our very existence of surviving under systems that seek to destroy us.³⁸

The above passage is an excerpt from an article written by Kristian Davis Bailey, a prominent activist within the Palestine movement, after his visit to Palestine/Israel. Bailey's blunt characterization of Israeli occupation and racism in the U.S. as systems seeking to destroy people of Color perfectly expresses the overarching argument I seek to convey in this section. Just as the carceral-security state in the U.S. has contributed systematically to the impoverishment, exploitation and destruction of American communities of Color to the benefit of Whites, so to has the Israeli occupation contributed to the decimation of Palestinian society to the benefit of Israelis, and especially White Israelis.

I use the term "Israeli occupation" to refer to all of the practices and policies that characterize the carceral-security state apparatus in the U.S. (including mass incarceration, policing, surveillance, militarization of borders, etc) *plus* a range of other practices that have come to be recognized as hallmarks of Israeli apartheid: segregated highways, checkpoints, the Separation Wall, military night raids, house demolitions, the construction of settlements, and the forced removal of Palestinian families from their homes. In addition to the policies aimed at

³⁸ Bailey, Kristian Davis. 2014a. "Why Black People Must Stand With Palestine." *EBONY*, May 21. <http://www.ebony.com/news-views/why-black-people-must-stand-with-palestine-402>.

restricting movement and making life unbearable, Palestinians are also faced with the relentless attempts to wipe their history and very existence from the world's collective memory. This project is pursued through the replacement of the name "Palestinian" with the name "Arab" within Israeli lexicon, the replacement of Arabic names of cities and towns with Hebrew ones, and the planting-over of razed Palestinian villages with pines forests, among many other tactics.

Israel has historically justified these policies of occupation as "defense" against the perpetual security threat posed by the racialized Palestinian population. In reality, however, the continuation of the occupation has to do with profit, ideology, and racism. The colonial and apartheid policies that constitute the occupation are aimed at preserving the wealth and power of the rich, White Israeli elite, while maintaining the impoverished, easily exploitable status of the Palestinian population.

White, European-descended Israelis (referred to in Hebrew as the Ashkenazim) monopolize many of the most powerful institutions in Israel— institutions that are also directly connected to the preservation of the occupation. According to one author, "the representation of Ashkenazi men in the upper levels of politics, university faculties, the economic elite, and the media is much higher than their proportion of the population."³⁹ Israeli scholar Smadar Lavie also notes: "Like the Palestinian Israelis, the Mizrahi majority has only a small minority of representation in all financial, legal, and cultural institutions of the Israeli elite."⁴⁰

³⁹ Sasson-Levy, Orna. 2013. "A Different Kind of Whiteness: Marking and Unmarking of Social Boundaries in the Construction of Hegemonic Ethnicity." *Sociological Forum* 28 (1): 27–50. doi:10.1111/socf.12001.

⁴⁰ Lavie, Smadar. 2011. "Mizrahi Feminism and the Question of Palestine." *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 7 (2): 58.

The disparity between White Israelis and Arab Israelis (Mizrahi Jews) has characterized Israeli society from the beginning: “After 1948, upon immigration... The Mizrahim received government-sponsored training programs for production-line jobs, while the Ashkenazim went to universities for professional training.”⁴¹ Additionally, the Israeli school system has acted as a “primary mechanism by which Jews of European-American ethnicity have institutionalized their privilege.”⁴² Of course, the high-level positions Ashkenazi men have held and continue to hold translate to great wealth and power that remain concentrated within White Israeli families. One author notes that “despite a gradual convergence in the educational attainment and other productivity-related characteristics of the five [other] groups,”⁴³ the gap between the earnings of Ashkenazi men and others has not narrowed since the early 1970s.

The institutions mentioned above—politics, universities, media—are directly linked to and dependent on the ongoing occupation. From the production of weapons to the distribution of water and electricity, the occupation provides hundreds of profit earning opportunities for the Israeli elite. Israel’s defense industry, which will be discussed in greater detail in the next section, is especially dependent on the occupation and also especially profitable: in 2012 alone, Israel’s military exports totaled \$7.5 billion.⁴⁴ Israeli journalist Yotam Feldman reports that the military

⁴¹ Lavie, Smadar. 2011. “Mizrahi Feminism and the Question of Palestine.” *Journal of Middle East Women’s Studies* 7 (2): 58.

⁴² Hanneman, Robert A. 1991. “Reviewed Work: Promises in the Promised Land: Mobility and Inequality in Israel.” *American Journal of Sociology* 96 (6): 1577–79.

⁴³ Haberfeld, Yitchak, and Yinon Cohen. 2007. “Gender, Ethnic, and National Earnings Gaps in Israel: The Role of Rising Inequality.” *Social Science Research* 36 (2): 654–72. doi:10.1016/j.ssresearch.2006.02.001.

⁴⁴ Cohen, Gili. 2015. “Israel’s Military Exports Totaled Some \$7.5 Billion in 2012.” *Haaretz*, sec. Diplomacy and Defense. Accessed April 29. <http://www.haaretz.com/news/diplomacy-defense/.premium-1.537501>.

industries “are responsible for the transfer of public funds to an upper-middle class which makes its living from these industries, directly or indirectly.”⁴⁵

In fact, Israel’s *richest man*, Stef Wertheimer (a White German Jew), is an example of the many Israelis who have made their fortunes through the military industry.⁴⁶ His company, Blades Technology Ltd, was “founded to supply the Israeli Air Force with spare parts into a multinational corporation that provides high quality components to major OEMs [original equipment manufacturer] around the globe.”⁴⁷ The Wertheimer family’s net worth as of 2014 was \$7.8 billion.⁴⁸

Meanwhile the Palestinian population experienced a 17.8% poverty rate in the West Bank in 2011, and a 38.3% poverty rate in Gaza.⁴⁹ According to the CIA World Factbook, GDP per capita in Israel in 2012 was \$32,900,⁵⁰ whereas in the West Bank and Gaza it was estimated

⁴⁵ Ilani, Ofri. 2013. “‘Wars on Gaza Have Become Part of Israel’s System of Governance’: An Interview with Filmmaker Yotam Feldman.” *+972 Magazine*. May 22. <http://972mag.com/wars-on-gaza-have-become-part-of-israels-system-of-governance-an-interview-with-filmmaker-yotam-feldman/71957/>.

⁴⁶ Bin-Nun, Boaz. 2006. “Israel’s 40 Richest.” *Forbes*. September 12. http://www.forbes.com/lists/2006/81/biz_06israel_Israels-Richest_land.html.

⁴⁷ “About Blades Technology Ltd.” 2015. Accessed April 22. <http://www.btl.co.il/about.asp>.

⁴⁸ *Haaretz*. 2014. “The Growing Power of Israel’s Richest People,” June 5, sec. Business. <http://www.haaretz.com/business/premium-1.597203>.

⁴⁹ “Household Budget.” 2015. *Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics - State of Palestine*. Accessed April 22. <http://www.pcbs.gov.ps/site/881/default.aspx#HouseHold>.

⁵⁰ “Israel.” 2015. *World Factbook - Central Intelligence Agency*. Accessed April 22. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/is.html>.

to be around \$4900.⁵¹ These huge disparities are created and maintained through the occupation, which not only serves to severely damage the economic and social well-being of Palestinians, but also contributes significantly to the wealth and power of the White Israeli elite. The upholding of White Supremacy and the continued concentration of power within the hands of White Israelis has consequences for Palestinians but also for other people of Color in Israel, who face systematic disadvantage in almost every realm of Israeli society.

⁵¹ “West Bank.” 2015. *World Factbook - Central Intelligence Agency*. Accessed April 22. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/we.html>.

CHAPTER 2

Part 2: Profiting from Oppression

“They ask you— what is your trick, you Israelis, for turning blood into money?”⁵²
-Israeli Defense Forces Major General Yoav Galant

Overview

This section is primarily focused on the role of profit in the development and expansion of the carceral-security state in the U.S. and globally, as well as in the occupation of Palestine. My primary argument is that Israeli firms play a key role in ensuring the expansion and development of the carceral-security state in the U.S. in addition to the occupation in Israel/Palestine, and that U.S./European companies play a key role in ensuring the continued preservation of the Israeli occupation in addition to the preservation of similar systems in the U.S. and Europe. Therefore, the role of corporations and profit creates a mutually reinforcing relationship between the two systems of oppression.

The profits of the weapons, surveillance, security, defense and prison companies described in this section are important not only because they represent unethical business practice, but also because they translate to power; they lead to significant lobbying power and the ability to influence government policies, legislation and practices that preserve both the Israeli occupation and the U.S. carceral-security state. To target these corporations for boycott and divestment — as the BDS movement has called for — has the potential for affecting not only their profits but also any influence they might have in government and politics.

⁵² Feldman, Yotam. 2013. *The Lab*. Documentary. Cinephil.

Israeli Industries and Their Contribution to the Carceral-Security State

Israeli defense and security firms depend on the ongoing Israeli occupation to develop and test their weapons, and in the post-9/11 world, there is a huge market for the products they produce. Police departments and militaries around the world interested in waging “counterterrorism warfare” after 9/11—whether in Afghanistan or within the racialized communities back home—suddenly saw Israel as the ultimate expert in the field. In the paragraphs that follow, I will provide an overview of the specific ways in which different Israeli firms have profited from and contributed to the various aspects of the carceral and security state apparatus around the world.

Nothing better illustrates the cycle of dependence between weapons/defense firms and systems of oppression around the world than an examination of the peak sales times for Israeli weapons firms. For example, Yotam Feldman, an Israeli journalist and documentary producer, reported to an interviewer in 2014: “A salesman for the IAI [Israel Aerospace Industries] told me that assassinations and operations in Gaza bring about an increase of tens of percentage points in company sales.”⁵³ Immediately after the 2012 incursion into the Gaza Strip, Israel's weapons sales hit an all-time record of \$7 billion.⁵⁴ A statement by Former Israeli Defense Minister Binyamin Ben-Eliezer perfectly captures the message behind these figures: “People like to buy things that have been tested. If Israel sells weapons, they’ve been tested, tried out. We can say: we’ve used this for 10 years, 15 years. So the demand is tremendous.”⁵⁵

⁵³ Ilani, Ofri. 2013.

⁵⁴ Feldman, Yotam. 2013.

⁵⁵ Feldman, Yotam. 2013.

Israeli firms have demonstrated that they are more than willing to meet this demand. According to an article written in 2008 in Israel's Daily newspaper, Israel has become Colombia's "number one weapon supplier,"⁵⁶ providing "drone aircraft, arms, ammunition and electronic equipment for use in combating the country's drug lords."⁵⁷ Israeli companies are providing similar products to Brazil⁵⁸, where Israeli-designed unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) are employed to "control drugs and crime" in Rio as well as along the border between Brazil and Paraguay.⁵⁹

In addition to manufacturing and exporting weapons, Israeli companies are also very active in the global prison industry. For example, Verint Systems Inc, an Israeli company now based in New York, currently provides surveillance technologies for the Rio De Janeiro State

⁵⁶ Azulai, Yuval. 2013. "IAI Selling Upgraded Kfir Jets for \$20m." *Globes*. August 6. <http://www.globes.co.il/en/article-1000869066>.

⁵⁷ "Brazil Patrols Paraguay Border with UAV to Control Drugs and Arms Contraband." 2010. *MercoPress*. July 23. <http://en.mercopress.com/2010/07/23/brazil-patrols-paraguay-border-with-uav-to-control-drugs-and-arms-contraband>.

For more on Israel and Colombia weapons sales, consult:

Avissar, Irit, and Hadas Magen. 2008. "Israeli Defense Firms Team on Colombia Warship Bid." *Globes*. August 4. <http://www.globes.co.il/en/article-1000368266>.

⁵⁸ "Rio Police Begins to Use Drones to Control Drugs and Crime in the City's Shanty Towns." 2012. *MercoPress*. September 10. <http://en.mercopress.com/2012/09/10/rio-police-begins-to-use-drones-to-control-drugs-and-crime-in-the-city-s-shanty-towns>.

⁵⁹ "Brazil Patrols Paraguay Border with UAV to Control Drugs and Arms Contraband." 2010. *MercoPress*. July 23. <http://en.mercopress.com/2010/07/23/brazil-patrols-paraguay-border-with-uav-to-control-drugs-and-arms-contraband>.

Prison,⁶⁰ while the company Israel Military Industries (IMI) reports that it has “set up” prisons in Argentina, the Seychelles Islands, and Spain.⁶¹

Israeli firms have also benefited enormously from anti-immigration legislation and the hyper-militarization of states’ borders, especially in the United States. In March 2014, the Israeli company Elbit was awarded an \$87 million contract from the US Department of Homeland Security to “produce and install surveillance systems for the US-Mexico border fence.”⁶² Meanwhile, in Israel/Palestine, Elbit “remains one of the main providers of the electronic detection fence system to the Separation Wall project in the West Bank. The company's products are heavily relied upon by the Israeli Army in almost every military operation launched at the Gaza Strip.”⁶³

Even more successful on the world market than Israel’s products and technologies, however, are its expertise and experience in “asymmetric warfare” and “counter-terrorism.”⁶⁴ High ranking members of police departments in the U.S., Latin American countries, Western European countries, Scandinavia, South Africa, India, and West African countries participate

⁶⁰ “Brazilian Prison Leverages Nextiva IP Video Portfolio For Enhanced Security - Case Study.” 2015. *SourceSecurity.com*. Accessed April 22. <http://us.sourcesecurity.com/companies/micro-site/verint-systems/case-studies/co-1753-ga.990.html>.

⁶¹ Marom, Dror. 2000. “IMI to Set Up \$40 Mln Prison in Argentina.” *Globes*. October 5. <http://www.globes.co.il/en/article-444045>.

For more information, see:

Blackburn, Nicky. 2006. “Israeli Surveillance Cameras Help the US Stay ‘vigilant.’” *ISRAEL21c*. February 5. <http://www.israel21c.org/technology/israeli-surveillance-cameras-help-the-us-stay-vigilant/>.

⁶² Moore, Jack. 2014. “Israel’s Elbit Systems Wins £87m Contract on US-Mexico Border Fence.” *International Business Times UK*. March 7. <http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/israels-elbit-systems-wins-87m-contract-us-mexico-border-fence-1439378>.

⁶³ “Elbit Systems.” 2015. Accessed April 22. <http://www.whoprofits.org/company/elbit-systems>.

⁶⁴ Feldman, Yotam. 2013.

every few months in training programs designed to impart this expertise, including Project Interchange,⁶⁵ the Law Enforcement Education Program (LEEP),⁶⁶ and the Anti-Defamation League’s Advanced Training School.⁶⁷ According to Yotam Feldman, this training involves not only military training and skill building, but also legal training on how to justify asymmetric warfare and morally ambiguous counter-terrorism practices.⁶⁸

In 2012, ten senior counter-terrorism experts from the police departments of New York City, Los Angeles, Houston, Austin, Oakland and Montgomery County (MD) traveled to Israel with Project Interchange. The week-long program included many discussions of “cutting-edge counter-terrorism technologies, airport security and profiling,” a visit to the Israeli prison Megido, and another visit to an Israeli border security unit.”⁶⁹ The feedback from participants regarding the program and the agenda was resoundingly positive: “One would say [Israel] is the front line,” commented Barnett Jones, the police chief of Ann Arbor, Michigan. “We’re in a global war.”⁷⁰

⁶⁵ “Senior NYPD, LAPD, Houston Police and Top Counterterror Experts to Visit Israel.” 2012. *Project Interchange*. October 15. <http://projectinterchange.org/?p=6794>.

⁶⁶ “Law Enforcement Exchange Program (LEEP).” 2015. Accessed April 22. <http://www.jinsa.org/events-programs/law-enforcement-exchange-program-leep/all>.

⁶⁷ “ADL and Law Enforcement: Fighting Terror before 9/11 and Beyond.” 2011. August 24. http://archive.adl.org/learn/adl_law_enforcement/911_adl_law_enforcement.html?LEARN_Cat=Training&LEARN_SubCat=Training_News#.VKHMTJ2AA.

⁶⁸ Hever. 2014. “New Film Exposes the Israeli Weapon and Security Industry.” *The Real News Network*. October 3. http://therealnews.com/t2/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=31&Itemid=74&jumival=10220.

⁶⁹ “International Seminars.” 2015. Accessed April 22. <http://projectinterchange.org/?seminars=2>.

⁷⁰ Blumenthal, Max. 2011. “From Occupation to ‘Occupy’: The Israelification of American Domestic Security.” *Mondoweiss*. December 2. <http://mondoweiss.net/2011/12/from-occupation-to-occupy-the-israelification-of-american-domestic-decurity>.

Upon returning to the U.S., however, these officers are not facing off with “terrorists,” but rather with regular people— especially regular people in poor communities of Color. According to journalist Max Blumenthal, the militarization of U.S. police forces, together with the counter-terrorism trainings’ they are receiving in Israel and the criminalization of communities of Color, is increasing “police fear and hostility towards the civilian population”⁷¹ and seriously blurring the lines between “police” and “military.”

For example, members of the St. Louis police department responsible for the death of Michael Brown had trained with the Israeli military.⁷² The counter-demonstration techniques employed against the Ferguson population, including the use of tear gas, rubber bullets and live ammunition, as well as the imposition of curfews, bore strong semblance to Israeli military practices in the Palestinian territories.

Israeli firms such as ISPRA⁷³ and Odortec⁷⁴ are top producers of some of the “non-lethal” weapons employed both by police departments worldwide and the Israeli military. Despite the IDF’s supply of non-lethal weapons, however, participating in demonstrations in the West Bank has proven to be dangerous and even lethal. Between 2011 and 2013, three demonstrators were killed by non-lethal weapons used in lethal ways (such as the firing of a teargas canister from

⁷¹ Blumenthal, Max. 2011.

⁷² Bailey, Kristian Davis. 2014b. “The Ferguson/Palestine Connection.” *EBONY*. August 19. <http://www.ebony.com/news-views/the-fergusonpalestine-connection-403>.

⁷³ “Company Profile.” 2015. Accessed April 22. <http://www.ispraltd.com/Page.asp?PiD=0.2&id=7>.

⁷⁴ “About Us.” 2015. *Skunk - Odortec Ltd*. Accessed April 22. <http://www.skunk-skunk.com/121755/About%2DU.s>.

close range at a demonstrator's head)⁷⁵ and at least 8,000 people sustained injuries.⁷⁶ During the same period, more than 40 Palestinians were killed by live ammunition in demonstrations, while hundreds were injured.⁷⁷ Similarly, at least six people were shot by St. Louis police in demonstrations in the two months following the murder of Michael Brown.⁷⁸

While some Israeli products and forms of expertise are employed around the world to maim and kill, others are used in far more subtle ways. In one case that has received national attention,⁷⁹ a former sergeant in the Israeli Defense Forces, Mike Rozin, was hired to lead the Mall of America's "special security unit." According to the story published by National Public Radio the Center for Investigative Reporting (CIR), approximately 1,200 people are accosted and questioned by the unit every year. Many of these individuals are then included in counterterrorism reports without their knowledge. They are then often visited at their homes by federal agents who do not, in reality, have any reasonable suspicion to investigate."⁸⁰

⁷⁵ Two were killed by rubber-coated bullets, one was killed by a tear gas canister fired from close range. The canister struck the protesters in the head.

⁷⁶ *Trigger Happy: Israel's Use of Excessive Force in the West Bank*. 2014. Amnesty International. <http://www.amnestyusa.org/pdfs/mde150022014en.pdf>.

⁷⁷ *Trigger Happy: Israel's Use of Excessive Force in the West Bank*. 2014.

⁷⁸ Bailey, Kristian Davis. 2014b.

Also: Sheets, Connor Adams. 2015. "St. Louis Police Shootings Timeline: Police-Involved Shootings Since Ferguson Protests Over Michael Brown's Death." *International Business Times*. Accessed April 22. <http://www.ibtimes.com/st-louis-police-shootings-timeline-police-involved-shootings-ferguson-protests-over-1702630>.

⁷⁹ Zwerdling, Daniel, G.W. Schulz, Andrew Becker, and Williams. 2011. "Under Suspicion At The Mall Of America." *NPR.org*. September 7. <http://www.npr.org/2011/09/07/140234451/under-suspicion-at-the-mall-of-america>

⁸⁰ Blumenthal, Max. 2011.

Also: Zwerdling, Daniel, G.W. Schulz, Andrew Becker, and Williams. 2011.

In another example, the “Demographics Unit,” a special unit set up by the NYPD in 2003, was mandated to spy on Muslim and Arab communities in New York City. The unit’s tactics consisted of sending “plainclothes detectives into Muslim neighborhoods to eavesdrop on conversations,”⁸¹ and were specifically modeled on Israel’s practices in the West Bank.⁸² According to journalists Matt Apuzzo and Adam Goldman, “The Israeli inspiration was described in two interviews: one with a former NYPD official and a second with a former US intelligence official who spoke to Sanchez⁸³ about the program.”⁸⁴ The unit formed part of a larger effort on behalf of police departments and homeland security agencies to collect and share information on “terrorism-related activity”—a practice that has become routine in the aftermath of 9/11.⁸⁵ NYPD representatives reported in April 2014 that the Unit would be disbanded, after acknowledging it “never generated a lead.”⁸⁶ The NYPD’s relationship with Israel, however, remains strong; the department has had an official branch in Israel since 2012, established in an effort to strengthen the NYPD’s “ties with Israeli security forces.”⁸⁷

⁸¹ Apuzzo, Matt, and Joseph Goldstein. 2014. “New York Drops Unit That Spied on Muslims.” *The New York Times*, April 15. <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/16/nyregion/police-unit-that-spied-on-muslims-is-disbanded.html>.

⁸² Apuzzo, Matt, and Adam Goldman. 2014. *Enemies Within: Inside the NYPD’s Secret Spying Unit and Bin Laden’s Final Plot Against America*. New York: Touchstone.

⁸³ Lawrence Sanchez, a former CIA officer, is considered to be the architect of the Demographics Unit.

⁸⁴ Apuzzo, Matt, and Adam Goldman. 2014: 290.

⁸⁵ The Demographics unit was the “brainchild of Central Intelligence Agency officer Lawrence Sanchez, who helped establish it in 2003 while working at the Police Department and while he was still on the spy agency’s payroll.” (Apuzzo, Matt, and Joseph Goldstein. 2014)

⁸⁶ Apuzzo, Matt, and Joseph Goldstein. 2014.

⁸⁷ Times of Israel staff. 2012. “NYPD Opens Branch in Kfar Saba.” *The Times of Israel*, September 7. <http://www.timesofisrael.com/nypd-opens-local-branch-in-kfar-saba/>.

U.S. - European Industries and Their Contributions to the Israeli Occupation

Just as Israeli companies and select individuals contribute to the carceral-security state apparatus around the world, American and European companies contribute in important ways to the ongoing Israeli occupation. The context of the occupation serves as a “testing ground” both for these multinational corporations as well as the Israeli firms described above. However the success of the U.S. and European corporations is also rooted in the contexts of the carceral-security states of their home countries, and therefore they have much to gain from the preservation of both systems.

Prominent among these American and European corporations is the multinational “security services” corporation G4S. Headquartered in West Sussex, England, G4S has grown to become the largest worldwide security service provider, operating in more than 120 countries and employing more than 625,000 people around the world.⁸⁸ It is the largest publicly traded company on the London Stock Exchange,⁸⁹ and as of the year 2012, G4S managed 4 of the 12 privately owned immigrant detention centers and 6 of the 14 privately owned prisons in the United Kingdom.⁹⁰

G4S contributes in significant ways to the carceral-security state apparatus to dozens of countries throughout the world, including the United States. Starting in September of 2006, the

⁸⁸ *The Case of G4S*. 2011. Who Profits. <http://whoprofits.org/sites/default/files/WhoProfits-PrivateSecurity-G4S.pdf>.

⁸⁹ *The Case of G4S*. 2011.

⁹⁰ Mason, Cody. 2013. *International Growth Trends in Prison Privatization*. The Sentencing Project. http://sentencingproject.org/doc/publications/inc_International%20Growth%20Trends%20in%20Prison%20Privatization.pdf.

company has worked specifically with the Department of Homeland Security’s Customs and Border Protection (CBP) agency— a unit tasked with the “detection and detention of the huge numbers of aliens attempting to circumvent the multi-layered defenses that have been put in place along the border” between the U.S. and Mexico.⁹¹ G4S helps with the processing and transportation of these “aliens” to detention centers to await judicial review. The core of this service is the operation of “more than 100 buses and vans” by a team of 600 G4S CPOs (Customs Protection Officers).⁹² According to their website, G4S also runs at least 25 U.S. detention centers, treatment facilities, and academies specifically for convicted youth, mainly in the state of Florida.⁹³

According to the case study compiled by Who Profits⁹⁴ in 2011, through its Israeli subsidiary, Hashmira, G4S is complicit in the Israeli occupation in three or four major ways. G4S has installed security services and technologies in prisons and detention centers holding Palestinian political prisoners, as well as police headquarters both in the West Bank and in Israel. More specifically, G4S “installed and operates the entire security system of the Ktziot Prison, the central room of the Megido Prison, and security services to Damon prison.” All three prison have been designated for Palestinian “security” prisoners and are located inside Israel. According to

⁹¹ <http://www.g4s.us/~media/Files/USA/PDF-Case-Studies/Customs%20and%20Border%20Patrol%20112311%20FINAL.pdf>

⁹² *The Bus No One Wants to Catch: The End of the Road for Illegal Immigrants*. Case Study - Customs. G4S. <http://www.g4s.us/~media/Files/USA/PDF-Case-Studies/Customs%20and%20Border%20Patrol%20112311%20FINAL.pdf>.

⁹³ “Facilities.” 2015. *G4S USA*. Accessed April 22. <http://www.g4s.us/en-US/What%20we%20do/Services/Youth%20Services/Facilities/>.

⁹⁴ Who Profits is an Israeli organization devoted to investigating corporate complicity in the Israeli occupation.

Who Profits, G4S has also installed peripheral defense systems on the walls surrounding Ofer, a prison for Palestinians in the West Bank, in addition to operating a central security control room in the Ofer compound.”⁹⁵ The company also provides security within Israeli settlements in the West Bank, at grocery stores and other businesses. Finally, it supplies technologies at military checkpoints throughout the country.⁹⁶

In June of 2014, G4S announced that it would allow all of its contracts with Israeli prisons to lapse within the next three years. BDS activists, however, doubt the sincerity of these announcements, given similar promises that were made but not fulfilled in the past.⁹⁷ The company has also announced it would continue to provide security services (such as armed security guards) to certain Israeli companies like grocery stores, some of which operate in settlements in the occupied West Bank.⁹⁸ For many BDS activists, this means that G4S would continue to be complicit in the occupation, even if it did end its contracts with the military and with prisons.

Hewlett Packard (HP) represents an American multinational information technology corporation raking in profits from the control and management of the Palestinian population. HP owns the group “HP Enterprise Services,” the company in Israel that has “provided the Israeli Ministry of Defense with the development, installation, maintenance and ongoing field support

⁹⁵ “G4S Israel (Hashmira).” 2015. Accessed April 22. <http://www.whoprofits.org/company/g4s-israel-hashmira>.

⁹⁶ *The Case of G4S*. 2011.

⁹⁷ Abunimah, Ali. 2015. “G4S ‘to End’ Israel Prison Contracts as Pressure Mounts over Torture Complicity.” *The Electronic Intifada*. Accessed April 22. <http://electronicintifada.net/blogs/ali-abunimah/g4s-end-israel-prison-contracts-pressure-mounts-over-torture-complicity>.

⁹⁸ Plimmer, Gill. 2014. “G4S to End Israeli Jail Contracts within Three Years.” *Financial Times*, June 5. <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/06e06252-ecc9-11e3-8963-00144feabdc0.html#axzz3Y51uUVa4>.

of the Basel System.”⁹⁹ The Basel System is described as an “automated biometric access control system” installed at over 20 different checkpoints throughout Israel/Palestine.¹⁰⁰ The system functions through the provision of biometric ID cards and facial/hand scanning and recognition technologies, as well as the storage of biometric data for thousands of Palestinians.¹⁰¹ Who Profits submitted a number of “freedom of information inquiries” to the Israeli Ministry of Defense, which has confirmed that HP has continuously operated the Basel System from 2011 till today.¹⁰²

“Motorola Solutions Israel” is the Israeli subsidiary of Motorola Solutions, which is one of two companies that were created from Motorola Inc in 2009. Famous in the U.S. for its cellphones and other wireless communication technology, Motorola provides a very different type of product to the Israeli military: a virtual fence system called MotoEagle Surveillance, used to surround and ‘protect’ settlements in the West Bank. The virtual fence “includes radars and cameras to detect human movement outside the settlements,” and it is based on radars provided by ICx Radar Systems, an American surveillance technology company.”¹⁰³ Additionally, Motorola recently signed a contract with Israeli Defense Ministry for \$100 million to supply the Israeli army and other security forces with an encrypted smartphone. “The device will offer

⁹⁹ “Hewlett Packard (HP).” 2015. *Who Profits*. Accessed April 22. <http://www.whoprofits.org/company/hewlett-packard-hp>.

¹⁰⁰ “Hewlett Packard (HP).” 2015.

¹⁰¹ “Hewlett Packard (HP).” 2015.

¹⁰² “Hewlett Packard (HP).” 2015.

¹⁰³ “Motorola Solutions Israel.” 2015. *Who Profits*. Accessed April 22. <http://www.whoprofits.org/company/motorola-solutions-israel>.

encrypted calls, emails, the ability to send and receive digital media and navigation capabilities.”¹⁰⁴

American and European companies like Motorola and HP, like G4S both *shape* and are *shaped by* the systems of the Israeli occupation and the carceral-security state. They are dependent on the preservation of these systems, but also play an absolutely vital role in the preservation of each system. In this section my aim was to detail these connections and highlight the companies’ dependence on the linked systems of oppression that joint struggle seeks to make visible and combat.

¹⁰⁴ “Motorola Solutions Israel.” 2015.

CHAPTER 3: Addressing Complicity and Taking Action

Overview

In this last section I aim to discuss the kinds of complications and inherent difficulties in building solidarity and joint struggle around the connections between the carceral-security state and the Israeli occupation—namely, the preservation of White supremacy and the role of profit—detailed in the previous sections. Power and privilege asymmetries within the context of the U.S. and within the context of the Palestine movement more specifically make the tasks of addressing complicity, building solidarity and taking action a complicated one. The struggle to build solidarity *through* these differences and power asymmetries—instead of trying to ignore them—remains the most important challenge facing the movement today.

Expanding the Conversation on Complicity

Although the demographics of SJP groups and other groups within the Palestine movement vary significantly in different parts of the country, my experience with SJPs in the Northeast and Midatlantic regions has demonstrated that many of them consist of a large number of White and White-passing people (specifically White Jewish Americans and White-passing Arab Americans.)

Many of these people come from families that have benefited systematically from racism and White supremacy in the most basic of ways; namely, they have been able to build and sustain wealth— something that different aspects of the carceral-security state have specifically inhibited within communities of Color. The opportunities that have been available to Whites and White-

passing people are available specifically because others cannot access them—they've been made out of reach. For Whites to be unaware of this unearned privilege and the ways it permeates every single aspect of their lives is to be complicit in the system of White supremacy and institutionalized racism.

I argue that addressing the framework of White supremacy and the systematic advantaging of Whites in the discussions of mass incarceration and the carceral-security state is an important “first step” in combating this complicity. If White supremacy is not centered, the risk is that this largely White movement will have only a superficial understanding of racialized systems of control like the carceral-security state, without understanding their personal role and personal complicity in the preservation of these systems. They will understand the workings of mass incarceration but view themselves as separate from them. They may not, therefore, see the urgency and importance in thinking through ways of taking certain kinds of action that target these systems, or they might take action in problematic, White-savior ways. Ultimately, the possibility for pursuing truly effective joint struggle is at stake.

Although the task of thinking through and addressing complicity in oppression is especially important for Whites, as Americans there are systems and structures of oppression that we are all implicated in and must be accountable to. One of the most important examples to raise in this regard—an example especially relevant to the connections between the carceral-security state and the Israeli occupation—is that of labor exploitation in general and prison labor in particular. While most of the goods we consume have been produced in sweatshops around the world, a growing proportion of them are produced right here in the prisons of the United States

by incarcerated people earning between 93 cents and \$4.37 a day.¹⁰⁵ These prison populations produce everything from electronics, clothing, and furniture to U.S. army uniforms, for a wide range of companies, including Microsoft, Boeing, Starbucks, and Victoria's Secret.¹⁰⁶

I raise this example to emphasize that the task of addressing complicity in occupation is one that should be fully embraced by the movement, on all kinds of different levels. Discussion of the ways exploited, racialized labor forces subsidize our lives as American consumers should be incorporated into any effort to address our collective complicity in the carceral-security state. The movement must also, of course, continue to trace the lines of American complicity in the Israeli occupation. As I hoped to convey in this project, part of this task is identifying the links between the carceral-security state in the U.S. and the Israeli occupation, the ways in which the system in the U.S. helps to promote preservation of the occupation, etc.

A final issue that must be addressed in conversations about the connections between the carceral-security state and the Israeli occupation is that of the “violence of metaphor” and the dangers implicit in making comparisons.¹⁰⁷ I’m referring here to the trend within the movement of using Black suffering as a benchmark from which to gauge “our collective moral outrage” at

¹⁰⁵ Gentilviso, Chris. 2013. “Military Turns To Prison Labor For \$100 Million In Uniforms -- At \$2 Per Hour Wages.” *The Huffington Post*, December 24, sec. Politics. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/12/24/military-prison-uniforms_n_4498867.html.

¹⁰⁶ *Prison Labor Booms in US as Low-Cost Inmates Bring Billions*. 2012. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CySzoJfKTA8&feature=youtube_gdata_player.

¹⁰⁷ Goldstein, Alyosha, ed. 2014. *Formations of United States Colonialism*. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press.

the occupation or other situations of injustice.¹⁰⁸ As author-scholar-activist Nicholas Brady points out, this often occurs through statements such as “this is like the boycott of South Africa...’ ‘Israeli occupation is like segregation...’ etc.”¹⁰⁹ These statements are dangerous in that they invisibilize the existence of Black bodies on the ground in Israel/Palestine, “catching hell from both sides of [the] conflict” as a result of global anti-Blackness.¹¹⁰

In Israel/Palestine, institutionalized anti-Blackness has led to the construction of Black bodies as threatening, as foreign, as “cancer in our body” (the phrase used by Israeli politician Miri Regev in 2012 to describe Eritrean and Sudanese refugees and asylum seekers in Israel).¹¹¹ Anti-Blackness can be read in the way Palestinians still commonly refer to a Black person in the street as *‘abd*, the Arabic word for slave. It can be seen clearly in the steps Israel has taken to preserve the Whiteness of Israeli society, specifically by injecting Jewish women of Ethiopian descent in Israel with Depo-Provera, a long-acting form of birth control.¹¹² It can be read in the accounts of rape and torture from African refugees as they are guided from Sudan or Eritrea through Egypt and into Israel by bedouin smugglers.¹¹³ It can be read in the years these

¹⁰⁸ Brady, Nicholas. 2015. “The Void Speaks Back: Black Suffering as the Unthought of the American Studies Association’s Academic Boycott of Israel.” *Out of Nowhere*. Accessed April 23. <https://outofnowhereblog.wordpress.com/2013/12/23/the-void-speaks-back-black-suffering-as-the-unthought-of-the-american-studies-associations-academic-boycott-of-israel/>.

¹⁰⁹ Brady, Nicholas. 2015.

¹¹⁰ Brady, Nicholas. 2015.

¹¹¹ Lior, Ilan, and Tomer Zarchin. 2012. “Demonstrators Attack African Migrants in South Tel Aviv.” *Haaretz*, May 24. <http://www.haaretz.com/news/national/demonstrators-attack-african-migrants-in-south-tel-aviv-1.432262>.

¹¹² Neshet, Talila. 2013. “Israel Admits Ethiopian Women Were given Birth Control Shots.” *Haaretz*, January 27. <http://www.haaretz.com/news/national/israel-admits-ethiopian-women-were-given-birth-control-shots-premium-1.496519>.

¹¹³ Tobia, P. J. 2013. “Unpromised Land: Eritrean Refugees in Israel.” *PBS - Newshour*. June 20. <http://www.pbs.org/newshour/unpromised-land/>.

immigrants spend imprisoned in Israeli detention centers.¹¹⁴ For the Palestine movement to remain silent on these issues, which are in many ways intimately tied to the system of occupation, is to reinforce the structures of global anti-Blackness. And just as the failure to bring in the framework of White supremacy threatens the possibility for joint struggle, so to does the failure to incorporate the framework of anti-Blackness.

Thinking Through Action

Although a number of workshops at the national conferences have focused on addressing differentials in power and privilege and the implications of these differentials for solidarity-building and action, a system must be developed to ensure these issues are grappled with constantly and systematically.

In the previous section I have provided suggestions for how the conversation on the connections between the U.S. carceral-security state the Israeli occupation must be expanded. Equally important is the need for more conversations on *taking action*— arguably the hardest but most important conversations to have. In my experience, discussions of how to take action are often relegated to the last five minutes of any given workshop at the national conference, and are consistently unstructured. The following excerpt is from the description of a panel I attended at the 2013 national conference:

In concluding, panelists hope to join together with other conference participants in a discussion of concrete directions for joint struggle on campus in relationship to BDS and other types of movement work, and identify ways of building relationships between campus

¹¹⁴ Lior, Ilan. 2015. “Israel Begins Informing Asylum Seekers of Their Deportation.” *Haaretz*, April 2. <http://www.haaretz.com/news/national/.premium-1.650211>.

organizing and community-based efforts of joint struggle with the Palestinian movement for self-determination.¹¹⁵

During the panel, the speakers described their various experiences working together on campaigns and initiatives. Despite the stated intention to allow time and space for strategizing future actions however, at no point were students asked to discuss plans for pursuing joint action among themselves. The event was, therefore, about building our knowledge regarding joint struggle, but not about providing the space for us to think about actions we can take on our campuses or in our communities.

Although I believe it is important for the national conferences to focus more on strategizing for and planning actions, I must also emphasize that amazing examples of joint action are already occurring, both within the realm of BDS and outside it. Examples of this action are the prison divestment campaigns that have emerged at Tufts University and Columbia University. Both campaigns target G4S, primarily for its role complicity in the Israeli occupation, as well as the private prison companies Corrections Corporation of American and GEO Group for their contributions to mass incarceration and the prison industrial complex in the US. Conversations on the complexities and mechanics and politics involved in launching these types of campaigns are not systematically held, however, which I believe partially explains why we so few SJPs are currently engaged in campaigns like the ones at Tufts and Columbia.

Although boycott and divestment are very important avenues through which to pursue action, I also believe that our conceptions of “taking action” should not be limited to these realms, or to the college campus. One of the workshops I attended at the 2013 national

¹¹⁵ “2013 Program.” 2015.

conference represented, to me, an example of the many different kinds of action to take. The critical and self-reflective questions raised in the description are also the kinds of questions I believe we should be striving to ask and integrate into the movement in a more systematic way:

Stanford is in close proximity to East Palo Alto—a community with an exceptionally high rate of mass incarceration. Stanford is also a short drive away from one of California’s biggest and oldest prisons—San Quentin. However, students rarely know or engage these communities in capacities outside of sociological informants, as subjects to interpret, or as statistical data. In having this conversation, we will attempt to problematize the ethics of giving or demanding solidarity from peoples of color, or communities facing structural violence when working within the context of activism from within a privileged academic community. Through this workshop we hope to develop concrete ways to work with Addameer, an organization working with political prisoners in Palestine, as well as incarcerated communities around our respective university campuses wherever we may be. In so doing, we will also initiate a project to deliver books to the San Quentin.¹¹⁶

The reality of the situation is that joint struggle is occurring—and has occurred—in many, many different forms throughout the country in resistance to interlocking structures of oppression. SJP groups can and should do the research necessary to tap into these struggles in addition to starting their own initiatives. Of course, this must only be done with constant awareness of differences in power and privilege and their implications for any given avenue of organizing.

¹¹⁶ “2013 Program.” 2015.

Conclusion and Discussion

As incarceration rates and spending on policing, surveillance, and immigration enforcement continue to rise in the U.S., the nation is developing more and more into an Israeli-style militarized police state. Within the greater context of joint struggle, the Palestine movement has demonstrated a strong concern with resistance to these processes. It has successfully shifted its focus from the highlighting of Israeli oppression and occupation as an isolated phenomenon to highlighting the interconnected nature of disparate forms of oppression all over the world.

I argue that a particular set of links among all the connections the movement is raising between different systems of oppression is especially important to call attention to: that between the U.S. carceral-security state and the Israeli occupation. I have shown that these two systems share common goals and impacts in terms of promoting White supremacy, and that they are also linked materially, in terms of corporate profit.

Highlighting these connections is especially important, I argue, in a movement that consists of many White and White-passing people. Whites within the movement have a heightened obligation to understand and combat the ways they have benefited and continue to benefit from institutionalized racism and White supremacy in the U.S., especially if they hope to be effective in resisting Israeli occupation (or any other system of oppression linked to global White supremacy). Given the very linked nature of oppression in Israel/Palestine and oppression in the U.S., activists cannot engage in successful resistance to the Israeli occupation while remaining complicit in the U.S. carceral-security state. At the same time, this addressing of

complicity and engaging in self-critique—although extremely important—must never occupy the focus of the movement to the extent that it detracts from or inhibits action.

In the section analyzing the different facets of the U.S. carceral security state as vehicles for the upholding of White supremacy, I presented discussions of mass incarceration and its impacts on communities of Color (and specifically African American communities), the militarization of the U.S. border and its impacts on Latino communities, and finally, state surveillance and its impacts on Arab and Muslim communities. Through this section I attempted to demonstrate the ways in which these practices and facets of the carceral-security state contribute directly to the systematic advantaging of Whites in the U.S. at the expense of people of Color.

In continuing to think through these connections, I believe it's important to consistently consider questions such as: Who has the freedom of privacy in this country, and the freedom of having conversations about politics without the fear that there may be federal agents listening in? Who has the security to know that they will never be convicted in a “conspiracy to commit terrorism” court case with no substantial evidence? Who has the ability to demand fair wages and good working conditions without the fear of being fired or deported? Who has the privilege of feeling protected by the police? How does the experiencing of all these freedoms, securities and privileges contribute to wealth accumulation and power for individuals and entire communities? How does the lack of these freedoms inhibit the ability to live and thrive for individuals and entire communities?

Although I recommend using the framework of White supremacy as a way to answer and address many of these questions, I acknowledge that it is not a framing that is appropriate for

every context. It is important to note that some of the people whose lives are directly influenced by the practices and processes discussed in this paper do not always use the language of White supremacy, nor do they always view their situations in racialized terms. In those cases, to impose the frame of “White supremacy” in the pursuit of building joint struggle would be problematic and counter-productive. But in the context of the university campus and the spaces of SJP groups, I believe the framing remains an extremely important and appropriate one to continue to push.

The links I propose in the second part of Chapter 2 are important not only in that they demonstrate the role of profit in perpetuating the oppressive practices described above, but also because they can lead to effective potential actions. One of the most important examples of this action are the divestment campaigns targeting both prison/military companies operating in Israel as well as corporations operating here in the U.S. The companies I discuss in Part 2 of Chapter 2 are so important to target because of their power and ability to influence the preservation of the oppressive structures they profit from, as well as the simple fact of their unethical business practices.

Addressing the links I have raised in this paper through action and solidarity is complicated in the face of power asymmetries and disparities in race, class and gender privileges. Although campaigns addressing the material links between the two systems have already emerged within the movement, I argue that additional space and time must be devoted to critically thinking through and planning action. While the movement has focused substantially on highlighting the connections between struggles and oppressions, the issue of “taking action”—the most important issue of all—has, I believe, been neglected.

While the Palestine movement has historically concerned itself with the oppression of the Israeli occupation vis-a-vis the Palestinians, I believe my analysis has implications for the ways this focus might evolve. For example, the movement has been relatively silent on other very blatant, repulsive examples of oppression in Israel/Palestine, including the treatment of African migrants, refugees, and asylum-seekers. Given what we know about the ways in which the experiences of racism and exploitation of one group are connected with the experiences of racism and exploitation of another, shouldn't the movement be focusing more seriously on making the links between anti-Black racism and violence in Israel and the violence against the Palestinians?

Although the histories and situations of Black people in Israel and the Palestinians are undoubtedly very different, joint struggle allows us to see that their liberation is intertwined. It depends, I believe, on joint challenging of the White supremacist Israeli state. For the Palestine movement to more formally incorporate the plight of African migrants into the goals and focus of the movement, however, might lead some to ask: where do we draw the line? How can we be concerned with such a wide range of struggles without losing some degree of political efficacy in regards to ending the occupation? The question of how to build a movement that has fully incorporated the goals of combating racism, colonialism, sexism, and other systems of oppression, while also retaining the very specific objective of achieving liberation for Palestinians is one that cannot be easily answered. This is an important tension that the movement will have to continue to grapple with.

There certainly cannot always be a perfect merging of targets and objectives in the way the Prison Divestment Coalitions at Tufts and Columbia have merged the targets of anti-

occupation resistance and prison abolition in the U.S. so beautifully. The strength of the notion of joint struggle, however, lies in the fact that it does not always have to be defined in terms of joint campaigns with joint goals; it can take a wide range of shapes and forms. Indeed, simply to forge loving and understanding relationships across boundaries and oceans in a system that seeks to prevent radical love is sometimes the most powerful joint struggle of all.